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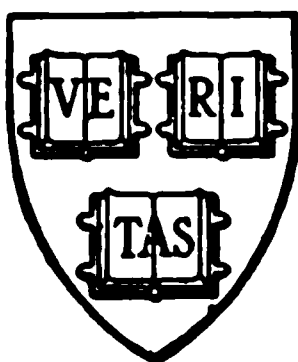
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William Pyncheon

SPRINGFIELD

1636-1886

HISTORY OF TOWN AND CITY

INCLUDING

An Account of the Quarter-Millennial Celebration

At Springfield, Mass., May 25 and 26, 1886

BY MASON A. GREEN



ISSUED BY THE AUTHORITY AND DIRECTION OF THE CITY OF SPRINGFIELD

C. A. NICHOLS & CO., PUBLISHERS

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Two years ago to-day all Springfield celebrated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the first town-meeting. The committee of fifty, charged with the details of the festivities, who had assigned to the writer the task of preparing the formal record of the event, also requested him to "collect facts as to the early history of Springfield, and the genealogy of the families of the first settlers, which shall, with the address, and speeches at the banquet, be published in book form." For some months this plan was pursued, but it was found that one volume would not meet the demands, if the usual plan of a local history were followed. Springfield is not a town. It has been an important and indeed controlling factor in the development of Western Massachusetts. There never has been a continuous narrative of the town and city. Several chapters in its career have never been investigated by any writer. To cover these breaks and give the history of the people of Springfield, and at the same time leave space for genealogies and the anniversary speeches, would be impracticable in one volume, and would require several years' research. The historian has, therefore, taken the liberty, after conferring with the publication committee, to depart from his instructions, and to leave the preparation of the genealogies, the drafts of streets, and the complete lists of office-holders, and much tabular data to some future writer. In all probability the three hundredth anniver-

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sary will be observed with patriotic enthusiasm. If the historian of that occasion will supply these features and carry the narrative down the extra fifty years, he will have material enough to make a second volume, which, with the corrections that may be needed in this, will furnish our people with a history more elaborate than that of any city or town in the Commonwealth.

There is, indeed, much in these pages of a genealogical and biographical nature, and many old landmarks are identified; but this material is only used as incidental to the story. It is the history of the people that is here told. A list of the men who have aided the writer during the past two years would be too long to give here. But special acknowledgment should be made to Dr. Thomas R. Pynchon, of Hartford, for his many services in collecting facts. Maj. Edward Ingersoll, James E. Russell, Robert O. Morris, Judge William S. Shurtleff, James Wells, Dr. William Rice, James Kirkham, Dr. F. E. Oliver, of Boston, and scores of others have given their services in recalling the past and furnishing records; and Judge Henry Morris, before his illness, gave the use of his historical library and manuscripts at all times. The names of the soldiers of the civil war and the lists of dead, wounded, and missing were furnished by James L. Bowen. The index was prepared by Dr. William Rice.

The publication committee appointed by the committee of fifty were: Edward H. Lathrop, chairman: Judge William S. Shurtleff, Lewis J. Powers, James D. Gill, and Milton Bradley. This committee placed the whole matter of publishing the history into the hands of C. A. Nichols, of this city, who, it will be seen, has spared neither time nor money in this service.

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It is a fact worthy of note that the local patriotism which the May celebration stimulated has not died down since then. During the past two years more money has been given for public improvements, more attention paid to the appearance of parks and thoroughfares, and more concern taken in the organizations that supplement the work of good government here than for many years before the celebration. Thus the quarter-millennial, which was a tribute to the past, was a pledge also for the future in all things that improve and better our City of Homes. This is our Springfield, — first, a stake in the wilderness, then a town, then the mother of towns, then a city, and, with the continuing favor of Providence, the mother of cities.

MASON A. GREEN.

SPRINGFIELD, May 25, 1888.



THE SPRINGFIELD CHURCH, ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN King Charles had dissolved his third Parliament with the avowed purpose of ruling without it, and had made the ritualistic Laud Bishop of London, thus at once putting his heel upon the statute liberties of England and the bleeding heart of Puritanism, there lived in an Essexshire hamlet a warden of the established church. He was thirty-nine years of age, of gentle birth, acute, resolute, and singularly self-assertive. He had seen some of the stoutest men of the realm break into tears when the king had cut off free speech in the Commons; he had seen ritualism, like an iron collar, clasped upon the neck of the Church, while a young jewelled courtier, the Duke of Buckingham, dangled the reputation of sober England at his waistcoat. A colonial enterprise, pushed by some Lincolnshire gentlemen, had been noised abroad, and the warden joined his

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fortunes with them, and so became one of the original incorporators mentioned in the royal charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company in America. This was William Pynchon, of Springfield, Essex, England.

The Pynchons seem to have had a sturdy quality, that grows in the fastnesses of Wales, nor were they strangers to the graces of the gentry and the pride of family. Sir William Dugdale in his "Baronage" says that Endo, "with one Pinco his sworn brother in war," came to England with William at the time of the Norman Conquest, and they received, among other returns, for their services, the hamlet of Thorpet in Kirby, Lincolnshire. — "Endo to hold his proportion immediately of the king, and Pinco his of St. Cuthbert of Durham." In 1167 Hugh, the son of "Pinco or Pincheun," was returned by the Bishop of Durham as "holding of him" seven knights' fees in Lincolnshire. A reference in the records of that day to "Hugh fils Pinchonis" furnishes us the earliest close approach to the spelling of the name as we have it. Walter de Beke married the daughter of "Hugh Fitz Pincheun," who held the lands in Lincolnshire for some years.

We learn from the History of the town of Horton, in Yorkshire, that a daughter of Thomas Chichele, Northamptonshire, married a William Pynchon, who is spoken of as the ancestor of the Essex Pynchons. This Chichele was a relative of Sir Robert Chichele, Lord Mayor of London in 1411. The Horton historian speaks of the first William Pynchon as an "opulent butcher," from whom "descended a line of important personages whose issue gave off Baronets and Squires of high degree." Coming down somewhat later, it is known that Nicholas Pynchon, who became High Sheriff of London in 1533, went from Wales to Sussex in the early part of the sixteenth century and bought an estate in the ancient cathedral town of Chichester. He removed to Essexshire in 1526, where his son, John, married Jane Empson, the daughter of Sir Richard Empson, one of the ministers of King Henry VII. who lost their heads for unprofessional conduct. John's son, William, died at Writtle in 1592 ;

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and his son, in turn, was the William Pynchon, of Springfield, Essexshire, England, who became the founder of Springfield, Massachusetts, United States of America.

The coat of arms of the Pynchon family was : “ Per bend argent and sable, three roundles within a bordure engrailed, counter-changed.” Although William Pynchon was a man of broad and aggressive thought, he was remarkably complex in character. He loved both money and adventure ; he also loved the gospel in its purity ; he hated political corruption, and, at the same time, he distrusted that phase of Puritanism which drifted away from royalty. What was the real motive that led him to leave the quiet walks of his Essexshire estate and to sail for the New World we will leave others to conjecture after reading his history.

After Charles Stuart had risen from his bed, where he had fallen in unkingly tears on hearing of the assassination of Buckingham, he resolved to continue the fight for the divine right of kings by adopting two equally memorable policies. The very month in which the king dissolved the Parliament which had bolted its door against the royal messenger, he signed the famous Massachusetts Bay charter. No one can tell who was more relieved at the signing of the charter, — King or Puritan. The eagerness of his Majesty to be well rid of his Puritan subjects explains the liberal terms upon which the Massachusetts wilderness was set over to Endicott, Cradock, Pynchon, and their associates. They and their heirs and assigns forever received from the king in the territory of Massachusetts Bay “all landes and groundes, place and places, soyles, woodes and wood groundes, havens, portes, rivers, waters, mynes, minerails, jurisdiceones, rights, royalties, liberties, freedomes, immunities, priviledges, franchises, preheminences, hereditament, and commodities whatsoever,” to be held “in free and comon Socage and not in Capite nor by knight service.” The main consideration was a payment of one-fifth part of the gold and silver ore “which from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter, shalbe there gotten, had or obteyned for all ser-

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vices, exaccors, and demandes whatsoever." It was granted that the officers should be chosen out of the freemen of the company; that it should be "one bodie politique and corporate," with right forever to appoint its own officers, including a General Court having judicial and legislative functions granted for all time. The only check upon the action of the court was the provision that no law should be contrary to the statute laws of England; but the governor not being a royal appointee (after the provisional one named in the charter), and the laws not being submitted for royal sanction, the act of incorporation served as a practical warrant of local autonomy.

Every person joining the corporation was required to take the freeman's oath, swearing "by the greate & dreadful name of the everlyving God" to "mainetaine & preserve all the libertyes & privileges" of the colony; nor did the colony in turn doubt its right to exclude freemen who developed heretical opinions. John and Samuel Brown, who had got into trouble by using the "Book of Comon Prayer," were summarily sent back to England from Salem, and it was arranged that the dispute should be put out to arbitration. The Browns nominated Mr. Pynchon, among others, to this board, and in the end, it is believed, they were paid a small sum for their financial losses in America.

It little concerns us here to follow the transfer of the charter from England to Massachusetts Bay in the early spring of 1630, except to note that Mr. Pynchon's importance in this enterprise is evident from the first. He was not only an incorporator, but was named by the king a provisional assistant pending the regular organization under the charter. He was present at the meeting in England in May, 1629, when he paid his "adventure money" to Harwood, the treasurer, and in October of that year he was placed on the committee to carry out the vote of the company to transfer the historic charter to America. The fleet of four vessels which sailed in April, 1630, bearing the charter with the seal of England attached thereto by strings of braided silk, also bore Mr. Pynchon

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and his feeble wife with four children, Ann, Mary (afterward Mrs. Holyoke), John, and Margaret (afterward Mrs. Davis). The newcomers generally took their families with them. If the king gave all, the departing Puritans accepted all, and risked all. Pynchon seems to have left a son in England, who subsequently went to the Barbadoes. Mr. Pynchon and his family were aboard the "Jewell," owned by Mr. Newell, one of the patentees. They reached Salem in the New World on the 15th of June, 1630, having been thirty-seven days on the voyage from the Isle of Wight. Mr. Pynchon first settled at Dorchester. His wife died at Charlestown soon after her arrival. Not being satisfied with the outlook, Mr. Pynchon started a new plantation upon the rocks of Boston Neck. It was "Roxbury" indeed. He aided in establishing a church there, and was also active in public affairs. He attended the first General Court at Charlestown, and was made treasurer of the colony. Curiously enough the court fined Pynchon and two other assistants "a noble apiece" for being tardy. He was compelled to cross the river, and probably had an excuse for being late.

It is quite likely that Mr. Pynchon made plans at once for an extensive beaver trade, and some little commerce by sea. The General Court authorized him at one time to receive from England certain goods sent by Dr. Wilson as a gift to the plantation, which naturally implies wharfage facilities. Certainly the Pynchons, in later years, owned a wharf at Boston. Mr. Pynchon secured a license to trade in beaver skins with the Indians, and in 1635 £5 of the £25 fee was remitted. The trade was disappointing; nor was the outlook encouraging for the town of Roxbury. One John Pratt probably expressed the feelings of many when he wrote back to England lamenting the barrenness of the soil. When the Bay authorities heard of it, Pratt was forced to make a public retraction, giving the climate and soil a certificate of good character. Mr. Pynchon had been one of the court chosen to examine and accept Pratt's retraction, and one can fancy the shrewd face of this "gentleman of

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learning and religion ” relax as he signed his name to the acceptance of the retraction in which Pratt said, under the counter pressures of truth and necessity : “ As for the barrenes of the sandy grounds I spake of them then as I conceaved ; but nowe, by experience of myne owne, I finde that such ground as before I accounted barren, yet, being manured & husbanded, doeth bring forth more fruit than I did expect.”

The poor condition of the so-called soil at Roxbury, from which even proper husbandry could not, under the circumstances, bring encouragement to the tiller, led to a dispute about taxes levied upon the several towns by the General Court, and indeed, in 1635, Mr. Pynchon actually refused to pay his part of the assessment, as he “ alleaged that towne was not equally rated with others.” For this resistance he was fined £5. The most curious instance of discipline connected with Mr. Pynchon’s name at the Bay rose out of the beaver trade. The laws as to giving fire-arms to the Indians were naturally strict : but the Indians being good hunters, the temptation to lend them arms for a day or week, with perhaps an Englishman to accompany them, was great indeed. Mr. Pynchon and Mr. Mayhew, in the spring of 1634, applied to the Court of Assistants for a special permit to employ Indian hunters, which was granted : but on May 14 the General Court expressed its disapproval in this stiff manner : “ It is agreed that there shal be X^l fine sett upon y^e Court of Assistants & Mr. Mayhew, for breach of an order of Court against employeing Indeans to shoote with peeces, the one halfe to be payde by Mr. Pynchon & Mr. Mayhew, offending therein, the other halfe by the Court of Assistants then in being, whoe gave leave thereunto.”

A theological cloud was gathering over the Boston and Salem churches. The Ann Hutchinson and Roger Williams schism was destined soon to distract the colony, and Mr. Pynchon could not but have seen the advantage of a still deeper taste of the wilderness. His resolve to settle in the Connecticut Valley marks the beginning of the history of Springfield.



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STEEL ENGRAVINGS.

WILLIAM PYNCHON.

JONATHAN DWIGHT.

REV. B. HOWARD.

REV. S. OSGOOD.

OLIVER B. MORRIS.

EDWARD PYNCHON.

GEORGE ASHMUN.

GEORGE BLISS.

SOLOMON WARRENER.

JUDGE R. A. CHAPMAN.

CHESTER W. CHAPIN.

DR. DAVID P. SMITH.

SAMUEL BOWLES.

SPRINGFIELD, 1636-1886



The Roxbury Settlers. — Causes of their Migration to the Connecticut Valley. — The Probable Route from Roxbury to Springfield. — The "Old Connecticut Path" and the "Old Bay Path." — The First House. — The Dress of the Springfield Pioneers. — Buying Indian Lands. — The First Owners of House-lots. The Pequot War. — William Pynchon a Trader. — Rev. George Moxon. — The Town Meeting and the English Vestry Meeting. — Ownership of Lands in Common.

In these simple chronicles of Springfield there is no occasion to give in detail the causes that led William Pynchon and his associates to leave Roxbury, and to settle in the Connecticut valley. The prospect of better trade in the west was no doubt one motive, and the exacting conditions of government, also, must have influenced them. The tendency at Boston to limit the qualifications of freemen, and to expand the prerogatives of those in authority, had already appeared. The setting up of the "standing council for term of life" had given rise to serious misgivings in the minds of many.

The Bay authorities looked with no little concern upon the first proposals to people the Connecticut valley. They had dismissed, with some show of impatience, Plymouth's proposition even to join in a western trading expedition; nor had the adventurous John Oldham endeared himself to the people at the Bay, who frowned upon his "vast conceits of extraordinary gaine." But it is quite possible that Mr. Pynchon gave Oldham substantial encouragement in his

work of exploring the Connecticut valley. When Oldham's estate was settled it was found that he owed Mr. Pynchon £22 19s. 9d.

It has been usually taken for granted that William Pynchon prospected in this valley in 1635. It must have been a hasty trip, however, as he was at Boston in March, April, May, June, July, August, and November of that year. He did not attend the September court, however. The first house on the banks of the Agawam river, which empties into the Connecticut just below Springfield, was built in 1635, the workmen arriving in time for the spring planting. If Mr. Pynchon himself went thus early he anticipated the action of the General Court, which did not pass the vote authorizing the forming of a new plantation until May.

The route taken by the early prospectors and settlers of Springfield rests under quite as deep a cloud of doubt as the dates themselves. There is an old romance, written by a native of Springfield, entitled "*Letoula; or, a legend of Springfield: founded on Fact.*" It contains the following passage: —

At the close of a summer evening in 1635, as the sun was sinking in the far west and casting its last brilliant beams through a hedge of willows which bordered the sparkling waters of the lovely Connecticut, a birch canoe, shooting by an opening in the willows, approached the shore. A small party of Englishmen disembarked, and, accompanied by a guide, ascended the hill. They were met at the summit by a sachem, who conducted them inside the palisadoes. The next morning a council was held, and the strangers made known the object of their visit, which was to purchase land for a settlement.

There is probably as much truth in this avowed work of fiction as in some of the professedly historical accounts. A house was already up, and crops growing, in the summer of 1635, and the parley with the Indians had, of course, taken place before that. The story that the Roxbury party, led by William Pynchon, approached the Connecticut valley substantially over the Boston & Albany Railroad route, may safely be set down as a piece of visioning. A speaker in an

historical address has recently assumed that the Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield parties came down the Chicopee valley, and thence drifted south. Dr. Holland also accepted tradition, and used it in his history, as well as for his purposes of fiction, when he described the approach of the Springfield pioneers from the "Old Bay Path." But the "Bay Path" was not opened until 1673, nearly forty years later.

The Indian situation may enlighten us somewhat upon this subject. The English explorers of that early day found that the site of Woodstock, Conn., was in a rich corn region, where the grain was stored in Indian "barns," or cellars with baked-clay walls. From Woodstock ran old trails in every direction. It was, in fact, an Indian trail centre. Governor Winthrop was supplied with corn in 1630 by Indians, who bore it in skins upon their backs to the Bay. This early supply-train proceeded from Woodstock past the site of Dudley, Grafton, Hopkinton, South Framingham, Cochituate pond (Framingham), north bank of Charles river, and thence to Cambridge and Boston. Nor did these Indians even then break through an untrodden forest. They took the trail known later as the Old Connecticut Path, the one followed by John Oldham on his way to the site of Wethersfield in 1633. Hooker and Stone took this route in June, 1636. It had been developed from an Indian trail to an English bridle-path for horses and cattle. No one ever accused William Pynchon with any lack of business qualities. He was a practical man of affairs. It is absurd, therefore, to suppose that he rejected the forest-trail connections of the country, and pushed on with his little company of men, women, and children through a trackless wilderness.

We have spoken of Woodstock as a trail centre. One trail ran from thence to the Narragansett country and to Norwich; another north-west, through Southbridge to Sturbridge, there splitting, — one continuing to Springfield, and the other to the Falls on the Connecticut, at Holyoke. There was still another Indian trail, which left

the Old Connecticut Path at Wesson, and ran through Sudbury Centre, Nashaway, Princeton, New Braintree, West Brookfield, Warren, Brimfield, and Springfield; but, from Winthrop's Journal, it appears that the English did not know of it till 1648. It was in 1649 that John Eliot wrote: "20 myles up the river layeth Springfield where Mr. Moxon is pastor. And this towne overland from the Bay layeth: 80: or: 90: myles South West and is the roade way to all the towns upon this river and lye more southward." This was true in 1649, but not in 1636.

We feel free to conclude, therefore, that Mr. Pynchon approached the Connecticut valley, on his preliminary expedition in 1635, by the Old Connecticut Path. He had with him John Cable, John Woodstock, and an Indian interpreter. With an eye for trade he at once saw that he would not be content to settle his Roxbury company below the other Connecticut plantations, and he determined to prospect. He ascended the "grate ryver" until he came to the mouth of the Woronoco river (Agawam), where he found Indians noted for their beaver-hunting propensities. He was unaware that he had pushed far enough north to be outside the Connecticut jurisdiction. He struck a bargain with the Agawam Indians, who had a fort on a hill overhanging the east bank of the river, and who had extensive planting-grounds on the west side of the Connecticut, south of the Woronoco river. Leaving his men to plant, and to build a house about half a mile above the mouth of the Woronoco river on the south side, he hastened back to the Bay. A Dorchester party visited the Agawam in July, but returned to the site of Windsor.

Having begun to tamper with tradition as to these ancient matters, we are impelled also to cast a doubt over the usual narrative that Mr. Pynchon's company encamped on the present site of Springfield upon their arrival in the spring of 1636. The Indians had told them, so the story goes, that the house in the Agawam meadow was exposed to floods in the spring and autumn, and it was accordingly abandoned the year it was built. What little is known about

this house points just to the other conclusion, — that it was not only not pulled down, but actually sheltered some of the first arrivals in 1636. The truth is, that when the English put in an appearance in 1636 with their families, the Indians raised on the price of their lands along the Agawam, and it was not the danger from floods alone that induced the settlers to change the site of the proposed town.

In a memorandum made by John Holyoke, over forty years later, is to be found a sentence that tends to clear this question up, and to show that the old house in the Agawam meadow was standing in 1636. Here it is : —

Memorandum^m : Agaam or Agawam. It is that medow on the south of Agawa^m River where y^e English did first build a house, wh^h now we comonly cal house medow. that peice of ground it is wh^h y^e Indians do call Agawam, & y^t y^e English kept y^e residence, who first came to settle and plant at Springfeild now so called : & at y^e place it was (as is supposed) that this purchase was made of the Indians.

It is argued, however, that the word “purchase” in the above document means the original verbal bargain struck by Pynchon and the Indians in 1635, and not the actual passing of the deeds in July, 1636. This inference would compel us to make a forced construction to the following passage in the compact that was drawn up a few days after the arrival of the Roxbury pioneers, in May of that year : —

10^y. That wheras a howse was built at a comon charge which cost 6£ and alsoe the Indians demannnd a greate some to buye theyr right in the s^d lands. and alsoe a greate shallope, which was requisite for the first plantinge. the valew of which engagements is to be borne by each inhabitant at theyr first entrance, as they shall be rated by us till the s^d disbursements shall be satisfyed, or else in case the s^d howse and boat be not soe satisfyed for. then soe much meddowe be sett out about the s^d howse as may countervayle the sayd extraordinary charge.

It would be rather a difficult thing to set apart meadow land about a house that had been pulled down, and we can safely assert that the original house on the banks of the Woronoco river had not been pulled down in the spring of 1636, tradition to the contrary notwithstanding; and it is equally safe to infer that it sheltered, at least, a part of the Roxbury arrivals.

The year 1636 was indeed an active and trying one for Mr. Pynchon. Besides his duties as a member of the Board of Commissioners appointed by the Massachusetts Bay General Court, to govern for one year the plantations that might be started in the valley of the Connecticut, Mr. Pynchon had to take full charge of the transportation of his party, and their household goods and effects, advancing a large part of the money required for that purpose. The March session of the General Court was full of excitement. The insecurity felt on account of the restless Indians, the reconstruction of the courts, the establishment of quarter sessions, the special religious meetings of sundry uneasy spirits in some of the churches, the setting up of a standing council from among the magistrates with life terms, and finally the appointment of the Connecticut commission of eight, were but the most important matters considered at that time.

Sixteen hundred thirty-six may be called the exodus year to the Connecticut valley. Parties from the east were pushing to the sites of Hartford, Windsor, Springfield, and Wethersfield all that spring and summer; and while the men at the Bay could do no less than bid them God-speed, we know that nothing but the stoutest ties that keep just minds to their moorings prevented an open rupture.

Governor Winthrop's "Blessing of the Bay" sailed from Boston for the Connecticut river April 26, and about this time the body of the Roxbury pioneers penetrated the Massachusetts wilderness. A reference to this vessel and its service to Pynchon is made in a subsequent letter to John Winthrop, Jr., in which he writes:—



THE ROXBURY EMIGRANTS.

Pray accept my Bill of exchange to you by Mr. Peeters for 63 li: & as for the freight of the Blessing formerly. I have a perfett account of it: but I have not writt with Anthony Dike to confer my notes with him. & as for the freight of the Batcheller. I shall make up the tunag with Mr Gose at Watertowne: for thither I have conditioned that she must deliver our goods. I asked Lieftenant Gibbins. before I would hier her. if she might goe as far as Watertowne. & he confidently affirmed she might. & that there is water enough: therefore I pray give all the furtherance you can.

Both the "Blessing" and the "Batcheller" carried goods for the Roxbury party. it would seem from this. The first instalment of the Roxbury band accomplished its journey between April 26 and May 14, when the first recorded meeting took place. This instalment included at least a dozen families. The horse-litter for the aged or indisposed was the only vehicle practicable along the forest bridle-path to the wild west. Cows and pigs were included in the pioneer procession, while the armed outpost would lead the way over a pine plain or down a forest ravine, in order to clear natural obstructions or prospect for savages. While the colony was upon the verge of a terrible Indian war, there is no reason to doubt that the Pynchon party was well received at the Indian villages which they passed. Mr. Pynchon was accompanied doubtless by his bride, Frances Sanford, "a grave matron of the church at Dorchester," whom he had married not long after the death of the first Mrs. Pynchon.

Puritanism was the religion of honest, unaffected, and stalwart simplicity, which expressed itself strikingly in dress: but the plain garb of those days figures in our nineteenth century eyes as picturesque in the extreme.

There is a natural curiosity as to the costuming of the pioneers, and a diligent search has served to satisfy this curiosity in part. Most of the troopers and young men wore the customary jerkins or waist-coats of green cotton, caught at the waist with either red tape or a leather band. Over this some would wear a mandilion, or sleeveless jacket, held at the neck with hooks and eyes, and lined with cotton.

As the expedition was through a wilderness during a possibly rainy spring, some may have been dressed at times in the uncomfortably warm doublet and hose of leather lined with oiled skin, in which case they would abandon their large, conical broadbrims for cooler, red, knit Puritan caps. The half-boot was much worn then, and Mr. Pynchon would wear great boots, — a luxury limited by law to those whose estate was at least £200. The broad, white collar of the period would not be demanded upon such an expedition. The women of the band would wear strong, simple kersey gowns, with hoods, caps, high necks, and neckcloths, their home-made gowns falling to the stout boots with the directness of a decree from heaven. The short sleeves and bare arms, and bunches of green ribbon (not, however, required on such a journey), had been forbidden by the authorities; but an inspection of the manuscript and printed remains of pioneer life in New England shows that neither the ingenuity of man, nor the dangers of the wild beasts or wilder men, kept the New England woman from reflecting in her attire something of the grace and taste that Heaven sheds upon her sex; and, therefore, if during this expedition some yeoman did not discover it a pleasure to tramp beside his horse that a maid might be the better placed, and her forest-decorated gown appear to better advantage, then Springfield was not at first peopled with the average quality of Puritans.

It profits us little to linger over a chapter of history which is founded upon an hypothesis and developed upon slender threads of inference, but one cannot but look twice at the possible scenes along this route to the Connecticut, — the encampment at a hamlet of wigwams, the fair-faced matron and the leather-dressed squaw, the expressions of a mutual spirit of concord and curiosity among the soft-voiced strangers in green and black and the natives, the psalm-singing circle about the camp-fire, and the wondering savages before their wigwams.

Mr. Pynchon had secured an interpreter named Ahaughton, through

whom he could communicate with the Indians, and, so far as is known, the great journey was accomplished without accident, at least without serious delay.

It is quite possible that the pioneers turned north-west at Woodstock, and followed the trail to the site of Springfield; but as this trail was not a bridle-path for the admission of horses and cattle, and as their goods were sent on boat *via* Saybrook and Windsor (for Pynchon had letters to the church at Windsor), even this supposition is to be doubted. We believe that the pioneers came up the river to the Woronoco, or Agawam river, and were sheltered in the old, original house on the Indian meadows, now forming a part of the town of Agawam, on the south bank, about half a mile from the spot where it empties into the Connecticut.

Before the Indian deeds were secured the little company made a formal declaration of their intention to establish a town. They were three days in drawing up this covenant, or town constitution, as it may be called. No reference to any colony jurisdiction occurs in this document. They were theoretically under the Massachusetts Bay government, but really formed a part of Connecticut. They began their covenant by saying that they "doe mutually agree to certayne articles and orders to be observed and kept by us and by our successors, except wee and every of us for ourselves and in oure persons, shall therein meet uppon better reasons to alter our present resolutions." They declared first their intention to procure a minister. The town was to be limited to fifty families: each inhabitant, that is, head of a family, to have a house-lot and an allotment of planting-grounds, pasture, meadow, marsh, and timber land. Taxes were to be levied upon land only. William Pynchon, Jehu Burr, and Henry Smith were given forty acres of meadow-land, south of the "End Brook," to be exempt from taxation on account of the money paid out by them in founding a town. No man but William Pynchon was allowed to have ten acres in his house-lot. The men signing this agreement were,

William Pynchon, Matthew Mitchell, Henry Smith, Jehu Burr (his mark), William Blake, Edmund Wood, Thomas Ufford (his mark), and John Cable. The assignments of house-lots were as follows:—

William Blake	.	.	.	16 poles in width.
Thomas Woodford (north)	.			12
Thomas Ufford	.	.	.	14
Henry Smith	.	.	.	20
Jehu Burr	.	.	.	20
William Pynchon	.	.	.	30
John Cable	.	.	.	14
John Reader	.	.	.	12 " ..

MILL RIVER.

Matthew Mitchell	}	.	.	On the Connecticut.
Samuel Butterfield				
Edmund Wood				
Jonas Wood	.	.	.	South of Mill River.

Henry Smith, who was married to Mr. Pynchon's daughter Ann, drew up the agreement; and he seems to have been a man of great character and reliability.

Six weeks after the signing of this agreement Mr. Pynchon was at Roxbury, but he returned in time to meet the local Indians and to receive deeds for the lands previously bargained for. If our conclusions are well founded, Mr. Pynchon and his associates met the Indian owners of the land in the first house on the banks of the Agawam. July 15, 1636. Eleven days before, Pynchon had been in Roxbury. Several families had arrived since May, and they formed the second instalment which Pynchon led to the valley. The scene in and about the little house excites our curiosity; but time has obliterated all but the results of the meeting.

Cummucke and Matanchan, ancient Indians, were there, and a

young warrior. Cuttonas, of whom we will hear more later, and others, making a company of at least thirteen Indians who put their marks upon paper for the first time. The rights of the squaws to the lands were duly recognized, but they were not allowed to sign. The deed is here transcribed: —

Agaam alias Agawam: This fifteenth day of July. 1636.

It is agreed between Commucke & Matanchan ancient Indians of Agaam for & in the Name of al the other Indians, & in particular for & in y^e Name of Cuttonus the right owner of Agaam & Quana. & in the Name of his mother Kewanusk the Tamasham or wife of Wenawis, & Niarum the wife of Coa. to & with William Pynchon Henry Smith & Jehu Burr their heires & associates for ever. to truck & sel al that ground & muckeosquittaj or medow, accomsick viz: on the other side of Quana; & al the ground & muckeosquittaj on the side of Agaam. except Cottinackeesh or ground that is now planted for ten Fatham of Wampam. Ten Coates. Ten howes. Ten hatchets. & Ten knives: and also the said ancient Indians with the Consent of the rest. & in particular wth the Consent of Menis & Wrutherna & Napompenam. do trucke & sel to William Pynchon Henry Smith & Jehu Burr. & their successors. for ever. al that ground on the East side of Quinneckiot River called Usquajok & Nayasset reaching about four or five miles in Length. from the north end of Masaksicke up to Chickuppe River. for four fatham of Wampam. four Coates. four howes. four hatchets. four knives: Also the said ancient Indians Doe wth the Consent of the other Indians. & in particular wth the Consent of Machetuhood Wenepawin. & Mokemoos trucke & sel the ground & muckeosquittaj. & grounds adjoyning. called Masaksicke. for four fatham of wampam, four Coates. four hatchets & four howes, and four knives,

And the said. Pynchon hath in hand paid the said eighteen fatham of Wampam. eighteen coates. 12 hatchets. 18. howes. 18 knives to the said Commucke & Matanchan. & doth further condition wth the sd Indians. that they shal have & enjoy all that Cottinackeesh. or ground that is now planted: And have liberty to take Fish & Deer. groundnuts. walnuts. akornes. & sasachimmepeh or a kind of pease. And also if any of o^r Cattle spoile their corne. to pay as it is worth: & that hogs shall not goe on the side of Agaam but in akorne time: Also the said Pynchon doth give to Wrutherna two Coates over & above the said Particulars exp^{ssed}. & In Witnes hereof the two said Indians & the Rest. doe set to their hands. this p^{rsent} 15th day of July. 1636.

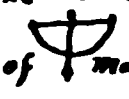
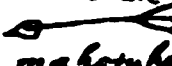

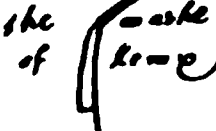


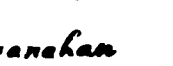

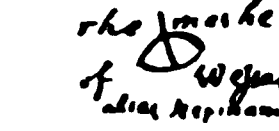


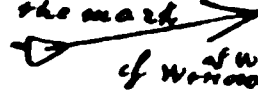

(19)

A copy of a deed whereby the Indians at Springfield made sale of certain
 Lands on both sides the great River at Springfield to William Pynchon Esq. &
 Henry Smith & John Burr, for the Town of Springfield for ever.

Aquam
 this Aquam: This fifteenth day of July, 1636

It is agreed between Commucke & Matanahan ancient Indians of Aga-^{Springfield}
 am for & in the Name of all the other Indians & in particular for & in the Name of
 name of Canonus the right owner of Aquam & Quana, & in the Name of
 his mother Kewanusk the Tamarum or wife of Wenawus, & Niarum the
 wife of Coa to & with William Pynchon Henry Smith & John Burr their heirs &
 associates for ever. to touche & sel al that ground & muckesquitty or me-
 dows accomf^{ed} ^{on the other side of Quana;} & al the ground & muckesquitty
 on the side of Aquam, except Cottinackesk or ground that is now planted
 for ten fathoms of Wampam. Ten Coates, Ten Rows. Ten hatchets, &
 Ten knives: and also the said ancient Indians with the Consent of
 the re- & in particular wth the Consent of Memy & Wetherona & Ma-
 dompenam. do touche & sel to William Pynchon Henry Smith & John
 Burr & their successors for ever. al that ground on the East side of Quina
 called River called Viquan & Nayaget reaching about four or five miles in
 length, from the north end of Mofakiske up to Chickuppe River for four fa-
 thoms of Wampam. four Coates, four Rows, four hatchets, four knives: Also
 the said ancient Indians Doe wth the Consent of the other Indians, &
 in particular wth the Consent of Masketchoed Wenepawm. & Moke moos
 touche & sel the grounds & muckesquitty, & grounds adjoining, called Ma-
 fackche for four fathoms of wampam. four Coates, four hatchets & four knives.

And the said Pynchon hath in hand paid the said eighteen fathoms of
 wampam, eighteen water, 18 hatchets, 18 Rows, 18 knives to the said
 Commucke & Matanahan. & doth further condition wth the Indians,
 that they shall have & enjoy all that Cottinackesk, or ground that is now
 planted; And have liberty to take Fish & Deer. ground nuts, walnuts, &
 akornes, & Sasachmooch or a kind of pease, And also if any of the said spoile
 their corne, to pay as it is worth, & that dogs, that not goe on the side of
 Aquam but in the time: Also the said Pynchon doth give to Weth-
 erona ^{two Coates} over & above the said Particulars expressed, & in Witness hereof the two
 said Indians & the rest do set to their hands. this 15th day of July 1636

the mark of  Memy
 the mark of  Matanahan
 the mark of  Canonus
 the mark of  Kewanusk
 the mark of  Niarum
 the mark of  Masketchoed
 the mark of  Wenepawm
 the mark of  Moke moos
 the mark of  Wethereona
 the mark of  Mafackche
 the mark of  Coa
 the mark of  Wenawus
 the mark of  Aquam

The Indians signing the above deed were Menis, Machetuhood, Cuttonas, Kenis, Cumnucke, Matanchian, Wessa (or Nepinam), Macossak, Wrutherna, Kockuinek, Winnepawin, Wenawis, and Coa.

The Indians, as they crowded about the table, seemed to have no difficulty in hitting upon designs to stand for their signatures. One drew a canoe, one an arrow, another a bow and arrow. The white witnesses of this historic deed were John Allen, Richard Everett, Joseph Parsons, Thomas Horton, Faithful Thayeler, and John Cownes. It is to be noted that these are all new names, and also that two of them, Everett and Cownes, made their marks just as the savages did.

The double title to the site of Springfield was now obtained, — the transfers under the king's patent and the Indian deed. The political status and official allegiance of William Pynchon, during this interregnum, is not quite clear. He was a member of the provisional commission that governed Connecticut; and yet, after this commission, he sat, as an assistant, in the Massachusetts Bay colony. A few weeks after the signing of the Indian deed Mr. Pynchon was once more in Boston, and attended the Court of Quarter Sessions, as well as the General Court. The latter continued until the close of October; but probably Mr. Pynchon was permitted to leave before that, as he appeared at Newtown (Hartford, Conn.) at the opening of the Connecticut court there, November 1.

Mr. Pynchon was undoubtedly too busy with the affairs of the plantation to go through the valley to any extent during the first year. He had written to John Winthrop, Jr.: "I will hasten to settle myself there [Agawam] as soone as I can, & then I shall see all the plantations." Pynchon was already at work shipping goods to the younger Winthrop. There are records of "liver-culler shagg" cloth and "tauny shagg" sent to Winthrop; and we find this bit of business advice, from Pynchon to his Connecticut

friend, dated Roxbury, July 4, 1636: "As for using ould traders to trade for you, it is not the best way for your gaine: for they know how to save themselves; but a trusty man that never was a trader will quickly find the way of trading, & bring you best profit, & so the God of peace be with you ever." Mr. Pynchon said, in the same letter:—

I received a parsell of course wampam from you, but I could not trade any of it, because others were furnished plenty of better: but if you will send me a parsell of 100 or 200 fathom of fine white wampam I shall accept it as bever. If you sell not this cloth, keepe it in good condition & I will take it again.

It would thus appear that Pynchon and Winthrop both were concerned, at first, in trading operations upon a small scale.

Mr. Pynchon probably had his house far enough advanced by the closing in of winter, 1636, to afford not only his immediate family shelter, but possibly others. The pine forests on the great plain east and north of the new village were substantially free of underbrush, owing to the annual autumn burnings which the Indians resorted to, possibly to facilitate their movements. The oak and chestnut groves were carefully protected from fire, however. The Indian summer of two hundred and fifty years ago, with its wild fire climbing from tree to tree up the mountain sides, driving the game before it, or licking up the brush on river banks, and flushing the birds on the plain and in jungles, resembled only remotely that placid haze, under an exaggerated sun, so seductive to young poets of our day.

The company of frontier settlers was unable to secure a minister the first year, and Mr. Pynchon gathered the little flock together, probably at his house, and conducted divine service. He wrote his sermons, and his young son, John, often took abstracts of them.

The Agawam Indians, in their fort on Long hill, were pleased to see the English settling in their immediate vicinity. It gave them a

powerful ally against warlike tribes both to the south and the west, and it increased the value and importance of their planting-grounds. The middle meadow adjoining the Agawam meadow was known as Quana. The region at Longmeadow was called Masacksick: Mill river was called Usquajok: Springfield, including the Chicopee plains, was Naya-set: and Westfield was called Woronoco.

John Oldham was killed by the Indians near Block Island a few days after the Agawam deed had been signed, and a terrible struggle with the savages was precipitated. On the following May, 1637, war was declared at Hartford against the Pequots. Pynchon was not present, but it was voted that "Mr. Pincheons shalopp shal be taken to be imployed in this designe." Mr. Ludlow apologized for this liberty a few days later.

The new plantation by that time had quite a number of houses along the west side of our present Main street, and they were tolerably well fortified. But they lived in constant fear, and if they had been attacked at that time they might easily have been exterminated. The Agawam and Woronoco Indians showed no disposition to fight. Indeed, they had looked upon the whites from the start as allies.

The year 1637 was a trying and exciting one, as no one could tell at what moment the whole Indian population would rise and join the Pequots in a war of extermination. House-building and land-clearing and the opening of the main street were attended with an ever-present sense of insecurity.

It was not until over a year had passed that the first article of the original town compact was carried out, and a minister secured. Rev. George Moxon, of Boston, arrived at Agawam in the autumn of 1637. He was a short, stout man of five and thirty, and was a personal friend of Mr. Pynchon. His arrival was an occasion of great felicitation, for the allotments of land and the clearing of the forests were merely the preliminaries. The great work of the settlers was to establish and spread the kingdom of God in the New World. There

was a belief abroad in those times that America was destined to be a peculiar land, favored of God, and many of the laws so repugnant to modern ideas of freedom and justice were designed to hasten the day when that hope should be realized.

The coming of Mr. Moxon was propitious also, as it occurred at the season of general thanksgiving through New England at the overthrow of the Pequots. With all their trials and anxieties, there was more blue sky than cloud above them, and Agawam observed October 12, its first day of thanksgiving, with renewed heart and a hope that could not be subdued.

The records of many of the first town-meetings are unfortunately lost, and it is not until the spring of 1638 that we can secure any definite notion of the course of local legislation. We will, therefore, only anticipate at this point enough to say that one meets continually in these dingy records of the ancient town the reflections of English methods of local government. Local democracy and the town-meeting were no invention. Every phase of it was more or less a reflection of English civilization. Had it not been for the English Church in its relations to the State, the New England town-meeting would not have been what it was. New-Englandism was, as it were, an oak-buttressed "I" against the great mansion of English civilization. One can even go further, and safely assert that if the first settlers had not read the *De Moribus ac Populis Germaniæ* of Tacitus, they certainly revealed a contact of some sort with German folk-life and town-life. Even to this day town communism retains its hold upon the Teutonic race. In a recent magazine article on "Hanoverian Village Life," we find this passage quite in point: "The tilled land is very minutely subdivided, the pasturage and forest lands being held and used in common." The management and allotments of these lands in Hanover are primarily in the hands of the farmers, with, of course, a State supervision.

In the English parish of the seventeenth century, whether it had a civil or religious origin, with both Roman and German marks upon

it, we find the groundwork of our New England town-meeting, or rather the ideas upon which our forefathers worked, and from which they perfected their scheme of local government. The English parish was a church district at the time we treat, organized with sundry privileges of local civil government. The local rates and taxes were imposed by the English parish. Once a year the English rector would "perambulate" the bounds of the parish to confirm its limits and to repeat the ancient anathema: "Cursed be he which translateth the bounds and doles of his neighbor." The vestry meeting was the parish gathering, in which highways, sanitary matters, church and poor rates, were all attended to by vote, — a suffrage based upon material possessions. One of the most important offices filled by the vestry was that of church-warden, these elections sometimes causing great excitement. A warden was both a civil and religious officer, and from the English conception of this office came the New England "Select Townsman," as one will readily see upon comparing the duties of both. Mr. Pynchon was one of the wardens of the parish at Springfield, England, and upon the Agawam and Springfield town-meetings we see resting the shadow of the English vestry meeting.

It is a common remark that the advance in civilization is accompanied by increasingly complicated codes and statutes; but we will see upon opening a book of New England town records of the seventeenth century that the complexity of our present statute law is technical and incidental, the tendency all along having been toward simplicity and a broadening of principle. At first, a man could in effect do nothing but what was permitted him by legislation; now, he can do everything except what is prohibited. This is the case broadly stated.

But in reference to Agawam individually it may be said, with some local pride, that the hard rules of the Bay were materially modified from the beginning. We had here little or no religious persecution, no eastern disciplinary splitting of noses, clamping of the tongue

with split sticks, no brandings of the forehead. And yet, the scheme of parental supervision of men's movements was stoutly adhered to.

The town-meeting was the source of all local authority. The colonial law imposed a religious test upon all men entering this assembly of freemen. This assembly owned and managed all the land, apportioned it to individuals, filled civil and religious offices, built churches, hired ministers, opened and repaired roads, regulated the walk and conversation of the individual, nominated the magistrate, the constable, the officers of the training band, elected all town officers, superintended trade between man and man, fixed the price of labor, limited market prices, regulated the forests, determined the rotation of crops in the commons, even fixed the bedtime of the inhabitants, their seasons of worship and their hours of labor. At first there was a disposition to do away with executive officers as much as possible in the town-meeting. For nearly ten years there is no evidence that selectmen were elected at Springfield. There were surveyors to see to the condition of the highways, after the manner of the English vestry, and the town-meeting was continually appointing special committees to perform certain prescribed duties, with fines prescribed if those duties were not attended to, or if the freemen refused to accept any office imposed on them; but nowhere in the records is there, for nearly a decade, any evidence that "townsmen" were appointed with discretionary powers of governing. There was no need of selectmen, with the whole body of the freemen regularly in session once a month for the transaction of business.

CHAPTER II.

1638-1639.

William Pynchon and the Indian. — Captain Mason, of Connecticut. — Pynchon and Mason contrasted — Origin of the Charges against Mr. Pynchon. — Corn Contracts with the Indians and the Connecticut. — Captain Mason visits Agawam (Springfield). — Heated Dispute between Mason and Pynchon. — Mason's Hasty Return to Connecticut. — Mr. Pynchon summoned to Hartford, and charged with speculating in Corn. — His Trial and Conviction. — Starving Condition of the Agawam Inhabitants. — Captain Mason authorized to trade with the Massachusetts Indians. — Mr. William Pynchon's "Apology."

DURING the first three years of the Agawam's plantation existence William Pynchon was a great traveller, both in this valley and the Bay country, and his impressive figure and strange garb became a familiar sight to the Indians. This stern horseman riding down a forest bridle-path, attended by a mounted servant, became to the Indians the impersonation of justice.

There was another horseman in this valley farther down the river, whose faith in the Indian was rooted to his sword-hilt. Him the Indians feared. The reverence of one and the fear of the other in the savage mind deepened as time wore on. We have nothing to do with the Captain John Mason and the William Pynchon conception of the Indian character, except so far as it aids us in gaining the secret of the Pynchon hold upon the natives. — a hold that outlived that age, and forms an important part of the primitive history of the Commonwealth. The Pynchon and the Mason policy toward the Indian conflicted at all points. While neither had a high opinion of the Indian, the founder of Springfield persisted in taking hold of those ethical elements that are implanted in human nature even in the rough ; but the Connecticut man was continually crushing through

the native conception of justice and gaining his ends as with a cleaver. We do not deny certain extenuating circumstances favoring Captain Mason's policy of force, nor begrudge him one spark of that grim prestige that borrows its radiance from the burning Pequot fort and its memorable holocaust; but we simply marvel that Mason and Hooker and Stone and the rest should have been unable to understand the motives and the spirit of William Pynchon in his dealings with the Indians. No historian has fully investigated this interesting chapter of New England, nor attempted to state even vaguely the merits of Pynchon's falling out with the Hartford government. It has been too readily and quite unjustly assumed that he was a money-maker, and that Connecticut rebuked him accordingly. "How can you explain away the refusal of your ancestor to supply Hartford with corn?" asks an historian of our day of a contemporary Pynchon. During our quarter-millennial celebration of May, 1886, a Connecticut newspaper took occasion to remark:—

Mr. Pynchon was the first monopolist of this vicinity. As far back as 1638 he was given the sole right to trade in corn with the Indians, on condition of his supplying our [Connecticut] colony with a certain amount at a fixed price. We have no notion of raking up old sores with Springfield at this late day; but it is a sad fact that Mr. Pynchon was not very careful to "promote the publique good." Human nature in all ages seems to find it pretty hard to resist the opportunity to abuse such privileges.

It will be admitted that the reading of the meagre references in the histories to the charge brought against Mr. Pynchon of speculating on the necessities of the river towns might lead to the conclusions above quoted; but the Connecticut editor is wrong in every particular of his charge. William Pynchon did not hold a monopoly of the corn trade for Connecticut; the price was not fixed; he did not abuse his privileges. The controversy is very much involved, but as there has never appeared, to our knowledge, a complete statement in print, a good deal of time has been spent in gathering

the material together with the hope that it will fill a gap in the annals of western Massachusetts and vindicate Pynchon, without reflecting upon the reputation or motives of the Connecticut leaders. As the controversy is full of bitter personalities, that even outlived the lives of the actors, it is simply the part of candor to say that the opinion in New England two hundred and fifty years ago among the ablest men was that a strong arm would do more in a day with the savage than a year of loving-kindness and tender mercy. Mr. Pynchon did not so believe, and hence the conflict between Springfield and Hartford. He never designedly violated the Indian's notion of right and wrong, but when he made a bargain with the Indians, he even suffered rather than break it, or allow it to be broken.

The question of securing corn for the towns after the Pequot war came up at Hartford during the February session of 1638: Mr. Pynchon was not present. If each man had been allowed to trade with the Indians at will, the price would naturally have been advanced. The court, therefore, ordered that —

Noe man in this River nor Agawam shall goe upp River amonge the Indians or at home theire houses to trade for Corne or make any Contract or bargaine amonge them for corne either privately or publiquely uppon the paine of 5s. for every bushell that hee or they shall see trade.

At this court Agawam was assessed £86 16s. for the Pequot war expenses, and Jehu Burr was appointed collector at Agawam. It is not known why Mr. Pynchon remained away from the February meeting of the General Court. He had a written contract with the Agawam Indians to furnish him during the spring five hundred bushels of corn. March 4 was the first day for the payment of an instalment of grain. The Indians did not keep their word, and Mr. Pynchon went down the river three days later, feeling very much concerned about it. The court opened on the 8th of March. After some questions put to Mr. Pynchon and Mr. Plumb (both members of the General

Court) about sundry punishments inflicted upon Indians in their capacity as magistrates, the regulation of the corn trade came up, and this vote was passed: —

It is ordered with the consent of Mr. Pincheon that the saide Mr. Pyncheon will deliver att Harteforde goode Marchantable Indian Corne att 5s. p^r bushell as farr as 500 bushells will goe at, if hee can save by that, for the residue hee is to have 5s. 2d. p^r bushell. provided also that that proporeon that Winsor is to have shal be landed there at Mr. Ludlowes, for that proporeon that Wethersfeild is to have they are to it att Harteford. In considecon where of ther is a constrainte of any to go upp the River to trade with the Indians for Corne; as alsoe, if any Indians bring downe any Corne to us wee are not to excede 4s p^r bushell; as alsoe in case of necessity that any family or familyes doe complaine of present necessities they are to repaire to 3 magistrates which may advise them for the supply, although it be to the dispensing of this order; provided also that if the said Mr Pincheon bee inforced to raise the price with the Indians of sixe sixes of Wompom a pecke, then the plantacon: are to increase the pay of 5s p^r bushell: if he can abate anything hee will sette of soe much of 5s p^r bushell.

This “Mr. Ludlowe” was Roger Ludlow, who had transactions with Mr. Pynchon, as appears from this letter to William Pynchon, dated May 17, 1637: —

For your debt I am solicitous of, and I think the long before now I was never demanded twice in my life, neither should this, I hope, if not for the wars that I cannot go into the Bay to settle business to pay your debt which is the greatest I owe in the world. Therefore pray, sir, have patience.

In this General Court order it will be seen that Mr. Pynchon was the colony agent to buy corn with discretion as to price over what the colony expected to pay. Pynchon would gain nothing by an increase of the price. He received his order to trade on the 8th of March, and he returned to Agawam upon the 11th. Three days later (14th) he despatched a messenger to Mr. Ludlow, informing him that corn was very scarce. Mr. Ludlow's reply did not contain any reflection upon Mr. Pynchon. The Connecticut records are very imperfect, the dates of some of the orders of the Gen-

eral Court even being omitted. The following vote at Hartford, it may be presumed, was taken after Mr. Pynchon's messenger arrived there : —

Whereas, it was ordered octo die (Marcii) last that there should be a re-strainge of tradinge for Corne in regarde of some with Mr. Pincheon to supply the plantacons. uppon consideracon of Mr. Pincheons that hee is somewhat feareful of supplying the plantacons. and whereas there is a Clause in case of necessity 3 magistrates may dispence with the order. It is therefore ordered that Mr. Ludlowe and Captaine Mason or either of them, taking likewise such with them as shalbe meete, shall trade to supply theire owne necessities and the necessities of some other that are in wante.

This order may have been dated March 15, 1638. At any rate, Captain Mason called upon William Pynchon at his Agawam home, March 21. He had with him some armed troopers and a Nonotuck (Northampton) Indian. The meeting of these two notable men is nowhere spoken of in the histories, but it is impossible to understand the events that followed without knowing what happened at that time. Captain Mason's exploits in the Pequot war were heralded abroad, and this reputation must have been a source of personal gratification to him as a military commander. He had been an English soldier in the Netherlands, and may have known Pynchon at Dorchester, where they both had first settled in New England. Mason from the start had had a contempt of the Indian as a fighting animal.

William Pynchon, upon the other hand, was a student and lawyer, and a man who believed that only through a primitive code of ethics could amicable relations subsist between the English and the red man. We do not need the testimony of dingy manuscripts to be told that Mason and Pynchon could not agree about the Indian.

When Captain Mason had entered Mr. Pynchon's house. — the small one that gave way twenty-two years later to the famous Pynchon garrison-house. — the soldier from Hartford said : —

I am com to trade some corne with the Indians, and I have traded some at Woronoco [Westfield], and I had purposed to have you to Nanotack, but I mett with one of Nanotack, here at Agaam, and I would have traded some corne with him yester night, but he saith he dared not without y^r leave, for saide he, he is afraid of you, as alsoe are the Indians on the Riverside, for say they, you require six peeces of cloth of them, whereas they were but two whole pieces stolen, and thirteen coates, but I told him that I thought you were not angry and that you neyther could, nor would have hurte to them. But I pray, tell this Indian of Nannotak that you will not be angry with him, if he trade corne downe the river.

Mr. Pynchon said at once that he knew no reason why the Nonotuck Indian should fear him. He then proposed that the rest of the conference be carried on apart, as it would not do to let the Indians realize the extent of the English distress for food.

"I care not who knows them," said Mason; but Mr. Pynchon ordered his trader, Richard Everett (who, by the way, belonged to the family of Edward Everett), to open the trading-house door, and the party repaired there. There were at the trading-house Captain Mason and an associate, Thomas Dewey, and Mr. Pynchon, with his trader. "Sir," continued Mason, "I have brought up some cloth and wampam, to trade some corne with the Indians; & I desire you to deal with them for us, & to Binde them to a bargaine to bring it down."

To this Mr. Pynchon replied, that that was not the way to bind the Indians to a bargain, as they would break their promise if they were paid in advance. "whereupon som anger might follow, and then if I had a hand in it, they may beare me a grudge; for I feare their treacherous dealinge, we being remote, & but weaker; therefore I will neither *make nor meddle* to binde y^m to a bargaine. But I will do this. I will propound a rate of 8 sixes to carry downe their corne, and 6 sixes to bringe it to my house, and propound a free trade, and give them choice as before I have declared."

The Captain flew into a "greate passion," and exclaimed: "What

hurt can it be to you? I pray, Sir, let me know what hurt can it be to you, for it is a dark riddle to me."

Parson Moxon, who had been sent for, arrived at the trading-house at this juncture. Mr. Pynchon explained the situation, and added that Mason had given the Woronoco Indians wampum in advance, and would have done the same at Nonotuck if Pynchon had not objected. The parties were testing Captain Mason's corn-bag when Henry Smith arrived at the trading-house, and the discussion was renewed.

Then said Mr. Moxon: "An Indian promise is noe more than to have a pigg by the taile." This, by the way, is the first quotation extant of anything Moxon had ever said. Mr. Smith's opinion as to advanced payments in buying corn was in the same vein. He said:—

That is the rather to drive them from us, and the worst way to get a supply of Corne; as we have had late experience about the debt they owe Mr. Pinchon; for they kept away from us, and would not come at us because they were held to their promise. Thus, therefore will they deale with him as they have with Mr. Pinchon, and afterwards say (by way of excuse) that they were fools not knowing what they did.

Captain Mason at last "beganne to harken to Mr. Pinchon's motion of free-trade, (viz.) six sixes a pecke at his house, and eight sixes to carry it downe," and Pinchon promised to aid him as best he could, he having already made the same proposition to the Indians before Captain Mason arrived.

"Why did you not say this at first?" asked Mason. "This is all I desire of you."

Thereupon the Nonotuck Indian, who was loitering about, was called up. Captain Mason appearing to be convinced that Mr. Pynchon's way was the better. Mr. Pynchon addressed the up-river Indian, telling of "a sachem, one Captaine Mason, that desired to trade corne," that "it was much minnett to give free-trade," and

FIGURE 1. POSITION OF THE STUDY AREA.



that he would give six sixes a peck for corn delivered at Agawam, or eight sixes delivered at Hartford. But the Indian protested that their corn was much of it ruined by the snow, and that the river was too high to transport any to Hartford. Mason admitted that the Indian had told him all this the night before.

The points to be remembered in this account are that Mason's request to Mr. Pyncheon, to remove the fear of the Indian to trade, was while they were in the dwelling-house, but that Mr. Pyncheon's remark that he would neither "*make nor meddle*" was while they were at the trading-house, and was in response to Mason's request that Pyncheon should aid him in making a bargain contrary to Pyncheon's habit in dealing with the Indians. This point was brought into dispute later.

Mr. Pyncheon had previously given six sixes a peck for corn, as the Connecticut General Court knew, and therefore it was evident that in the stress under which the English were, the Indians attempted to get more. And besides, the Indians had received eight sixes the year before. This price, then, seemed reasonable; and if corn went up, it went up on the issue of supply and demand, which holds good in all countries and times. In speaking of the trouble in persuading the Indians to trade after Pyncheon's commission from the General Court, Mr. Pyncheon wrote subsequently:—

I alsoe presented to them dayly both cloth and wampam of the best for corne, if they would bring any to trade: but still they put it off by excuses, on purpose to make me raise the price, and indeed it would weary any to se what subtile pleadings they have dayly used for this purpose: as Mr. Moxon and Mr. Smith have plentiful experience.

But now as to the upshot of the Mason-Pyncheon interview upon the 21st of March, 1638. They separated in anything but a cordial spirit. Captain Mason was very much displeased, and took an abrupt departure. Three days later the Connecticut General Court issued an order for Mr. Pyncheon's presence at the next session. A regular trial followed upon very serious charges. The General Court

of Connecticut, at that time, was not a well-defined body. It was during the transition from a provisional to a constitutional existence. The court consisted of magistrates, assistants or commissioners, and town committees or deputies. Commissioners were at once assigned to hear the case, and the founder of Springfield, with several witnesses and Rev. George Moxon as his counsel, put in a full defence. Mr. Pynchon was completely taken aback at the spirit and extent of the charges. It was an indictment of his very manhood. He was represented as one who had actually traded on the extremities and privations of the lower towns. These charges were, in brief, (1) that he had deliberately raised the price of corn as between him and Connecticut, and was holding the Indians to their bargains, all to his private gain; that (2) he refused to lend a canoe to a Woronoco Indian, who was under contract with Captain Mason to take corn down the river; that (3) he kept the Agawam, Woronoco, and Nonotuck Indians under abject fear of him, that he might be considered the great English sachem of the Connecticut valley; and, finally, that (4) he induced certain Mohawk runners to sell him some beaver skins, which were sent by Mohawk chiefs to the Connecticut authorities as presents and assurances of good-will.

As to the great and overshadowing charge of dishonorable and unbecoming speculation, it will be well to note more particularly the condition of Agawam in the spring of 1638. The five hundred bushels that Mr. Pynchon had contracted for with the Indians was not above Agawam's demands, and therefore there was no chance to speculate. In an argument, written out after the trial, Mr. Pynchon said that very little would be left after he, Mr. Moxon, Smith, and others on the street had been supplied. And, moreover, the distress at Agawam was as great as it was down the river. Witness this testimony of William Pynchon: —

In regard to the great straits the whole population was in, both of persons & cattle, for 2 or 3 months together: The wants of the Plantation were such, that

som were forced to give malt to piggs to save their lives, and those that had som English meale. & would have kept it, were faine to spend it for want of corne. & to give som of It also to preserve the life of swine. & 3 or 4 were in Consultation to leave the Plantation for a while, to earne their bread elsewhere. till corne might be had heere. Some Weomen gave their poultry and swine divers times English graine. intended only for seed. & the poorer sort professed that they desired the price might be raised. that they might hav corne. & they professed it would be noe burden to them soe they might have it at any reasonable price. — yea. though it were at 6 shillings a bushell. Mr. Pinchons wants were often soe great. that divers times he hath not had half a bushell of corne in his house for his family & cattell. & when a Bushell or lesse hath ben brought in to trade. he hath as much prized God's mercy & providence therein. and ben as glad of it. as at other times of 20 Bushells. & the truth is that all the while the Indians were willing enough to trade. if they might have had their price amended. But they would not because Mr. Pinchon refused to give them the price they asked. and as they hav the years before & If I say I did chiefly forbear for the publike good. I ly not: my conscience before God beares me witnesse. Yea. though my family did dayly urge me to raise the price. partly in mercy to my Cattle. & partly to save their lives. they dayly told me that I had lost some cattle already. and I was shure to loose more if some course was not taken to get them corne. & I found their word true to my Cost. Alsoe. my wife. walking more amongst my Cattle than I did. professed y^t It was her dayly grief to see them in that poore starveing condition for the want of corne. and did dayly urge me to raise the price (in pittie to the Cattell), whatever it might cost. Yea. at that time. I wrote the letter for advice about riseing the price. my family. cattle. & Nighbors. had spent our former supply. & I then was hopelesse for the 500 Bushells. And whereas. I depended on the payment of that before. now my hopes were like to a spider's webb. Therefore I wrote for counsell. what course I should take with those Indians. . . . I neglected myne owne cattle. & family. & suffered that loss w^{ch} mought have been holpen by God's blessing.

As for the trial before the commissioners, under order of the Connecticut General Court, Mr. Pynchon was surprised to find that the principal witnesses, besides Captain Mason himself, were the very Agawam Indians with whom he had negotiated for the five hundred bushels of corn. Mr. Pynchon might well have felt great

concern when he looked upon these natives, for they were only too anxious to do anything to be relieved of their bargain with him.

The chief accusation in reference to the natives was that Mr. Pynchon kept them in continual fear, and the commissioners, in order to test the matter, did what Mason had asked Pynchon to do at Agawam,—desired verbal assurances that he was not angry with the Indians. Pynchon, seeing that such a declaration by him might be interpreted by the Indians as a release from their bargain, which they had failed to keep, objected so to do until the debt had been fully reaffirmed. After some delay, an appeal was taken from the commissioners to the General Court, and the point argued, as would appear, by Mr. Talcott, a member of the lower house. The court sustained Mr. Pynchon's appeal, but the commissioner who was pushing the matter was offended at this episode, and, as Mr. Pynchon subsequently said, repressed his feelings "with an hy offended spirit, & to the changing of the forme of his visage." After it had been explained to the Indians that the five hundred bushels must be paid, Mr. Pynchon expressed his good-will and cordial feeling to the knot of dusky savages.

The next point involving the Indians taken up by the commissioners was the charge that Mr. Pynchon bought of Mohawk runners beaver intended as presents to the authorities at Hartford, or, to use the ancient words of the charge, "the English Sachims in the River." Mr. Haynes had reminded Mr. Pynchon that the intended gifts had been spoken of to him, and this was made to appear as an aggravation of Mr. Pynchon's offence. We give Mr. Pynchon's defence upon this point in full, as it is an interesting statement, independent of its immediate connection:—

Mr. Pynchon answers that when Mr. Haynes first told him of it that he doubted it was but the giving of the telling of such a thing as their dayly practice is, for any advantage of gayne. He could not Imagin that it was come as

gift, because they mentioned noe such thing, but caled for trade. Besides it is their ordenary time in the time of snow in the beginning of Winter to trade their skinns & a greate parte of this was such skinns and not fitt for a gift to grate Sachims. I was not at home when they came, & they were in trade before I came home. I repeat that a gift sent to greate Sachims should be offered, & to begg it, is not honorable. He that told this to Mr. Haynes was one of them that brought the 7 Sachims locks, & then he was first at my house, & there was alsoe Mr. Ludlow, & they had an Interpreter, and all that they then said was this that the Mohawks did much love the English; and would be in friendshipp with them, & destroy all Pequotts that came in their way, but mentioned noe such gift at all, neither could they in likelyhood expect such a thing from the Mowhake Sachims, because these Pequott Sachims were killed 2 days journey on this side the Mowhakes at Paquiany, and it was but 3 days past that they were killed, & for them to go to their Sachims 2 days, & bring such a Message, & then you must ad 4 days more to come hither, doth much overgoe that time of 3 days, wherein they killed these Pequotts, & indeed they were chiefly Mohegans that did the act, & the Mowhaks had the least hand in it, & had but the least part of the prey, & therefor it is most likely, that their bever promised, was but as their ordenary manner is, when they would get anything, to give the telling of some pleasing thing.

It will not pass unnoticed that in order to make a case out against Pynchon they had gone back seven or eight months and taken up a matter utterly foreign to the case, except as it was an assault upon Mr. Pynchon's general character. But his accusers did more: they used hearsay evidence, picked up on Agawam street. "I am ready to take an oath of the Lord hereto," writes Mr. Pynchon, in his "Apology," in reference to the charge of money-making, "and in cases as materiall as this, where there is but only surmises, and noe prooffe, can be had, an oath of the Lord, must determine the cause. Exodus, 22. 10. 11."

But we will not linger over the details of this trial. Finally, the commissioners, having heard Mason, the Indians, and the rest, called in Rev. Thomas Hooker and Rev. Samuel Stone as experts upon the ethical question of Mr. Pynchon's conduct. They both said most emphatically that Pynchon had broken his oath. Mr. Pynchon rose

and explained his mode of bargaining with the Indians without advancing wampum, as Mason did at Woronoco, claiming that "8 sixes downe & 6 sixes to his house was an equall proportion to allure them." Mr. Hooker replied that "that offer was as good as nothing, for Mr. Pynchon knew that the Indians being afrayd of him, would not bring downe any corne, but that he should have all the trade to himselfe, & have all the corne in his own hands, and bring all that water to his own mill, and so rack the country at his pleasure."

This extraordinary conclusion took Mr. Pynchon completely aback. To be accused by a warrior like Captain Mason mattered little, for a soldier's ways are professionally stiff; but to be condemned by the famous ministers, Hooker and Stone, was quite another thing. One can well understand the words of the Pynchon "Apology": "To this Mr. Pynchon was silent, being grieved at such an hard answer."

The commission found Mr. Pynchon guilty; and they showed no little prejudice, even construing the defendant's appeal to the court as to the Indians an evidence of a guilty spirit.

The Pynchon trial and conviction were probably during the last week in March, 1638. A session of the General Court, at Hartford, was held April 5, Mr. Pynchon still sitting in the upper house, and Moxon and Burr, representing Agawam, in the lower house, or the "town committees," as they were called. Either a remarkable amount of business was gone over that day, or the clerk neglected to add the dates of the various orders of the session. Here is the order, recorded after the commission in the Pynchon case had reported: —

Whereas there was some complainte made against Mr. Willm Pincheon of Agawam for that as was conceived & uppon p^rf^e app^red he was not so carefull to p^rmote the publique good in the trade of Corne as hee was bounde to doe. It is ordered the saide Mr. Pincheon shall wth all convenient speede pay as a fine for his soe failinge 40^{tie} bushells of Indian Corne for the publicque & the saide Corne to be deliv^red to the Treasurer to be disposed of as shallbe thought meete.

This was pretty severe, and while the court was gracious enough to continue to give Mr. Pynchon the monopoly of the beaver trade at Agawam, this fine was a crushing blow to Pynchon's influence in Connecticut affairs. The Captain Mason theory of dealing with the Indians, namely, wampum in one hand and the sword in the other, inspired the following order, also passed upon this same 5th of April : —

It is ordered that there shalbe sixe sent to Warranocke Indians to declare unto them that wee have a desire to speak with them, to knowe the reasons why they saide they are affraide of us, and if they will not come to us willingly then to compell them to come by violence, and they may have 2 of the English as pledges in the meane time and to trade with them for corne if they can. It is ordered that Captaine Mason, Thomas Stanton, Jeremy Adams, John Gibbes, Searjeant Starnes and Thomas Merricke, and if Thomas Merricke be gone to Aggawam then Captaine Mason to take another whom he please, shall goe in the saide service; and if hee see cause to leave hostages hee may; if hee see cause to goe to Aggawam he may.

The court ought not to have been at such a loss to explain the trepidation of the Indians. The fear admitted in the above order was probably traced to a previous commission given to Captain Mason to “go to Aagawam and treat with the Indians of Waronocke concerning the tribute towards the charges of o’ warres, to the value of one fatham of Wampom a man. Nawattocke a fatham and a quarter, Pacomtuckett one fatham and a quarter.”

Here is a question of no small moment. What right had the English to levy a war tribute upon the native tribes, even admitting (which was not the fact) that the Indians in question were inside the boundaries of their jurisdiction? We know what Mr. Pynchon thought upon this matter, and can well understand why he was not commissioned to collect the tribute. He would have refused, as he subsequently refused to cross the line of Indian rights when called upon so to do by the Massachusetts authorities. And it may not be out of place to anticipate events enough to quote from Mr.

Pynchon's letter addressed to Gov. John Winthrop, Boston, and dated "this 5 of the 5^m 1648." Winthrop and four magistrates had made a requisition upon Magistrate Pynchon for the surrender of three Indians who had committed murder at Quabaug (Brookfield) and had fled to Nonotuck (Northampton). The Indian apostle, Eliot, had also been induced to recommend the requisition, and to follow it up with another letter to Mr. Pynchon, who thus replied to the governor: —

But if thinges be well examined: I apprehend that neether the murthered are y^r subjects nor yet y^e murtherers within y^r jurisdiction & I grant they are all within y^r line of y^r pattent, but yet you cannot say that therefore they are y^r subjects nor yet within y^r Jurisdiction untill they have fully subjected themselves to y^r government (w^{ch} I know they have not) & untill you have bought their land: untill this be done they must be esteemed as an Independent free people.

This was bold enough on Mr. Pynchon's part, but it was a doctrine upon which he had acted for twelve years, and (to return to the controversy of 1638) we do not need to be told that Mr. Pynchon did not go among the Indian villages collecting wampum to pay the expenses of the Pequot war.

Mr. Pynchon was present April 5, when the General Court fined him the forty bushels of corn, but there is no evidence that he ever again attended the Hartford court. He certainly was not reëlected on the January following, and Agawam was not included in the Connecticut constitution adopted January 14, 1639, which is so famous as the supposed first written constitution.

But the break from Connecticut was not precipitated beyond recovery probably until another very disagreeable chapter had been added to the story of Connecticut and Agawam. Mr. Pynchon, after his conviction, hastily prepared his "Apology," which was circulated among the valley towns. This "Apology" is a complete defence against dishonest speculation, written in strong English, with occasional passages of graphic relief, and is, all in all, an invaluable sur-

vival of seventeenth century composition. We are inclined to believe that the "Apology" was written at Hartford because the court authorized John Haynes and Thomas Welles to prepare an answer, which they did in a communication dated April 18. This also is too interesting a bit of controversial literature to omit, and, as it has escaped the notice of historians, extracts are here given : —

MR PINCHON

Your apollogy or defenc w^{ch} you published to the view of the cuntry to cleare your self and to condemne the proceedings of the Court. as injurious against you. was lately presented into our hands. in the which although you seeke to vindicate your owne credit to the dishonor and wronginge the Court, a course very offensive and far unbeseeminge on of your quality. therefore as both rule & reason require you should eyther see your mistake or make your chardge good if you think meet theirfore to that purpose to repayer to Court. you may their receave a full answer to what you please to offer therein. . . . You therein [that is in the Apology] say you know no breach of oath or order in anything you did about the matter of corne w^{ch} you thus prove. because you did nothinge therein without counsell and advice of Mr Moxon and your sonn Smith, concluding thence that he w^{ch} counsells with Mr Moxon and your sonn Smith can neither break oath or order . . . but the Court did then & can still make it appear that you transgressed both. . . . You declare in your writinge that you believed the Indians feared you no more than they feared their owne shadow, and you report in your house that you did and must keep them in feare : or their is no dealinge with them : your practice also declare the same. when in your owne cause you did arrest. impryson & force to composity one. Witness the party who stole the cloath. wherein. by the way. we cannot forgett the course you tooke in contriving your private gayne contractinge first for wompom for your cloath. and then agreeinge to receave corne for your wampom that when you should trade corne to your customers you might requier the greater price. wherein if the wampum had not fell in betwixt the corne & the cloath (though but by way of attempt only) you would have wanted that way of gayne. You then charge the Capten that he requested you to drive a bargaine wth the Indians for him and in answer to that you stuff up a great part of your work w^{ch} he confessett he never propounded to you neither neede he soe to doe. w^{ch} was also contrary to the commissione given him from the Court, but he sayth his only request to you was to take of the feare from the Indians. . . . And Lastly : your tennfold



THE INDIAN COUNCIL.

Reasons, to prove the Bever brought from the Mowhakes or their confederates could not in any coulour be a present sent to the Sachems uppon the River, are all to short, for they have since confessed they sent it to that purpose; and to make it really appeare they have since taken away the life of on of the parties that should have presented it for falsifyinge their trust; and whereas you their say a great p^t of it was summer bever & little worth, unlike and unmeete for a present, you yourself formerly affirmed it was the best parcel you bought for a longe time. For your complainte of famine and scarcety your Bretheren pittie you, not that they conceave your distress have been great, but for your weake and unapt expressions sayinge you weare forced to give your English graine corne meale & mault to your hoggs, henns & cattle, especially in such case when you presumed divers hundred bushels of Indian was at hand for supply.

We will here leave this controversy, as it comes up later, only remarking, the fear to trade corn with Mason and the wholesome fear of the Agawam settlement that would prevent an outbreak were two very different things indeed. Pynchon was condemned because he was thought to have selfishly raised the price of corn, and yet Captain Mason was counted a hero because two months later he chartered an Indian canoe fleet, bearing corn, for which he paid twelve shillings the bushel, and was compelled to ride in the canoes in order to make sure that the corn was delivered.

There is a direct issue between Pynchon and Mason, as their testimony shows, and Mr. Pynchon, after contradicting him point blank, and producing Rev. Mr. Moxon and others as corroborating witnesses, says: "Now if these things may not Justly Question the purport of the Captain's oath, I leave to the Judgment of wise men."

CHAPTER III.

1638-1639.

The Connecticut Jurisdiction over Agawam. — The Massachusetts Boundary Line. — Rev. Thomas Hooker's Spirited Letter. — House built for Mr. Moxon. — Allotments of Land. — Agawam's Act of Secession. — Sundry Town Laws. — Strangers excluded. — Wages of Laborers regulated. — The Town Brook. — Woodcock *vs.* Cable. — Ancient Lawsuits. — A Jury of Six. — Mr. Moxon in Court.

THE serious differences between Agawam and the towns lower down the river brought our settlers face to face with the stern question of secession from the Connecticut jurisdiction. The Hartford General Court either held its authority to govern the valley towns from the Massachusetts Bay concessions, or by virtue of an assumed right of self-government. In either case Agawam could be justified in returning to Massachusetts. The conditions at Hartford were intolerable to Agawam. Pyncheon had been a trader from the start, and was so recognized at the Bay. His purse was always opened when prospecting expeditions were proposed, and prominent men, both at the Bay and in Connecticut, knew the generous extent of his personal loans. He was one of the few rich men of that day who embarked to New England, and he naturally had been chosen treasurer of Massachusetts. When he settled in the Connecticut valley with his handful of intrepid associates, it was but natural for him to expect the handling of the corn and beaver of this section. No one had before accused him of a failure to keep his promises, or of making a penny at the expense of the public. The charges, added to the main one, of getting a corner on grain (to use modern phraseology), demonstrated beyond a doubt a disposition at Hartford to limit Agawam's influence as much as possible; and as Captain

and fallen timber here and there obstructed the one main street, and, what was more discouraging, the plantation was largely made up of men not destined to remain long. Fully one-half of the inhabitants of 1638 only stayed a few years.

It will have been noticed that Agawam, unlike most of the towns of that day, was founded by a layman, — a devout and well-read Christian, who could preach a sermon or debate theology with the ablest divines, to be sure, but a layman for all that; and we can quite understand that this fact may have prejudiced the minds of towns dominated by ministers. Possibly here lies the real explanation of the falling out of Agawam and Hartford.

After a thorough survey of the field it was resolved to cut loose from Connecticut, and to trust in the future. No formal declaration was issued for a time, but in July the news of Agawam's revolt spread through New England. Shortly after the adjournment of the Connecticut General Court Roger Ludlow wrote to the governor and assistants of Massachusetts Bay that John Haynes and others had been appointed to confer with the Bay authorities on certain subjects involving the mutual interests of the colonies.

The New England colonies were then agitating a scheme for a confederation as a means of defence against the Dutch and other enemies; the threatened withdrawal of Agawam also had something to do with the appointment of this commission, which reached the Bay in June; a long private conference took place between friends of the two colonies, but no agreement was reached. The matter came up at the session of the General Court held in Cambridge, and it was voted "that so much of the ryver of Conectecot as should fall within the line of o' patent should continew under o' jurisdiction."

The smothered feeling of mutual suspicion between Connecticut and Massachusetts now broke forth. Perhaps the correspondence between Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, and Rev. Thomas Hooker will best show forth the extent of this colonial unpleasantness.

Mr. Hooker's indictment of Agawam was very much in the spirit of his testimony in the Pynchon trial. He argued that Agawam had continued to recognize the jurisdiction of the Connecticut General Court by sending "there for justice" an inhabitant "in Agaam apprehended in some misdemeanor." He continues: —

Yea, taking it for granted that it is in each inhabitant's liberty in Agawam to choose his jurisdiction (which is to me beyond question), if I was there as an inhabitant, I should judge myself bound in conscience to submit to the jurisdiction of this river, and do believe I should make a breach of the eighth command if I should otherwise: because in so doing I should steal from mine estate, in that I should rush myself into needless and endless inconveniences; namely, to cast myself into that condition that for a matter of five shillings (as the case may fall out) I should put myself to unreasonable charges and trouble to seek for justice a hundred miles off in the wilderness. If Mr. Pynchon can devise ways to make his oath bind him when he will, and loosen him when he list; if he can tell how, in faithfulness, to engage himself in a civil covenant and combination (for that he did, by his committees in their act) and yet can cast it away at his pleasure, before he give it sufficient warrant, more than his own word and will, he must find a law in Agaam for it; for it is written in no law or gospel that ever I heard.

Mr. Hooker went on to say that Connecticut would not trouble itself very much over the loss of Pynchon, because "we know him from the bottom to the brim, and follow him in all his proceedings, and trace him in his privy footsteps; only we would have him and all the world to understand he doth not walk in the dark to us."

But Mr. Pynchon did find "a law in Agaam," — a law planted there by the Massachusetts colony, and by the king of England himself. We might continue at great length spreading upon these pages the evidences of Connecticut's feeling toward Massachusetts. One more incident will serve our present purpose. At the close of that eventful year William Spencer, who had moved from Cambridge to Hartford, and had promised Governor Winthrop to promote, if he could, a more cordial feeling, wrote his Excellency that he had made but little progress. He added: —

I found a prejudece in the spirrits of some men concerning yo^r state, as though you did not really intend such a thinge. but only pretended it, w^{ch} laboured to be at offe as much as might be, ingadgeing my selfe that for yo^r state in generall [Massachusetts] they did, and doe as really intend their good, as anny of ther neighbour plantacons; whereupon they propounded some reasons to the contrary, that you only pretended and not intended such a thing. One was this, that not wthstanding you had said that God by his providents had soe disposed of it, that you and the pl^tations uppon this river could not bee one body; yet, when it came unto the issue, you would have Aggawame joyned unto you, or else you would not conclud of the union; and to that purpose, they say, you have written to dismise the same from them.

We now have the depth of the alienation of Connecticut, and it had the serious effect of postponing the project of a New England Confederation for some years.

Pending the settlement of the great question of Agawam's political status, the little plantation did not allow local affairs to go by default. There had been several additions to the community. Rev. Mr. Moxon had been provided with a generous portion of lands upon the condition of permanent settlement, and in the spring of 1638 it had been voted that the expenses of fencing his home-lot on the main street and of building his house should fall in part upon those who might join the plantation thereafter. Upon the last leaf of the account of the first town-meeting, but evidently written later, appear some specifications for a structure which we take to be the minister's house, erected about this time (corner Vernon and Main). It was as follows:—

ffor a frame of a howse	}			
35 foote longe and 15 foote				
wide w th a porch five				
foote out & 7 foote wide		£	s	d
w th a study over head		18	00	00
w th stayrs into cellar &				
chamber making bords				
& laying bords for				

lower roomes w th	}	£	s	d
duble chimnys y ^e		18	00	00
sides of y ^e cellar				
Planked at				
to Good: Burr				

for the thatching of y ^e	}			
howse to John Alline he				
to undertak the getting				
of y ^e thatch and		3	00	00
all other things belonging				
to it w th lathing &				
nayls only y ^e cari-				
adge of thatch excepted.				

for y ^e sawinge of all y ^e	}	£	s	d
boards & Slitworke 4 locks		11	00	00
w th nayls & hooks & hinges				
for y ^e doares at				
to John Cable				

for y ^e dawbing of y ^e howse	}			
& chimnys underpinning y ^e				
fame making y ^e stack & oven		8	00	00
7 foote high w th laths				
& nayls at				
to Henry Smith				

There was a rating of £40 agreed upon Jan. 13, 1639, to meet a portion of the expense of the minister's residence, and we may infer that the above specifications were the ones followed. Here is the record: —

The disbursements of the sd 40£ per contra as followeth: —

	£	s.	d.
John Searle	1	00	00
Thomas Horton			

	£	s	d
Thomas Mirack	1	00	00
John Leonard		12	00
Robart Ashly	1	00	00
John Woodcock		12	00
Richard Everit	1	10	00
John Alline	1	00	00
John Burt		10	00
Henry Smith	5	00	00
Jehu Burr	7	00	00
William Pynchon	21	00	00
John Cable	1	12	00
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	41	16	00

John Cable paid Woodcock's subscription, Henry Smith paid Allen's, and Mr. Pynchon paid Burt's.

There were at least fifteen men in Agawam at this time, neither Mr. Moxon nor Henry Gregory appearing in the above list. The new names are Mirrick, Leonard, Ashley, Allen, and Burt. As the old names in the list of rates are in the order of the house-lots, the others probably are also, which is corroborated by a vote passed in September. 1638, as follows : —

There is granted to John Searle by y^e consent of the rest of the inhabitants an house Lott of 8 rod broade & in length from the brooke to the greate river w^{ch} lyes neere y^e pyne swampe wth y^e meddow before his lott of the same breadth y^t his house lot is. Next to y^e Lott of John Searle upwards lyes the Lott of Thomas Horton 8 rod in breadth wth the meadow over agaynst it of y^e same breadth & y^e length of it as the former, also on y^e other side of Conecticot river over agaynst the s^d lott is granted him a lott of meddowes of 8 rod broade and 80 rod in length reserving through y^t & all other lotts there a cart way of 2 rod breadth wher it may be seene convenient.

And again : —

It is agreed y^t John Searle and Rich: Everit shall measure out twenty fowre acres of mowing marish ground afore y^e house of Mr. William Pynchon and

soe much upland ground adjoyning as shall make his howse lott wth y^e s^e marish fifty and fowre acres according to an order in y^e first devission of howse Lotts.

There was also granted to William Pynchon “a Lott of upland ground adjoyninge to y^e mill of ten acres and alsoe Seaven acres more in Lew of the marish ground y^e is before every mans Lott it is alsoe agreed y^e this Lott is to lye in Breadth from the mill river upwards in breadth twenty rodd and in length upwards by y^e mill river till the number of y^e acres be up.” The vote for a meeting-house lot was passed January 16, 1639 : —

It is ordered that the three rod of ground y^e lyes betwixt John Woodcock's pall and Goodman Grigory's Lott shall be appropriated 2 rod of it to Goodman Grigory and one rod of it to Rich: Everitt reserving 40 rod for a place for a meeting-howse, w^{ch} is to be allowed out of Goodman Grigory's Lott.

It was necessary, from the amount of unapportioned common land, to devote much time to its regulation. The rich meadows on the west side of the Connecticut, from opposite the upper ferry to the present York street, were first devoted to grass and planting only. The Agawam river at that time had but one mouth, which emptied into the Connecticut near the South-end bridge. Each inhabitant was permitted, after harvest time (November), to “put over horses cowes or younge cattell on y^e other side of y^e river.”

But the time had come for Agawam to put forth a formal declaration as to its allegiance. This important document was drawn up eleven months after the Pynchon trial, the date given below being Old Style : —

February the 14th, 1638 We the Inhabitants of Agaam uppon Quinnettecot. takinge into consideration the manifould inconveniences that may fall uppon us for want of some magistracy amonge us : Being now by Godes providence fallen into the line of the Massachusets Jurisdiction : & it being farr of to repayer thither in such cases of justice as may often fall out amonge us doe therefore

thinke it meete by a generall consent & vote to ordaine till we receive further direction from the Generall Court convening in the Massachuset Bay Mr. William Pynchon to execute the office of a magistrate in this our plantation of Agaam viz: [etc.].

The usual magistrate's powers were given Mr. Pynchon, including authority to summon juries of six instead of twelve for small offences, pending any action that might be made at Boston.

The boundary lines of the plantation had been verified meantime, a committee having reported in January that the "bounds of y^e Plantation up the river on y^e other side of y^e river" were "at a brooke above y^e greate meddowe w^{ch} is about a qrt of a mile above y^e mouth of Chicapee river."

The first town meetings were probably held in the house of Mr. Pynchon, as it was the largest. This body of local legislators is an interesting study from almost any point of view. The original Massachusetts plantations were as near a democratic communism as has ever been under extended trial in our history. The nature of this common proprietorship in land and local political prerogative will be apparent by glancing through the town acts. It was a simon-pure democracy, not even a selectman standing between its inhabitants and their desires. They met once a month at least, and with the simple election of a moderator and clerk the machinery of government was complete.

In October, 1638, the town voted that "noe trees shall be cut downe or taken away by any man in y^e compass of grownd from y^e mill river upward to John Readers Lott, w^{ch} parsell of ground is appoynted for howse Lotts." No inhabitant was permitted to sell his canoe to outside parties. An infringement of this order on the part of Henry Gregory, John Leonard, and Robert Ashley brought down upon them a reprimand, but they were finally given five months to "redeem and bringe y^m into the Plantation agayne."

A "foote path and stiles" were ordered to be built "at every

•

man's lott end next y^e greate river." In January, 1638, we find this important decree : —

It is ordered and voted wth y^e Joynt consent of ye Plantation yt no man yt is posed of a Lott by y^e dispose of y^e Plantation. shall after sell it to another of y^e Plantation. yt hath a Lott allready : neyther shall any man posese two mens Lotts, wth out y^e consent of y^e Plantation or such as shall be appoynted. till they have bin inhabitants 5 years in y^e Plantation : But if any desire to sell his Lotte, he may to a stranger. pvided y^e sd Plantation shall not disalow of y^e sd stranger : But in case they shall not alowe y^e admission of y^e sd stranger. then y^e Plantation shall bye y^e sd Lotte as indifferent men shall apprise you : But if y^e Plantation shall delay y^e sd purchase twenty dayes then ye sd seller shall have his Liberty to take his chapman and y^e Plantation shall be bound to take notice of such a purchase yt is ppounded to fower of the cheife Inhabitants togeather : If y^e sd 4 men shall hold theyr peace and not oppose it in ten dayes then it shall be esteemed y^t y^e Plantation doth allowe of y^e sd purchase.

It will be observed that the town owned all the land in fee simple. Its title was twofold : First, from the colony, which received it from the king ; and, second, from the Indians. The town, in turn, did not sell, but apportioned lands to the various inhabitants, it reserving the right to take the land back after paying for improvements thereon. No inhabitant, upon taking a lot from the town, paid any money for it : the parcel of land was simply "aloted" to him. The above order was modified after the town became large enough to require selectmen, and for many years the order stood as follows upon the records : —

For the prevention of sundry evils. that May befall this Township. through ill-disposed persons. that may thrust themselves in amongst us, agaynst the likinge, and consent of the generality of the inhabitants. or select Townsmen. by purchasing a lott. or place of habitation. &c. It is therefore ordered & declared. that no inhabitant. shall sell. or in any kind pass away his house lot or any part of it. or any other of his allotments to any stranger. before he have made. the select Townsmen. acquainted. who his chapman is. and they accordingly allow his admission, under penalty, of paying Twenty shillings for every parcell of

land, so sold, or forfeitinge his land, soe sould, or passed away. But if the select Townsmen, see groundes to disallowe of the admission, of said chapman, then the Town, or Inhabitants shall have 30 days tyme to resolve, whether they will buy the said allottments, which said allottments they may buy, as indifferent partyes shall apprise them. But in case the Inhabitants shall delay to make a purchase of the said lands, above 30 days after the propounding of it to the select Townsmen, then the said seller shall have his liberty to take his chapman and such chapman, or stranger shall be esteemed, as entertained or allowed of, by the towne as an Inhabitant.

To illustrate the practice under this rule, here are added a few of the special orders passed : —

William Hunter was admitted an Inhabitant of this town and John Riley & John Harrison doe bind themselves, their executors & administrators to y^e Town Treasurer & Selectmen or eyther of them in a bond of thirty pounds to secure the Town from any charge that may arise to y^e Towne from the said William Hunter or any of his family.

Henry Gregory, whose wife seemed materially to add to the ills this pioneer was heir to, finally concluded to sell, and his son Judah presented the case to the town meeting. The vote runs :—

Henry Gregory being purposed to sell his lott and ppoundinge it to y^e Plantation by his sonne Judah accordinge to order, Richard Everit beinge his Chapman The Plantation gave y^e voate wherein they disallowed y^e Chapman ppounded and resolved to buy y^e lott.

It must not be inferred from this action that the town reflected in any way upon the “chapman,” Richard Everett. The two men had adjoining lots, and it was against the policy of the town to allow the inhabitants to add to the size of their home lots. One fancies that the plantation was not slow in buying Mr. Gregory’s property. He appears to have been peculiarly unsuited for the life of the wilderness, which was only tolerable by an infusion of both Christian faith and stoic endurance.

In April, 1641, John Cable, who had concluded to seek his fortune at Windsor, proposed to sell his real estate for £40. The town bought it back, paying £10 down, and the balance in instalments. A portion of this was paid in corn delivered at Windsor. Again, anticipating a few years for fuller illustration of this point, we find that in January, 1645, it was ordered. —

By y^e Joynt consent of y^e Plantation their is leave granted (notwthstandinge a former order dated March 17th 1641 to y^e contrary) unto William Vaughan to lett out his land to Rise Bedortha for y^e space and terme of six yeares to be imp^{ro}ved by him.

There is here much more than a hint of the land theories that obtain in certain quarters in the present age. Not only was the land tenure and proprietorship grounded in a rule of communism, but the hand of the town democracy was upon the shoulder of every man in his daily work and walk. At the close of the year 1639 is this vote: —

It is alsoe agreed for y^e ordering of Laborers wadges y^t carpenters shall have for 9 months 2s 6d p day & for 3 months from y^e 10th of Novembr to y^e 10th of ffebr: 2s p day: mowers shall have 2s 6d p day sawers 6s 6d p they to fall & hewe & the owner to bring to y^e pitt. Alsoe for husbandry or any ordinary labor to have 2s for 9 months, only from y^e 24th April till the 24th June they are Left to theyre Liberty as men can agree wth them & for the other 3 months viz from November 10th till Frbr 10th to have 1s d p daye.

The town was laid out in a peculiar manner for New England, where a twenty-rod road was the usual rule. This was incidentally of service to a community exposed to the Indians. It could be stockaded, and cattle could be safely pastured on the broad street. But the original Agawam seems to have had no such street. The plantation was housed upon the narrow plateau that stretched between the great river and the swamp at the foot of a sharp bluff. There has been time out of mind a brook running along Springfield's business street, and the presumption is that the planters found it there

in 1636. It ran along the east side of the street, and in the first records it is called a "ditch." It served as a drain for the marsh, and originally was a small affair, for there are frequent references to work upon it. Thus in November, 1639, the town voted that "all y^t have a ditch by y^e high waye before theyer doores, shall keepe it well scowred for the ready passadge of y^e water y^t it may not be pent up to flowe the meddowe." This ditch was insisted upon, as appears by a formal vote two years later (Dec. 24, 1641): "It is ordered y^t every inhabitant shall scower & make a ditch y^e bredth of his lott before his doore w^{ch} is to be done by y^e last of may next on y^e penalty of 5s for every defalt y^e way." The inhabitants were often remiss in keeping this ditch open. The fines due in 1645 were suspended, and an extra month allowed in which to clean out these ditches; "& if any be there defective y^e penalty is to be [paid] to Goodman Prichard." It may, therefore, be doubted whether there was a natural brook along the course of what has since been known as the Town brook. The lowest ground was certainly nearer the bluff, under what is now Chestnut street. A fence was built in front of the houses on the west side of the street, and no buildings were allowed between it and the ditch.

Training day came once a month. Henry Smith was the first "Serjant," and he was given power to name the day of meetings, and to "choose a Corporal." Men absenting themselves "shall forfeite twelve pence," so the record reads, and "all above 15 yeares of age shall be counted for soldiers." No person was allowed to sell or give powder to the Indians.

The community of interests and common proprietorship did not have the effect to reduce frictions between man and man. The right to quarrel was exercised from the start. William Pynchon as magistrate writes:—

November 14 1639. A meetinge to order some Towne affaires & to try causes by Jury. The Jury Henry Smith Henry Gregory Jo: Leonard Jo: Searle Samuell Hubbard, Samuel Wright. The Action. John Woodcocke complains

against Jo Cable in an action of the case for wages due to him for certaine worke he did to a house that was built on Agawam side for the Plantation. The verdict. The Jury findes for the defendant: But withall they find the p'mise that Jo Cable made to the plaintiff to see him paid for his work firme & good. But as for the 5 days in Coming up with John Cable we find that not due to be paid for he came not up purposely but in his coming he aimed at a lott w^{ch} end of which he did attain. Moreover we agree that Jo Cable is engaged to the plaintiff for work done about the house. yet wee also judge that Jo Woodcock is fully satisfied. in regard he hath had the use of the ould ground & of the howse all that sommer as far as Jo Cable had himselfe.

Upon the same day (Nov. 14, 1639) was tried a suit by William Pynchon against Thomas Mirrick for "not delivering back the Boards he lent him," the jury deciding that the defendant should "make good 3 such like boards as we find not yet delivered with the rest." In December, 1639, came up Mirrick's suit against Thomas Horton, for "3 boards that he said Merick wantes." Mirrick secured a verdict of 3s. in money.

There is a very curious and interesting record in the Pynchon book concerning a suit for slander, brought by the minister against Woodcock, throwing, as it does, light upon the legal methods of that time. Jurisdiction "in the river" means the Hartford jurisdiction. The date is December, 1639, in which year John Cable was constable:—

Jo: Woodcock beinge summoned by warrant to answer Mr. George Moxon in an action of slander for reportinge that he tooke a false oath against him: The said John desyred that this difference might be tried by a private heeringe below in the River: Mr. Moxon referred himself to the Judgment of y^e plantation present whether it were fitter to be heard by a private refference below in y^e River. or tryal here publikly by a Jury. The generall voat of the plantation is that seeing the matter is publik it should be publikly herd & and tryed her by a Jury: Liberty is granted to John Woodcok to produce his witnesses against this day fortnight being the 26 of December. Also at the said tyme Jo: Woodcok is warned to answer for his laughuege in sermon tyme: this day at the Lecture.

This case was postponed from the 26th to January 2, 1640. The

alleged false oath was at Hartford, and Mr. Moxon demanded £9 19s. damages for the slander. Owing to a paucity of men in the plantation, three of Mr. Moxon's witnesses — Robert Ashley, Henry Smith, and Samuel Hubbard — were also upon the jury. The minister scored a verdict of £6 13s. 4d. A warrant was at once issued, and when Mr. Moxon gave it to the constable, Woodcock exclaimed that he owed "Mr. Moxon no money, nor none he would pay him." There must have been quite a scene, for Mr. Pynchon took down Woodcock's declaration that he was ready to repeat his offence.

The absolutism of the town-meeting could not be better illustrated than in this case. It here performed the offices of judge, grand juror, and legislator. As judge, it decided not to order a change of venue; as grand juror, it presented the man for trial; as legislator, it decreed, as it had before, that the case should go to a jury of six, instead of twelve, as the colony laws decreed. It might be wondered what there could be left for the magistrate to do under such an all-pervading democracy. William Pynchon was always moderator of the town-meeting, and thus the lines of his political and judicial prerogatives were often blended. As moderator at this meeting of the town, he would put the question proposed by Woodcock, that the case go to Hartford for private reference; while, as magistrate, he would summon the jury to try the case, administer oaths, and receive and record verdicts.

The plantation had now been nearly a year independent of the Connecticut authorities, and Woodcock's proposal to refer the case there was undoubtedly in keeping with his character as a querulous and irrepressible man, who delighted in irritating and annoying his neighbor.

CHAPTER IV.

1640-1643.

Revival of the Charges against William Pynchon. — His Trial before the Windsor Church. — Connecticut claims Woronoco (Westfield). — Massachusetts protests. — The Arrival of Elizur Holyoke, Samuel Chapin, and others. — Goody Gregory fined for Profanity. — Fire Ladders. — Woodcock *vs.* Gregory. — Price of Labor. — Second Division of Planting-Grounds. — Marriage of Mary Pynchon.

IMPERFECT records prevent the rehearsal in detail of the second trial of William Pynchon upon the old charge of speculation in trade to the detriment of the public. The charge was brought by certain members of the church at Windsor, Conn., the object being to withdraw from him the right hand of Christian fellowship. The date of the appearance of Mr. Pynchon at Windsor has not yet been discovered. Indeed, none of the historians speak of this trial at all, even the Windsor church records making no mention of it. It is only through a correspondence that followed Pynchon's second trial that we can get any idea of the proceedings. One wonders what jurisdiction the Windsor church had over Mr. Pynchon that warranted a summons to appear there. The natural conjecture is, that the friends of Captain Mason — who, by the way, was a member of the Windsor church — had attempted to make a demonstration against the Agawam magistrate, for its moral effect. There was a close connection between Agawam and Windsor during the first few years, and it is known that Mr. Pynchon took a letter from the Roxbury church to the Windsor church. We propose to give in full the verdict of the Windsor church. It reached Agawam Sept. 21, 1640, and has never before appeared in print. Any one is at liberty to draw conclusions; the account of the first Pynchon trial already given will make further explanations unnecessary.

Sept. 6. 1640. The Church beinge assembled, to determine whether Mr. William Pinchons answers were satisfactory to y^e brethrens offence, at his faylinges in y^e trust of tradinge corne, for y^e supply of y^e country, contained in 5 Articles p^rsented to him by y^e said brethren, resolutely as followeth. To y^e first Charge that he made show y^t corne could not be procured at the price mentioned in y^e order, when y^e Capt at y^e same time traded under, w^{ch} is interpreted as a declining in y^e Service. Mr. Pinchon answered, y^t he could not gett any quantity, at the price in y^e order, to w^{ch} the Church replied, he could not resolve soe great a matter, soe soone as in one or two dayes experience, soe as to write about y^e alteration of y^e price.

2. That he was bound certainly for 500 bushells at y^{is} rate, though he should not save by it. To w^{ch} his returne was, y^t his servant left at home wth instructions to trade what he could, did informe him in what he wrote, & also affirmed y^t the 500 bushells was subject to y^e proviso in y^e one of y^e order, yieldinge him power to rayse the price of that also. Concerninge w^{ch} answer, & replies, y^e Church determined y^t they were not satisfactory, for y^t first, his servant in y^e intrim of his beinge at Court, could not act wth respect to y^e countrys necessities. nor his bargaine, certaine for 500 bushells, & so could not informe him sufficiently to bottome what he wrote. And secondly, the words of the order beinge directly agst his reply, & the Magistrates being confident, y^t the bargaine was certaine for 500 bushells, we see no reason, to rest in his private apprehensions to y^e contrary. Thirdly, his direction being, to certify y^e Magistrates how corne came in only, he added a clause of y^e alteration of y^e price also, w^{ch} to us is an appearance of his declining in y^e trust and contract.

2. That when Capt Mason, wth others, came up to trade corne accordinge to y^e power reserved in y^e order he refused to further them wth these words, I will neither meddle nor make. To w^{ch}, when Mr. Pinchon answered y^e Captaine came not up according to y^e order, the Church then read and showed him y^e Cpts order in y^e Record — and it appeared to agree wth the exception in Mr Pinchons Order.

1. Against w^{ch} Mr Smiths testimony was produced, witnessinge, that amongst the orders & rolles in y^e gen^rall Co^rte, he found an order authorizinge Capt Mason to trade as before to w^{ch} were most of y^e Magistrates, & many of y^e Comittees hands together wth Mr Hookers, Mr Stones, & Mr Whitinges, for y^t this order seemed not to proceed from y^e Magistrates, but from y^e gen^rall Co^rt, or rather from neither. Concerninge w^{ch} the Church determination is, y^t Mr Pinchons answers, backed wth Mr Smithes testimony, doth not take off y^e charge, for that uppon due examination of y^e said rolles, & orders, off y^e gen^rall Co^rt, it

appears Mr Smith was mistaken, for y^t was y^e originall order, warrantinge y^e Capt, w^{ch} was after recorded in the booke, & it was granted by 5 Magistrates only, & whereas some Comittees, & the other brethren hands are to y^e said order, y^t was, to testify one clause in y^e order, respectinge y^e Countryes Complaintes & necessities only; & not to y^e warrant granted, for w^{ch} we, haveinge their oaths offered, doe beleve w^t is here answered; soe y^t y^e Cpts authority beinge approved, we cannot justify Mr Pinchons refusall, to further y^e Countryes service.

3. To the 3^d article, That whereas the Captaine desired him to take away the Indians feares, he found that after his private Conference wth the Indian, the Indian was more unwilling to trade than before, to w^{ch}, when Mr Pinchon answered, the Indian was unwilling fr^m y^e begininge, the Church replied, oath was made to y^e Co^rt y^t the Indian was willinge, & and that his cominge to gett leave, argued his willingnesse to trade wth leave.

Unto w^{ch} Mr Pinchon returned, y^t he did not disco^rage, nor dissuade y^e Indian to trade one way or other, otherwise than what he might gather by their measuring y^e baskett, & other like passages, & then correctinge himselfe by that time, y^e register had written his answers, & read it to him, he said he did not disco^rage nor dissuade the Indian from tradinge in his own way; but for disco^raginge or dissuadeinge in the Cpts way—he answered not. Concerning w^{ch} the Church determines, y^t his answere is not satisfactory for y^t they judge the Cpts way lawfull, though Mr Pinchon thinkes otherwise. And Mr Pinchon not denying y^e charge of disco^rageinge y^e Indian in tradinge wth the Capt. in the Cpts way, falls under the charge; for y^t the Church hath noe reason to put the plaintife to prove y^e charge, untill it be denied by the defendant.

4. To y^e 4th charge that he Used disco^ragem^t to Goodman Stebbins, & others, whoe were said to trade, wth power to take one of his servants wth them, & he seemed unwilling y^t his servant should goe, & said if he went, he should doe them little good, & said also, that there was little corne to be hadd at Pacomtuk, & that w^{ch} was, was promised him; & other like thinges; whereas they found his man did them little good, & also that there was very much corne at that place, & traded much in that place.

To w^{ch} Mr Pinchons answere was, y^t he remembered not these words, concerninge his mans doinge them noe good, & y^t he might seeme unwilling to send him he beleeveth, for y^t there was a clause in their warrant, concerning tribute, & a compelling way of trade, w^{ch} were against his judg^mt, & that tis likely he might ingage the Indians to promise him corne, beinge imployed therein for y^e country. Concerninge w^{ch} the Church determination is, y^t his

answers concerninge the corne promised him, & other things, as the Indians being from . . . is satisfactory. But Concerninge y^t of his servants doeinges them noe good, the Church havinge but one witnesse, doth demur, & cannot determine further.

To y^e 5th charge that notwthstandinge, he could not but take notice of y^e necessities of y^e country, by y^e Gen^rall complaints, & comissions granted to severall persons, he yet omitted y^e trust comitted to him, by order of Corte, & did not satisfy the intent of y^e said trust, first or last.

To w^{ch} Mr Pinchon answered. 1, y^t it was much to his greife, that he could not answer the necessities of his brethren; but he was hindered therein by others that ingrossed y^e trade, by goeing a way of power, w^{ch} interrupted a free trade. And 2^{ly} that he takes himself discharged of his trust, by y^e gen^rall Comissions, granted unto others.

Concerninge w^{ch} the Church's determination is, y^t the Answeres doe not take off the charge — for y^t 1, Mr Pinchon was obliged certainly to bring in 500 bushells, that w^{ch} he presumed to have wthin his power, when he made y^e conclusion. 2nd for y^t y^e substance of corne y^t was procured by these Comissions was soe procured about the middle of May, & his order made, in y^e beginninge of March. Soe y^t for 2 monthes space, he was little hindered by those Comissions. And lastly, for y^t wee judge his judg^{mt} was not soe sound, resolveinge by noe means to alter his former way of trading to witt, in stayinge, till the Indians brought downe their corne; for we deeme his brethrens necessities was a ground, sufficient to alter the way of trade, as we see, it seemed afterwards to Mr Pinchon, & his friendes, beinge pressed thereunto, by their owne necessitye, when yet their brethrens necessities did not soe farre, prevayle wth them.

JOHN WARHAM

EPHRAIM HUITT

JOHN WITCHFEILD

In y^e name of y^e Church

Rec'd this answer & lre
21 Sept. 1640.

Mr Huitts lre wth it
dated Sept. 15, 1640.

Mr. Pynchon took from the middle of September until October 24 to prepare a protest against the above decision. It was a good specimen of special pleading, and showed what his published works show, — a keen and logical mind, and a sense of justice which not

even the ill-will of a whole province could shake. After reviewing the evidence he sums up by saying : —

So then as I made it plaine to the Co^rt, w^t I payd to y^e Indians, viz., 6 sixes a peck. & asked noe increase of that price uppon the country, soe, also. the Co^rt manifested their desire, y^e I should not loose; & therefore it is added, if I were forced by the Indians to rayse the price, then the Country must rise so much. Yea the Co^rt did cut off all hope of raysinge anythinge into my purse, though I were forced to rayse the price w^{ch} the Indians, because I am used to receive a certain sett sum for my labo^r in tradinge (viz. 43 p bushell in Wampam at 3. a penny) as a servant, & not to rayse any further gaines into my purse, as a Merchant.

In short, Mr. Pynchon could not make any money by raising the price of corn under the contract; therefore, the charge against him fails to give a motive for his alleged short-comings.

Mr. Pynchon's first letter to Hartford, informing the authorities of the unwillingness of the Indians to bring in corn, had given great offence, because it contained a recommendation or suggestion as to what policy to pursue. This recommendation also figured against Pynchon at Windsor. "Can a church or any else," adds Mr. Pynchon, "deny me liberty to expound my own thoughts by way of advice to the magistrates?" The case reduces itself to this: Agawam was situated upon the border of the planting-grounds. Mr. Pynchon was the natural man to furnish Connecticut with corn; he made a contract with the river towns by which he could receive no commission or speculative gains whatever the price might be; he found that the conditions were difficult to fulfil. Captain Mason, the warrior, was then sent up with an armed force to trade, and there was trouble, of course. We will content ourselves with but one more extract from Mr. Pynchon's protest, detailing, as it does, the results of Captain Mason's excursions : —

If the Capt had gone in a way of trade only to the Indians, at Messaco & Paquannuk. & other places neare yo^r townes wth whome I had noe tradinge

in corne, it had beene more tolerable. This had been dispensinge wth the proviso in the order.

But after this he went to Woronoco, & amongst our Indians, & he would alsoe have traded wth them at Kamotuk & Pacomtuk, such Indians wth whome my trade mainly lyes, & from whome I expected what I was likely to trade for ye Country. Is this not a plaine turninge mee out of the saddle, to take the Markett out of my hands eyther by tradinge w^t corne the Indians have to trade, or else (w^{ch} is as bad), cominge in the name of the English Sachems, laying open to the Indians, the wants of the English, & puttinge Wampam upon them on trust, to put the Indians upon such new thoughts & considerations, y^t I can have no more Corne from them, to speak off: ffor now I tooke notice that upon the capt cominge upp among ye Indians, there was such a hubbub, or strange alteration among all of y^e neighbour Indians, that they would not trade soe much corne wth mee as might supply ones owne necesseties, which were as great if not greater than yours.

My trader, divers of my familye, & Sundry others of our plantation, felt the smart of this alteration amonge the Indians, & hadd good cause to remember it, as well as myselfe to this day. The conditions upon w^{ch} I made my bargaine wth the Corte and Country, was, (besides tearmes of price) that the wants of the Country might be kept secrett. 2. The price kept downe. 3. that none by cominge upp to, or amongst the Indians to trade corne, should forestall my Markett, the order represses two of these, & includes the third, & yett all these conditions were broken by the Capt and that Assembly that sett him on Worke. I do verily thinke this, (yet I should be gladd to see any grounds to alter my thoughts), that the plaine and true English of the matter about sendinge up the Capt by that Assembly then is this: When they received from mee that letter, about w^{ch} such adoe is made, through mistakinge, if not pervertinge my meaninge, they entertained a prejudice ag^t mee & my faythfulnesse, about the trust reposed in mee. This prejudice brought their minds into a hurry w^t Course to take for y^e Countryes supply, and their minds beinge in a hurry, they intended not the true intent of the contract wth me, cast off great parte of their hopes of supply from mee, supposinge mee not faythfull & carefull enough, seeking mine owne ends, not the public. Upon these suppositiones, & jealousies, they consider it needful to appoint another gen^lall trader y^t might more speedily and diligently supply the Countryes wantes, and soe not attending the first contract wth mee, according to the true intent of the proviso, nor yet allowinge due & convenient time, to try w^t I could & would have done, for performance of the bargaine, they ran into such disorder & injustice as I now complaine off.

After the Windsor church had condemned Mr. Pynchon, he appealed to Mr. Eliot and the Roxbury church. There are indications that he and his witnesses were at Roxbury at the time that several Connecticut men were at Charlestown. At any rate, the Roxbury church notified Mr. Pynchon's accusers when they were at the Bay that the charges were being examined by the Roxbury church, which after a thorough examination completely vindicated Mr. Pynchon. Thus the Connecticut General Court and the Windsor church condemned Mr. Pynchon, and the Massachusetts General Court and the Roxbury church stood by him.

It was at the town-meeting of April 16, 1640, that the important vote was passed changing the name from Agawam (which was the Indian name for meadow) to Springfield, after Mr. Pynchon's English home. The spelling as it stands on the record is "Springfeild."

But we are not yet done with the complications which feelings of mutual distrust had precipitated between Springfield and Connecticut. The latter showed a disposition to lay claim to lands over the Massachusetts line, and a veritable tempest was roused by the Connecticut court, which passed an order that "Ed: Hopkins, Esqr. now Governor, shall have the benefitt and liberty of free trade at Woronocoa & att any place thereabout, uppon the River, and all other to be restreyned for the terme of seaven yeres, and the land to be purchased for the Comonwelth." This region, which is the site of Westfield, was in the heart of the beaver grounds. As soon as communication could be established with the Bay the matter was fully ventilated, and this letter to Connecticut was drawn up by the Massachusetts General Court: —

It is greivos to us to meete wth any occation that might cause difference to arise betweene yo^r people & us, standing in so near relation of friendship, neighborhood. & Christianity. especially: therefor o^r study is (when any such arise) to labor the removeing of them upon the first appearance. Now, so it is, that wee have here certified that you have given leave to some of yo^r to set up a

trading house at Woronock, w^{ch} is known to bee within o^r patent, lying as much or more to the north then Springfeild. Wee heare also, that you have granted to Mr. Robrt Saltonstall a great quantity of land, not far beneath Springfeild, w^{ch} wee conceive also to belong to us. Wee desire you to consider of it, as that w^{ch} we apphend to bee an injury to us, & do us such right in redresse hereof as you would expect fro us in a like case. Wee suppose wee shall not need to use other argum^{ts}; wee know to whom wee wright. Wee have thought meete upon these occations to intimate further unto you that wee intend (by God's help) to know the certeinty of o^r limitts, to the end that wee may neither intrench upon the right of o^r neighbors, nor suffer o^rselves & o^r posterity to bee deprived of what rightly belongeth unto us, w^{ch} wee hope wilbee without offence to any; & upon this wee may have some ground of p^rceeding in o^r further treaty wth you about such things as may concerne the welfare of us all.

Governor Hopkins and Mr. Saltonstall were becoming extensive traders, and, under favor of the Connecticut colony, were in a fair way to isolate Springfield; and the above protest from the Bay did not appear any too soon. With a warehouse built by Hopkins at Woronoco, and with Saltonstall enjoying grants of land "neere to the falls" (Enfield Falls), the plan to bring the trade of the valley to the door of Hartford was well under way. Considering the ill-feeling at this time, one may well be impressed at the diplomacy that strove to loosen the tension of strained relations, by way of deference, shown in the expression, "wee know to whom wee wright."

After the secession from Connecticut, an elaborate paper was drawn up by the Massachusetts General Court, in response to a humble petition sustaining the course. The petition from Springfield had been read in open court and referred to a committe, whose report in favor of Springfield was accepted. The close lines of argument on which this controversy was drawn, appear in this reply (June 2, 1641) to the Springfield petition. "Said commission" spoken of is the one giving power to Roger Ludlow, Pynchon, and others, in 1635, to govern Connecticut for one year; the "recitall" refers to the letter of the Connecticut commission to the Massachusetts Bay authorities: —

It is hearby declared, —

1. That the said passages in the said comission (as they are expressed in the petition) are misrecited, so as the true scope and intention is thereby altered; as. 1. Whereas the words in the comission are, they are resolved to transplant themselves, in the recitall it is, to plant themselves. 2. In the comission it is said that those noble parsonages have interest in the ryver, & by vertue of their patent do require jurisdiction there; in the recitall it is, that wee confesse it belongeth to their jurisdiction. 3. In the comission it is p^rvided this may not bee any pjudice to the interest of those noble etc.: in the recitall it is, that nothing should bee done or intended to the p^rdice of the lords, or their intendments.

2. That the said comission was not granted upon any intent either to dismise the psons fro us, or to determine anything about the limits of jurisdiction, the interest of the lands & o^r owne limits being as then unknowne; therefore it was granted onely for one yeare; & it may rather appeare, by o^r granting such a comission, & thier accepting of it, as also that clause, viz, Till some other course were taken, by mutuall consent, etc. that wee intended to reserve an interest there upon the ryver, & that themselves also intended to stand to the condition of the first licence of departure given to the most of them, w^{ch} was, that they should remaine still of o^r body.

3. For those argumts w^{ch} they draw from those articles certified in the petition, wee answer, that they were propounded and drawen out onely by some of the magistrats of each party without any order or allowance of this Court; and therefore (whatsoever those magistrats might intend thereby) the intend of the Court cannot be gathered from anything therein; but in those articles w^{ch} were agitated and brought to some issue in o^r Geurall Court, in the 4th mo 1638, when their commissioners were present, Springfeild, then called Agawam was claymed by the Court (though by occasion of some private speach &c) to belong to us; and it was then agreed by the Court, and yielded unto by their commissioners that so much of the ryver of Conectec^{cut} as should fall wth the line of o^r patent should continew within our jurisdiction (and it was then taken for granted that Springfeild would fall to us without question) and those articles had then beene fully agreed on betweene the Court and their commission^{rs}, had there not beene some question about them granting us free passage up the river, in regard of the lords' interest (as they alledged).

It is now hearby ordered, that Willi: Pinchen. gent, for this yeare shall hearby have full power and authority to govern the inhabitants at Springfeild; and to heare and determine all causes and offenses, both civill and criminall, that reach not to life, limbs or banishment according to the lawes heare established, etc.

This decree stood practically undisputed, but it left the question of river commerce open as a fruitful source of further contention. During the two years subsequent to Springfield's declaration of independence from Connecticut, it had little connection with the Bay. Its position had been unique; it was not included in any tax-rates levied at Boston, and was not represented at the General Court by deputies or by the presence of a magistrate. Mr. Pynchon was not elected an assistant until 1643, and there is no evidence that he attended court even that year. Springfield did not figure in the official list of towns included in the four shires of Massachusetts.

Mr. Pynchon continued to be annually reëlected an assistant from 1643 until the troublous times of 1650. Mr. Pynchon was also regularly chosen magistrate, as appears by this vote, passed in September, 1643:—

Commission was granted Mr. Willi: Pincheon, gent., for this year ensuing, & till y^e Co^t take further order, that hearby hee shall have full power to gov^rne, according to former order in 1641, onely to try causes by a jury of 6 men, if 12 cannot conveniently bee had.

Mr. Pynchon had not abandoned the beaver trade. He paid a license to the General Court for special trading privileges. One would say there had been some discussion about the amount of the license from this order at the September session of 1643 at Boston: "Mr. Pinchen is ordered to pay for his beaver trade from the time of the runing of the line." This evidently refers to the line between the two colonies, which was shortly after the order of 1641.

For some reason still unexplained, it was not until the latter part of 1647 that Springfield was included in any of the official lists of Massachusetts towns, and this, curiously enough, was for brands on horses for each town, "ordered to be set upon one of y^e nere q^trs." There were five towns in the colony then beginning with "S," and the Springfield brand was a monogram composed of a small "s" and "p."

Mr. Pyncheon's influence over the local Indians was never lost, although he did not have an exalted idea of the stability of the savage. In a letter to Governor Winthrop about this time, he says : —

My advise is that neather you nor the river [Connecticut] should do anything else but use dilatory meanes, for I perceive the nature of the Indians is uppon every like occasion to be much provoked with the desyer of revenge, but if meanes of delay be used but a while, the edge of their revengeful desyer will soon be cooled. I perceive they are carefull of this, not to begin first with the English, but they make account. if the English begin first with them, to doe great matters.

Thanks to Mr. Pyncheon's sagacity, the Indian portion of our narrative is uneventful for some years. The relations of the Connecticut towns with the savages were not so assuring at this time. A short time before this letter of Mr. Pyncheon, the General Court at Hartford (September, 1642) began an enactment with the words, "Forasmuch as the Indians growe insolent and combyne themselves togather."

During the years 1640-43 a dozen or more new men arrived at Springfield, the most notable of whom being Deacon Samuel Chapin and Elizur Holyoke. There were also in this list Thomas Cooper, Rowland and Thomas Stebbins, and William Warriner. Samuel Chapin became very prominent both in town and church. A man of affairs and a typical Puritan, he was frequently made select-man, held positions of trust, and was the founder of a line of deacons running even to our day. Thomas Cooper also was a useful man, a good fighter, and was held in great esteem in this valley. His personal influence with the natives was great, and it was his over-confidence in their fidelity to Springfield which eventually cost him his life. Elizur Holyoke was a young man, but he soon developed the sterling qualities that have been transmitted to a family of great importance in New England.

The second immigration to Springfield during this period was the

determining event in our plantation history. The first arrivals outside of Mr. Pyncheon's immediate family and personal friends were ignorant and adventurous. Both John Cable and John Burr, as we have seen, soon gave up the struggle and drifted down the river, and new blood was an imperative necessity.

This period was full of the smaller complications of pioneer life, and was, upon the whole, anything but propitious. It is recorded in February, 1640, that Goody Gregory, the wife of Henry Gregory, who had only been connected with the settlement about a year, was accused by John Woodcock of "swearing before God I could break thy head." She did not attempt any defence, and was fined 12*d.*, in default of which she was to sit three hours in the stocks. The fine was much below the amount prescribed in the colonial laws for this offence. One of the new arrivals, Samuel Hubbard, was licensed to keep an ordinary, the vote being passed in town meeting. He was also commissioned to "lay out all lotts" in the plantation. John Leonard (March, 1640) was appointed surveyor to "See y^e high wayes cleered and kept in repayer of all stubbs sawpitts or tymber." Henry Smith and Thomas Mirrick were given power (April, 1640) "to restrayne y^e Indians from breaking up any new grownde or from planting any y^t was broaken up y^e last yeare, alsoe for y^e swampe that is in y^e neck they are to pitch up stakes y^t soe y^e Indians may be limited & restrayned from enlarging y^mselves in y^t swamp. Mr. Moxon is desired to joyne with you in this acte." The importance of the marsh was further magnified by the opening of a highway in the spring of 1640 across "y^e hessekey meddowe betwixt Richard Everits Lott & y^t w^{ch} was Thomas Woodford Lott the way to be 2 rod in bredth." This, we take it, was State street. It had been voted, in 1638, that land for a highway be reserved "out of the Marish ground of Thomas Woodford's Lott."

The provision about canoe trees was broadened in 1640 by an order that none should be sold to parties outside the plantation. In

December, we find that "There is leave granted to Mr. Hollyoke, William Warrenner & Henry Burt to seeke out for y^r use each of them a Cannoe Tree." Warriner made bad use of this permit, and was subsequently fined for selling his canoe. In 1641 orders were passed requiring fire ladders with "16 rungs or steps at least" at each house, and against carrying fire uncovered through the streets. It was during this year that the irrepressible John Woodcock scored a nominal victory over Henry Gregory in two suits for slander about some hogs, the damages being 40s. and costs. Upon hearing the award Gregory was very indignant at the figures, and exclaimed: "I marvel with what conscience the jury can give such damages; seeinge in the case of John Searles I had of him but twenty shillings for three slanders." Mr. Moxon interfered, charging Gregory to "take heed! take heed!" This case was tried before a jury of six, with Mr. Pyncheon as magistrate; and in a community where the means of diversion were few, Pyncheon's room probably contained a goodly number of absorbed spectators. The informality which permitted the interference of the minister to protect judge and jury from the outburst of an angry suitor-at-law is only equalled in interest to us by the effect of the admonition upon the offender. He ceased complaining that the market value of scandals had gone up, and humbly acknowledged his fault.

Running along for some years appear evidences of a close attention to business and labor. On the part of the town wages were repeatedly changed to meet the conditions. In 1642 we find that —

It is ordered by y^e Joynt consent of y^e Inhabitants of y^e Plantation for y^e orderinge of Sayers wages that workmen of y^t nature shall sawe henceforth at 3s 8d per for boards & 4s 5d p for slitworke, y^e tymber to be brought home to y^e pit hewen & made ready & if y^e sd workmen shall sawe tymber & sell y^e boards they shall not exceed y^e price of 6s 6d p pvided y^t if y^e Pit be made within y space of distance y^t is betwixt Mr Pyncheon's house & Sam: Wrights it shall be accounted as in y^e towne.

A little later is this provision : —

Whereas ther was a clawse in a former order dated December 24, 1641, allowing husbandmen or ordinary laborers for 4 months in y^e winter pt of y^e yeare 18d p day it is therefore y^e day above so ordered by y^e generall voate y^t all such husbandman or laborers shall not exceede 16d p day for tyme to come & to worke 8 howers as in y^e former order expressed.

These town acts remind one of the McFingal couplet: —

“ Or triumphs at town meeting made
On passing votes to regulate trade.”

One of the first buildings put up after the pioneers had been housed was a saw-mill on Mill river, a temporary bridge being thrown across the stream. In the spring of 1643 this was substituted for a more substantial one. The order was passed at the March meeting: —

It is ordered that there shall be a bridge & high way made to y^e mill for y^e passadge of Carts & Cattell those y^e were wantinge in y^e worke of y^e former bridge to make it up in y^e & then to goe through y^e towne every man his day & what is done by every man to be kept on account & to be made even when they make y^e way over y^e meddowe.

In January, 1642, a second division of planting-ground was decreed. The apportionments “ p^rvided that those y^t have broaken up ground there shall have allowance for it as 2 indifferent men shall Judge equall. Single persons are to have 8 rod in bredth maryed psons 10 rod in bredth, bigger familys 12 rod to begin upward at y^e edge of y^e hill ” (Chestnut street). Here is the list: —

	Rod Bredth
John Woodcock	8
Wid: Searle	10
Robrt Ashly	08
John Deeble	08
Rowl: Stebbines	10
Tho: Stebbines	8

	Rod breadth.
Sam: Hubbard	10
Tho: Mirack	10
Sam: Wright	10
Hen: Burt	12
Hen: Smith	20 10 of wch is for Mr. Moxon
Will: Warener	10
Rich: Sikes	10
Wid: Horton	10
John Leonard	10
Hen: Grigory	8
Eliz: Hollyoke	10

One year later (Jan. 26, 1643). Henry Smith, Elizur Holyoke, Henry Burt, Samuel Chapin, Richard Sikes, and Thomas Mirrick were chosen to lay out the lands, "both of upland and meddowe on y^e other side of y^e greate river where y^e Indians live and all y^e meddowe on Aggawam soe far as shall amount to an hundred & fifty acres, alottinge to every p^rsent Inhabitant his p^rportion of these meddowe grounds and in y^e uplande for 30 families of plantinge ground to be distributed to every pson his p^rportionable quantity as shall be by y^e chosen psons thought sutable to y^e psons & estates of y^e p^rsent Inhabitants, soe farr as y^e discrecion of y^e s^d psons shall lead y^m." It was also voted "y^e foresd 6 men shall see Mr. Pyncheon satisfyd for y^e purchas of y^e lands of y^e Plantation before any man is possessed of them." This allotment was finally completed and reported to the town April 6, 1643. The record reads:—

A list of y^e Alotments of planting lotts as they were cast wth y^e order how men doe fall, beginninge at y^e ends of y^e 80 rod lotts y^t face to y^e greate River Mr. Moxon is to have y^e first by consent of y^e Plantation.

	Acres.
Mr Moxon	18
Tho: Cooper	5
Tho: Stebbins	7 $\frac{3}{4}$

		Acres.
2 lott	Tho: Stebbins	7½
	Good Bridgman	11
	Sam: Chapen	10½
	Rich Sikes	08
	Rowl: Stebbins	11
2 lott	Sam Hubbard	05
	Eli: Hollyok	34
	Hen: Burt	15¾
	Mr Pynchon	80
	Robt Ashly	17
	Jno Leonard	09
	Sam: Hubbard	10¾
	Will: Warener	8½
	Alex: Edwards	11
	Hen: Smith	45½
	Tho: Mirack	12¾
	Jon Dover	05
	Sam: Wright	13¾
	Jno Deeble	6¾
	Roger Prichard	05

This allotment was soon “disannulled agayne.” One cause of trouble may have been the taking into consideration the estates and importance of the inhabitants in apportioning these lands. The wonder is that this rule worked at all. There are certain expressions occurring a little later, such as, “as the lotts doe fall,” which lead to the belief that the planters finally “drew cuts,” as the boys say, for their land; but certainly in this year the rule was “Unto him that hath shall be given.” On the page following the above-given list are two apportionments which seem to have stood the test of the ages. They are as follows: —

Lots casts for meddow grownd on Agawam side where is 2 pts of y^r quantity to be divided.

		Acrea.
	Mr Moxon	8
	Ell: Holyoke	14
	Mr Pynchon	32 (allowance 8 acres)
	Will Warener	02 2 acres
2 lot	Sam: Hubbard	01
	Rich Sikes	01
	Hen Smith	17
	Sam: Wright	2½
	Tho: Mirack	04
	Rowl: Stebbins	02½
2 lot	Th: Stebbins	01½
	Jno. Dober	01
	J: Bridgman	03
	Alex: Edwards	03
	Jno: Deeble	01
	Jno: Leonard	02
	Hen: Burt	02
	Sam: Chapen	01
	Ro: Ashly	04½
	Tho: Cooper	02
	Tho: Stebins	01
	Sam: Hubbard	02
		—
		108

Lotts on y^e other side of y^e greate river for meddow :

	Acrea.
Rowl: Stebbins	1½
Rich: Sikes	1
Will: Warener	1
Robt: Ashly	2½
Mr Pynchon	16½
Tho: Cooper	01
Hen: Burt	01½
Alex: Edwards	01½
Sam: Hubbard	2 lot 00½
Tho: Stebbins	2 lot 00¾
John Leonard	01½

	Acres.
Sam: Hubbard	01
Hen: Smith	09
J: Bridgman	02½
Jno: Deeble	01
Tho: Mirack	01¾
Jno. Dober	00½
Sam: Wright	01½
Tho: Stebbins	00½
Ell: Holyoke	07
Sam: Chapen	00½
Mr Moxon	04
	—
	57½

The year 1640 closed with Springfield's first recorded marriage, the new arrival, Elizur Holyoke, leading to the altar Mary Pynchon, daughter of William Pynchon. Holyoke was a man of no ordinary force of character, and the event must have made an impression upon the swains of the valley. Within a few months after his arrival he had won the most lovely maiden of her day, if tradition is accepted, and the match carried with it sundry considerations of a worldly nature. Holyoke was about twenty-two years of age. He had been born near "Tamworth Tower and town," in Warwickshire, Eng., and had come to New England with his father, Edward Holyoke. His marriage was followed by the assignment of a very desirable lot (between Worthington and Bridge streets). His father-in-law's large lot bounded him on the north, and Henry Smith, who had married Ann Pynchon before the settlement of Springfield, was on the south. Holyoke also received, according to custom, allotments of meadow and upland opposite his lot on the east side of Main street, as well as land on the west side of the Connecticut, and planting-grounds elsewhere. It was a happy event, and hundreds of descendants in America hold in reverence the Elizur and Mary Holyoke, who, in a dark hour of Springfield's history, refused to return to England and

— — — — —
give up the struggle for mastery in this valley. Their bones now rest in our beautiful cemetery. It is well written upon Mary Holyoke's tombstone : —

Shee y^t lyes heere was while she stood
A very glory of womanhood.

CHAPTER V.

1644-1645.

The First Board of Selectmen. — Centralization. — Mr. Moxon's Ministry. — The First Meeting-House. — A Long Sermon. — A Tax-List. — Fencing House-Lots. — The "Longe Meddowe." — Refusal to make Fences. — Planting-Grounds on the West Side. — Social Caste. — Marriages of Hugh Parsons and of John Pynchon.

THE provisional and experimental elements begin to give way to a certain regularity in the methods of government. In September, 1644, the town-meeting took the important step of intrusting the management of affairs to a committee. For eight years the town had been governed without selectmen.

The names of the first board were : Henry Smith, Thomas Cooper, Samuel Chapin, Richard Sikes, and Henry Burt. These townsmen were given power for one year to "prevent anything they shall judge to be to y^e damage of y^e Towne, or to order anything they shall judge to be for y^e good of y^e town ; & in these affairs they shall have power for a yeers space ;" to these five or any three of them was given power to "serv complaintes, to Arbitrate controversies, to lay out high wayes, to make Bridges, to repayer High waies, especially to order y^e making of y^e way over y^e Marshie meddow, to se to y^e scowering y^e ditches, & to y^e killing of wolves, & to y^e training of y^e children in some good caling, or any other thing they shall judge to be y^e p^rfitt of y^e Towne."

The new selectmen, unless we except Henry Smith, were comparatively young and poor, so far as having any estate, independent of the lands voted them by the town, was concerned. The placing of so much discretionary power in the hands of any set of men shows the working of a tendency that grew rapidly and naturally out of the prin-

ciples of democracy, under the most favorable conditions known in history. The masses may protest against centralizing the functions of government; but when they assume those functions themselves, the very first tendency that is developed is this self-same drift toward the centre.

Town rates in 1645 were based upon house-lots only. The town met the last Thursday in each month, and notices of special meetings given on lecture day were considered legal warnings. The penalty for absence, or for leaving town-meetings during the session without a permit, was "halfe a bushell of Indian corne for every such defect." Numberless instances of caution on the part of these primitive publicists abound in the record-books. Every householder was required to "carefully attend y^e sweepinge of his chimney once every month for y^e winter tyme, and once in two months in y^e summer tyme." If a man neglected this injunction, the town swept the chimney for him at his expense.

Mr. Moxon's ministry had proved a great success. Not that he was notably a man of parts, but he seemed to have just the elements which kept in check the uneasy spirits that were inevitably drawn into adventuresome enterprises of this sort. He was educated at Cambridge University, Eng., graduating from Sidney College in 1623, and he was at Dorchester for a while before moving to Springfield.

There is a passage in a letter from Mr. Pyncheon to Governor Winthrop, written in 1644, that has a genuine flavor of devout faith in the cause of the gospel, which is added here the more readily because the concerns of business and trade have been connected so continuously with Pyncheon's name, that one might fancy that his grand motive in coming to New England was simply to pluck plums of gold. He says: "I praise God we are all in good health & in peace in our plantation; & the Lord hath added some 3 or 4 yonge men out of the River, that are godly, to us lately: & the Lord has greatly blessed M^r. Moxon's ministry, to the conversion of many soules that are lately added to our church, & hetherto the Lord hath preserved

us in peace from enimies." Mr. Pynchou, in simple faith, waited for the grace of God to have its perfect work upon such of his associates as were not members of the church; we know how they of the Bay were continually giving the divine agency an impetus by way of punishments visited upon those not disposed to hasten into the fold. The Boston authorities, in their attempt to stamp out heresy by closing the mouth of Error, had only invited an ill-feeling which often came out at the public meetings, and sometimes found expression in harsh words against the ministers themselves. For these offences a fine was imposed, and upon a repetition of the same it was decreed that the offender should stand "two howers openly upon a blocke of fower foote high on a lecture day, with a paper fixed on his breast with this: A WANTON GOSPELLER, written in capitall letters, y^t others may feare & be ashamed of breaking out into the like wickedness." This law was over Springfield like other Massachusetts towns, but it is not known that the plantation took advantage of its privileges.

Probably nothing in the history of the plantation caused deeper gratification than the definite prospect of owning a house of worship, — not thatched like many of the houses on the street, but a veritable framed and windowed temple in the wilderness. It was in February, 1645, that the contract was made in open town-meeting for the building of the first Springfield meeting-house. Each inhabitant was to furnish twenty-eight days' work, "when he shall be required by him who shall undertake y^e buildinge of it." No inhabitant could be forced to work more than six consecutive days. Thomas Cooper contracted with the town for the work, and it was satisfactorily performed. The building was 40 X 25 feet in size, "9 foote betwixt joynts, double studded," and had two large windows on either side, and a smaller window at each end. There was a large door on the south side, and two smaller doors elsewhere. Joists were laid for a gallery when it could be afforded. The roof was shingled, and was broken by two towers, one for a bell and one for a "watch-howse." The underpinning was stone "dawbed" in the old style. Cooper received "fower score

pounds," which was paid in quarterly instalments of " wheate, pease, porke, wampam, deptes," and labor above the twenty-eight days required of each inhabitant. Mr. Cooper had until September, 1646, to fulfil this contract, but the last stroke was done by the March previous.

William Pynchon and Henry Smith signed in February, 1644, this document : —

Accordinge to trust imposed on us. the partys undernamed by y^r plantation : we have treated wth Thomas Stebbins and ffrancis Ball, for the purchas of a parsell of grownd of them in theyre house lotts next the river. Wth ffrancis Ball we have agreed for one acre of grownd. and to give him two acres for it, in recompense, in his second lott on the other side of the river : with Thomas Stebbins we have agreed for one acre and an halfe, of w^{ch} we have conditioned to have 2 rod in bredth to y^r meeting house : and in recompense of this acre & halfe, we agree to give him 3 acres of land adjoyning to his third greate lott on y^r other side of y^r greate river.

We do not know of any early local scene that so challenges our curiosity and cordial sympathy as this when the pioneers gathered in their new house, with Mr. Pynchon sitting under the pulpit and Mr. Moxon offering thanks ; while the voice of praise rose from a full-hearted though small congregation. There can be counted in that memorable gathering no less than sixteen men, founders of families, and from them have come thousands of descendants, through each line of which run the distinctive traits of mind and heart that were the making of Springfield. It had been said at Boston and it had been said at Hartford that the Agawam settlement would not hold out : and it did take nearly a decade of lonely toil to secure a footing.

Mr. Moxon's connection with the witch excitement of Springfield has led to the erroneous conclusion that he was a weak and a superstitious person. Those who have deciphered his sermons and have examined the meagre traces of his teachings come to a far different conclusion. He was what might be called an exhaustive preacher. He always followed out an elaborate scheme of sermonizing, covering about all that could be said upon his subject, dividing and subdividing

his topic with reckless prodigality of time ; and, if the sermon hour closed before the sermon did, he simply announced that the discourse would be continued upon the Sabbath following. It had happened back in 1640, when William Pynchon was at loggerheads with the Windsor church, and the heavens hung low with clouds spiritual and temporal, that he felt called upon to fortify the position of his little congregation by the text : “ Comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good word and work ” (2 Thess. ii, 17). Here was a vast subject. It touched both the doctrine and deeds of men. Loyalty to the gospel, the fate of individual souls, and the future of the plantation itself seemed to hang upon the voice from the pulpit. He began that sermon February 16, and finished it March 15, when the church probably felt refreshed in more senses than one. His exhortation to be “ settled in well doing and to be stable in sound doctrine ” was hammered into the mettle of every soul present.

The nature of the satisfaction granted to Mr. Pynchon for the supplementary purchase of the Indians of land on the banks of the Agawam seems to be furnished by the following rating, recorded May 6, 1644. It was Mr. Pynchon’s habit to furnish a large percentage of the funds necessary for any project of public concern, and then later to secure himself by a formal rating, which, by the way, was not always paid promptly.

	£	s	d
Mr: Pynchon	4	08	08
Mr: Moxon	1	01	08
Ell: Holyoke	2	00	00
Tho: Cooper	0	11	00
Hen: Smith	2	06	06
Sam: Chapen	0	08	10
John Dober	0	07	04
Rich: Sykes	0	09	02
Will: Warener	0	10	00
Tho: Stebbines	0	08	09
Fra: Ball	0	07	06
Robt: Ashly	0	15	00

	£	s	d
Jno: Leonard	0	10	04
Tho: Mirack	0	13	03
James Bridgeman	0	12	06
Alex: Edwards	0	11	10
Sam: Hubbard	0	10	09
Jno: Beeble	0	8	05
Morgan John	0	3	00
Rowl: Stebbines	0	11	06
Sam: Write	0	12	05
Henry Burt	0	12	07
Jno: Harman	0	08	10
Rodger Prichard	0	6	06
Total is	19	18	04

For some reason to us unknown this money was not paid, and in January, 1647, the rating was declared null and void. In the spring of 1644 we find this record: "It is ordered y^t those Lotts from Roger Prichards downward shall have theyr 2d alotments below Agganwan River mouth every man to have 5 acres apeice to runn in length 80 rodd theyr lotts to abutt agaynst y^e greate river."

Shortly after this it was specially ordered that Samuel Chapin should have his second allotment next to Mr. Holyoke, and that John Dober should have the lot next below him. Thomas Cooper's second lot abutted his old one, and next above came Roger Prichard's second lot.

The settlement of disputes by the "arbitrament of two Indifferent men" relieved the magistrate of much labor, but the town-meeting continued to feel the burdens of its fence and land supervision. In September, 1645, it was voted:—

It is also further ordered, that if any neighbor from Francis Balls lott to Goodman Coolys shall desire to enclose his yard wth a garden or an orchard: if his next neighbor refuse to Joyne for y^e one half of the s^t fence: he may compell his neighbors on each side of his lot to beare y^e one halfe of his fence. p^rvided he compell them not to joyne for above 20 rodde in length, and in case his neighbor shall refuse to doe his share of the s^t fence wthin 3 months after

demande: He shall be lyable to pay damages as two Indifferent men shall award, w^{ch} shall be chosen by the partyes in Controversy: or in Case they agree not then upon Complaine, y^e magistrates shall appoynt them: p^rvided alsoe y^t y^e s^d fence exceede not y^e charge of a sufficient five foote pale, or 5 rayles.

The appearance of the name of Cooley and a vote at this meeting to force landholders in the southern part of the town to build fences is a reminder that the little settlement was growing to the south, which finally developed into the quaint remnant of the past, known in our day as the town of Longmeadow. Several, having planting-grounds there, complained that a part refused to break up and fence these grounds. They succeeded in getting an order through the town-meeting, forcing the latter to "beare a pportionable share in a Comon fence gaynst all cattell, accordinge to y^e severall quantitys of theyre alottments." Each man was also required to "cutt his fencinge stuff upon his owne grounds except he first have y^e consent of his neighbor to fell uppon his: and excepte it be for y^e fencinge of the two outsides, then it shall be lawfull for such as fence y^e two outsides to fell in any man's lot y^t is next to hand: and it is alsoe p^rvided y^t those y^t that let out every mans pportion of fence, shall as neere as they can place every man to doe the more of his owne lott."

Such legislation bore immediate fruits, as the following action shows: —

Whereas divers neighbors between ffrancis Ball his lott and Benjamin Coolys lott have complayned that some of y^t Neighborhood refuse to Joyne wth y^m in makeinge a fence to save theyr neighbors harmeless: Therefore it is ordered that all the sayd Inhabitants shall Joyne togeather in a sufficient Generall fence, every man bearinge a pportionable share, accordinge to each man's quantity of acres: and in case any Cattell breake through any part of s^d generall fence: Then two indifferent men shall be chosen by y^e partys in Controversy, to vew y^e s^d fence and trespass, and he whose fence is found defective, shall beare y^e damadge as two indifferent men shall award: And in case y^t any cattell breake in out of mens particular yeards, They shall pay such damadges as y^e two Indifferent men shall award, and they shall amende theyr fences as the s^d indifferent men shall order and appoynt. And if y^e partys in controversy do not

agree in y^e choyce of y^e two Indifferent men. then uppon complaynt y^e Magistrate shall appoynt them: And this generall fence is to be finished by y^e first of Aprill next. or else they will be lyable to pay damages as y^e s^d two Indifferent men shall award; alsoe y^e end next y^e River is to be rayled, leaving out a sufficient highway next y^e River.

A few months before this (May 14, 1645), the plantations had been deep in another matter that occasioned much uneasiness, — the third apportionment of common lands. The unanimous action finally reached was this: —

It is ordered with y^e Joynt Consent of all y^e Plantation at a publique meetinge after sufficient warning: That whereas there was formerly a 3d Alotment of Plantinge groundes granted to all y^e Inhabitants fro Rodger Pritchards lott & upwards. The s^d Inhabitants are now freely content to lay downe y^e s^d 3d alotments. and are content to stand to y^e determination and alotment of seaven men chosen by y^e wholl assembly for y^e appoyntinge of 3d and 4th alotments to y^e wholl Towne: viz: Henry Smith: Elizur Holyoke: Sam: Chapen: Tho: Cooper: Tho: Mirack: Rich: Sykes. Hen: Burt: who are to divide y^e towne in equall parts for estates and persons: and soe halfe y^e Towne downward accordinge to an equall division of estates. and as in discretion they shall Judge fit and Just. are to have theyr third and 4th alotments in y^e Longe meddowe. and one y^e other side of y^e River over agaynst y^e Longe meddowe: And y^e upper part of y^e towne are to have theyr third and 4th Alotments in y^e playne above y^e 3 corner Brooke and one y^e other side y^e greate river at y^e end of y^e five acre lotts. And all with one consent doe freely p^mise to stand to y^e afores^d determination and alotment: and all former orders about the 3d alotments to be nullified.

These apportionments were, of course, town-meeting affairs, and so in form were the acts regulating the various common fields; and in the latter branch of legislation it will be noticed that in every town order it is expressly stated that the immediate proprietors of the common fields concurred therein. The importance of this will appear later. The following vote, taken September 23, 1645, may pass as a good instance in point: —

Whereas the Plantinge of Indian Corne in y^e meddowe Swamp on y^e other side of Agaam river. hath occasioned a long stay after moowinge tyme before

men can put over theyr Cattell thither: Therefore, it is ordered (with the consent of all those that have plantinge ground there) that no more Indian corne shall be planted, neither in y^e meddowe nor in y^e Swampes, that so the Cattell of all those that have alotments there may be put over by y^e 15th of September: provided they take a sure course to keepe theyr Cattell from goinge over y^e river by a Keeper in y^e day tyme, & by keeping y^m in some fenced place in the night tyme: only Calves may be put over thither by the 14th of August. . . . Complaynt beinge made that divers that keepe teames on the other side of y^e River in y^e springe tyme to plough them, have formerly much damnified other men by theyr Cattell, in eating the greene corne, and y^e first sprout of mens meaddows: It is ordered, therefore, y^t y^e s^d teames of Cattell shall be kept in some howse or yeard till y^e first of May, and if any keepe them longer there, they are to pasture them uppon theyr owne ground, or uppon y^e Comon, or uppon y^e 3^d lotts, not beinge meddow nor imp^{ro}ved to tilladge. soe they bind y^m wth a sufficient keeper.

In the last week of October of the year 1645 the Springfield community was called upon to witness two marriages within three days of each other; and while at that time there appeared no connection between the two events, they stand to us for two sharp lines of divergence running down our local history, and to group them together here may serve to retain the impression of a social distinction which not even a Puritan democracy could obliterate. Caste is seen in the apportionments of land to the inhabitants, in the dress which was regulated by the State, and in the assignment of seats in the meeting-house. The marriages of 1645 in question were upper and lower class events. There had come to Springfield, some time before the year 1645, a married woman by the name of Mary Lewis. Her husband was a Roman Catholic, but she had not lived with him for seven years. It can well be imagined that if Mrs. Lewis had lived at Boston, where a governor had taken his sword and cut out the cross from the British flag because it was a hated papal emblem, she must have had a very dismal career there, and may have sought Springfield as a place of refuge. She was evidently a woman of a highly nervous organization. Mrs. Lewis was compelled either to

work or marry, and she chose the latter lot. There was in Springfield at that time a bricklayer, of somewhat voluble disposition, by the name of Hugh Parsons, — a “queer stick,” one would say, and a man quite unworthy to be matched with a woman of Mrs. Lewis’s temperament. It was known in Springfield that Mr. Lewis was a Roman Catholic, but she claimed that the seven years’ abandonment by her husband gave her the privilege of marrying again under the laws of England. Mr. Pynchon was in great doubt what to do, and he wrote to Boston for advice, explaining that Mrs. Lewis had “fallen into a leauge of amity with a bricke-maker.” She was in great haste for an answer, and Pynchon urged upon John Winthrop an immediate decision. A favorable reply was sent, and on October 27 Hugh Parsons, the brick-maker, and Mary Lewis were married. It was, however, the union of necessity with opportunity, and promised no good either to them or to the village.

Three days later there was a wedding in Connecticut which delighted the heart of the founder of the town. His son, John Pynchon, destined to cut even a more prominent figure than he had in public affairs, had sued and won the hand of Amy, daughter of Governor George Wyllys, of Connecticut, the famous Governor Haynes performing the ceremony. John Pynchon was about twenty-three years of age, a quiet, thoughtful young man, who really had had no boyhood, the Puritan convulsions in Europe and the migration to the wilderness having turned the spirit of youth into the prematurely serious disposition of the pioneer. The father did not attempt to conceal his delight at this alliance, and he even wrote to the governor of the colony expressing his satisfaction that the young man had concluded to live at “my house where he may continue as long as he finds it for his comfort & beuefitt.”

John Pynchon was well educated, and seems to have been under the influence of a lawyer. Possibly he formed his legal habits from his father, who was trained in the ways of the law; but John Pynchon was an entirely different kind of man from the founder of Springfield.

CHAPTER VI.

1645—1650.

Connecticut imposes a River Tariff. — Purchase of Saybrook Fort. — William Pynchon refuses to pay the Duty. — The Commissioners of the United Colonies sustain Connecticut. — Springfield's Case in Detail. — Massachusetts imposes Retaliatory Duties. — Connecticut removes the River Duties on Springfield Goods. — Floods and Local Incidents. — Taxes. — Miles Morgan. — The Freeman's Oath. — Trouble as to Swine. — Town Orders. — Pynchon's Court.

OUTSIDE affairs again demanded the attention of the frontier plantation ; and he who had antagonized the colony down the river was again placed where he must renew the battle or retire from the valley. During the five years beginning with 1645 Springfield and Hartford kept up a running sword-play over the custom duties on the Connecticut river. It was the first tariff war in New England, and finally involved all of the colonies. It would not be candid to charge that Connecticut was urged into this contest by a special hostility to Springfield ; because the colony was nursing a commercial ambition, and was bound to further her material interests by all legitimate means. However, it will be seen by the temper of some of the charges formulated at Hartford that the bitterness was not lessened by a neighborly feeling towards Springfield.

Near the close of the year 1644 Connecticut had bargained for the fort at Saybrook, Mr. Fenwick, the owner, agreeing to accept certain duties, including 2*d.* per bushel upon exported grain passing the fort, and 6*d.* per hundred upon biscuit. There was also an annual tax put upon hogs and cattle, to be paid to Fenwick ; all of these tributes to continue ten years, when the fort was to become the absolute property of Connecticut. Officers were stationed at Windsor,

Hartford, and Wethersfield, to give clearance papers to masters of out-going vessels, and these papers were presented to Fenwick's agent at Saybrook. Connecticut at once concluded to bring Springfield, which was doing a good business with Boston, under the tariff. But the Hartford government had not secured the jurisdiction of the mouth of the river with the prospective ownership of the fort. The duty upon exports was the purchase-money for the fort. Springfield was thus being asked to aid in this payment; if she had yielded, and paid the duty, she would have had no proprietary interest in the fort itself. In fact, Springfield was being forced to help secure for Connecticut a title to the very fort that might prove a menace to its own commerce.

The Massachusetts General Court, when informed of the Connecticut tariff, voted that "none of ours" shall pay the tribute. Mr. Pyncheon was threatened with utter ruin in a business way, and he at once gave direction to his sailors to pay no attention to the order, and to refuse to file invoices, or to ask for clearance papers. His order was disobeyed for some unknown reason, and one cargo of corn was entered under the tariff provision. Mr. Pyncheon appears to have been very much annoyed at this, and he said at once: "If they would arrest our goods, I had rather they should doe it now than another tyme." His next ship passed the Saybrook fort in defiance of the Connecticut officer; but the little cannon which constructively swept the river did not open fire. Pyncheon wrote to Governor Winthrop at Boston in July, 1646: "But if we should be forced to such a thinge [payment of duty] this plantation will be deserted. I think no man will dwell here to be brought under such payments. I desyre your advise, whether we were best to enter our goods or no. My owne apprehensions are that we ought not to doe it, & so Jehovah cause His face to shine uppon you ever."

The commissioners of the United Colonies, which had now been in existence for three years as a sort of itinerary Congress, met at Hartford two months later to adjust this matter. They heard many

arguments, the most important one being that the maintenance of a fort at Saybrook was as important to Springfield as to Hartford; but Mr. Pynchon was not present. No definite action was taken by the commissioners at the Hartford meeting, possibly on account of the intense feeling; but the Massachusetts General Court, in November, 1646, made a full declaration of its position; and, it may be here added, carried out its programme to the end. The court held that Hartford had no legal right to force an outsider to buy a fort for the Connecticut colony, that the Saybrook fort was no protection to Springfield, and that a tariff dispute hindered the confederation several years before, and that now to resort to it would "put us to new thoughts." "If Hartford jurisdiction," continues the General Court, "shall make use of their power over any of o's, we conceive we have y^e same pow^r to imitate y^m in y^e like kind, w^{ch} we deesier may be forborne on both sides." This strong language brought the commissioners of the United Colonies to Boston in special session, in July, 1647. Deputy-Governor Hopkins and Captain Mason were the commissioners from Connecticut. Mason was thus confronted by his old antagonist of Springfield, and the struggle that followed turned very much upon the old lines. Captain Mason had a short time before been given the military command at Saybrook, — an act of discretion only, as the fort, owing to a recent fire, was little short of a military expression.

The Massachusetts commissioners were Thomas Dudley and John Endicott. The resolutions of Massachusetts passed in November were read. Mr. Hopkins was given time to reply in detail, which he did, with much vigor, on the 27th of July. He argued in the first place that, provided the tax were just, "it concernes not the party that payes" what is done with the money, his point being that the tax was justifiable because a fort at Saybrook had been, was and would be useful to Springfield. He claimed that it was five rather than ten years that any delay in forming a confederation was caused by the discussion of a river tariff. The Massachusetts General Court

had said it was very hard for those in the Massachusetts jurisdiction to weaken their estates by being "forced to such a bondage," and Hopkins replied that "if weakeninge of estates be a sufficient plea to free men from payinge of taxes, we know not who will pay, for all such payments doe weaken men's estates." Mr. Hopkins continues :

Nor can we yeild a ready beleefe to what is affirmed, that if they (Springfield planters) had foreseen the present imposition would have been required, they would not then have planted, for the thing carryeth that evidence of equity with it that Mr. Pinchon, while he looked upon himself as a member of that jurisdiction, acknowledged the same & yielded upon a motion made by himself to Mr. Fenwicke (as we have it from this testimony deserving credit) that the trade of beaver upon the River, which is the greatest thing now stuck at, ought in reason to contribute to the chardg of the forte: besides the incouragement given by Mr. Pinchon under his owne hand to others to the gentlemen interested in Seabrooke forte, which might well draw out from them an addition to the former expense, there seems to deserve some weight of consideration in the present case.

Mr. Pynchon had said in his written protest that he did not propose to be taxed by two governments, even if he had said that a Saybrook fort was a good thing for the colonies. There was a principle of government involved in this unfortunate affair which did not appear in its true light to the disputants. A fort was useful to all the colonies, and its maintenance, like the war charges, should have been a burden on all. The commissioners of the United Colonies were not able to grasp the full notion of federated unity. They chose rather to stand by Connecticut. The debate was at first carried on by the Connecticut and Massachusetts members of the commission, and it was some time before Mr. Pynchon himself was called in: but he simply referred to the action of the Massachusetts General Court as reflecting fully his views. The commissioners, in spite of the fact that no duties were imposed upon the Dutch trading vessels, passed a vote in which it was said that "it is no impeachment of any liberty granted by patent to the Massachusetts that Springfield, seated upon the River of Connecticut, doe beare a moderate & equall parte of

charges, whether of scouring any parte of that River, or River's mouth (if there should be occasion) or in making or mainetayning such a fort as is in question to secure the passage to and fro." The river tariff was therefore approved. The report was signed by the Plymouth and New Haven commissioners only.

This decision, failing as it did to receive the signatures of all the commissioners, only added to the difficulties of the situation. Mr. Pyncheon bluntly refused to pay 2*d.* per bushel on grain. There has been recently discovered a copy of an undated letter of Mr. Pyncheon upon this subject, which was evidently written shortly after the action of the commissioners of the United Colonies. It is here transcribed, except certain incomplete sentences:—

Goodman Johnson my ancient & much esteemed friend as you hav bin my faithfull Agent in all businesss of importance so it is not y^e least y^t I have committed unto your care y^e movinge y^e Generall Court to take into serious considiration y^e jurisdiction of y^e Rivers mouth, for if we should be brought under such a jurisdiction not only our comfortable sittuation will be spoyled but also y^e liberties & privileges of y^e pattent in all their Western pte—for what is all y^t you have in yo^r ptes good for, if you cann have ffree passage of Connotticutt River.

The Generall Court of y^e Bay hav declared their Reasons both against y^e purchase. & also against y^e custome of y^e Rivers mouth for they plead both these thinges, to bring us under imposition—

1. Mr. Hopkins letter to me (w^{ch} I sent you by my sson) doth hould forth that we must pay 2^d y^e bushell & 20 y^e . . . of corne as our due share towards y^e purchase of y^e said fort—

2. I gather from Mr. Dudlies speech to me, that M^r. Hopkins doth expect y^e said rates as a custome, for M^r. Dudly tould me y^t he demanded of M^r. Hopkins whether they would expect y^e like rates of any other plantations that might be planted above us y^e said forte to y^e head of y^e River.

3. Heere it is evident that they expect y^e said rates of us as an imposition of custome. for if it had bin intended for purchase only then when a certain sume had bin paid, they could expect no more— but it seemes they expect y^e like rates of all other plantations that may, in few yecres, be planted above us. Is not this unlimited, sence fitter to be called custome y^{an} purchase—

4. In this confused, mixed case, y^e Commissioners of y^e United Colonies hav interposed their power, & have ordered that y^e subjects of y^e Bay Jurisdiction, that live uppon y^e River, shall pay y^e said rates to y^e Rivers mouth; but whether we must pay it in y^e name of purchase, or in y^e name of custome, I know not as yet —

If they have ordered our payment in respect of y^e purchase, then y^e controversy must lie betweene y^e Generall Court (who have declared against it), and Mr. ffennick, for he is the only Block. — but if y^e Commissioners hav ordered us to pay it as a custome to y^e River, then y^e controversy will lie betweene y^e two jurisdictions. Let y^e justice of both these suits be examined. . . . Then what have y^e Commissioners to doe in y^e case, for their commission runs thus — If any controversy doe arise betweene any of y^e two United Colonies, then y^e other Commissioners have power to determine y^e matter — but Mr. ffenick wth whom y^e controversy is (about our payment to y^e purchase) is not a Colonist, is but a private man, therefore y^e Commissioners in that case have no power ex-officio to determine. Therefore, y^e late order is of no power to bynd us to obey it. But, 2dly. If they have ordered us to pay y^e said rates as custome to y^e River, then I think y^e Generall Court knows how to deal wth them in y^e same kind. The Rivers are buyers and no sellers, therefore, they cannot attach our goods in y^e name of purchase, except they do it in Mr. ffenick's name, to bring us to a dew tryall in law — but I think no justice can make us pay to any purchase unlesse we have bin first made acquainted wth it, & so consenting to y^e bargain w^{ch} we disclaim. In briefe, y^e whole businesse doth seem to me to be such an odd kind of jumbled businesse y^t I cannot tell how to distinguish their meaning. Mr. ffenicke sees y^e lawes and y^e power of government, and yet he doeth condition y^t y^e Generall Court must put out their power to take such an imposition of y^e subjects of y^e Bay jurisdiction for y^e use of his private purse only — for y^e inhabitants of y^e River professe that they shall have no benefit by it. I wonder by what justice y^e Bay can lose their right of their passage in y^e River, for y^e Bay can hav a right to export and import goods up and downe, yet never to any pt of their pattent there situated. Before even y^e River or Mr. ffenicke had any pattent thereof; and how then can they lose the free use of that river except by their owne consent; they had consented to y^e said rates for y^e said purchase. Can y^e late sale of their pattent justly deprive us of our ancient rights and privilege —

If y^e Dutch hav bought y^e said pattent of Mr. ffenick they could not de Jure have made us pay anything to their purchase. If they had done it . . . then they must have been dealt with all in y^e said line. Mr. Hopkins doth plead

y^t we ought, in justice, to pay our share to y^e purchase of y^e said fort, because we snare in y^e benefit. I answer, no; except we had his consenting as purchasers, never like to be of any benefit. namely to keep open y^e River against malignant shippes or pinaces for 1. How can we have y^e said benefit by a fort w^{ch} is but a fort in name only, being no fort indeed — 2. If y^e State were able to make and maintain them, w^{ch} they are not able to doe w^{thout} their utter undoinge, yet there is no necessary use of a fort there to keepe out malignant shippes . . .

Mr. Winthrop writes me word y^t you have not as yet weighed w^t I wrote you about this businesse. I entreat you make haste to doe before he state y^e case & send it for England — for if God be pleased to assist, he is resolved to state y^e case & send it for England. Remember my best respects to Mr. Dudley & his wife, to Mr. Eliot & his wife, to Elinor Heath. to Deacon Powers, &c., & pray God y^t all peace be with you — ever.

Your affectionate lovinge friend and brother, ever,

W. PYNCHON.

In the note-book containing this interesting letter of William Pynchon, is a more elaborate argument of the case, which may be the draft of the document that subsequently formed the basis of the action of the Massachusetts Bay General Court. “Saleant” or “salient” was a legal term, and stood for “assailant” or plaintiff. The argument is as follows: —

Obj. 1. — The Saleant by his Agent does object to y^e said River plantation — y^t although he did not desire their concurrence wth y^e said combined jurisdiction, before y^e said purchase was fully ended & concluded, yet he thinks y^{at} in common equity, they ought to pay an equall share wth y^e said combined Jurisdiction, towards y^e said purchase, by paying such rates as they pay uppon all such goods, as you do, that shall passe out at y^e Rivers mouth, for y^e said upper plantation have as much benefitt by y^e said fort as they, for y^e said fort was at y^e first, built for y^e securinge of y^e River against malignant shippes & pinaces, and, therefore, as you know, in y^e benefit, y^t in equity they ought to share in y^e charge of y^e said purchase.

Ans. 1. If we of the upper plantation should grant y^t y^e said fort was as great a benefit to us as can be spoken, yet we see not by what justice y^e Saleant can receive any thing uppon our goods on the name & notion of joynt purchasers wth y^e combined jurisdiction, except he can prove, y^t he had our consent

to y^e said purchase. For y^e Saleant did not compell y^e said combined jurisdiction to pay such & such rates to him for y^e said purchase, untill every inhabitant in y^e said combined jurisdiction, had fully agreed uppon y^e summ & manner of payment. They all gave consent, for they all had liberty to choose their deputies, to transact their bargains wth y^e Saleant in their Generall Court; but y^e Saleant cannot challenge y^e like consent of us, he cannot, therefore, in justice challenge us to be joynt purchasers wth them, & therefore he cannot compell them to pay an equall share wth them of all such goods as passe out of y^e Rivers mouth.

2. We answer, y^t there is not any one inhabitant in y^e combined jurisdiction, but by their deputies, y^t have a continued right to advise & vote in their Generall Court touching y^e well ordering of y^e said pattent & fort — namely, how all things shall be governed, maintained, repayred, or demolished, as y^t major part of y^em shall thinke best. This benefit y^e Saleant cannot give to us, for we being freemen of another jurisdiction, can have no right in their courts to give any advise & vote — therefore, in equity he cannot compell us to pay as joynt purchasers wth y^e combined Jurisdiction.

3. We answer y^t if any of y^e subjects of y^e combined Jurisdiction shall find themselves over rated to y^e said purchase, or other wise shall find themselves aggrieved about y^e government or maintenance of y^e said patent or fort, they have by their deputies a continual right to transact such greivances, by w^{ch} meanes their greivances may easily & speedily be amended in a familiar orderly way, but y^e Saleant cannot give us y^e like right full benefit in your courts to transact our greivances; therefore, if we shall joyne wth them in y^e said purchase, they being a jurisdiction, & we but a little plantation nothing comparable to them, they may impose a charge uppon us, ad infinitum for we have no right in their Courts, & therefore we have no orderly meanes to help ourselves, but as they please, uppon our petitions, in an arbitrary way — & therefore except y^e Saleant can put us into an equall right of vote wth them, in y^e ordering of y^e said pattent & fort, we cannot see by what justice he can possesse himself of any of our goods against our consente —

Obj. 2. Y^e Commissioners of y^e United Colonies doe think it good justice to order y^e said upper plantation to pay unto y^e Saleant such & such rates as y^e combined Jurisdiction have agreed to pay; for they judg y^e said upper plantation to have equall benefit wth them, by y^e said fort, & yet, wth all, y^e said Commissioners have ordered by way of moderation & restraint, y^t y^e purchasers of y^e combined jurisdiction shall not overtopp y^e said upper plantation, by imposing any other charge uppon y^e said upper plantation, for & towards y^e said fort;

and therefore, y^e said upper ~~plantation~~ being thus secured by y^e Commissioners order need not to flore their charges uppon y^em ad infinitum —

Ans. 1. — We answer y^t this clause of moderation in y^e Commissioners order, doth not satisfie us — We hould it no better yⁿ a sturdy shohonne in w^{ch} y^e forte is drawen y^e more easily into a pinching shoe. if once we doe but yield ourselves to be joynt purchasers wth y^e combined jurisdiction — We can hardly expect y^t they will free us from other charges — It may be y^e Commission will cease in tyme, & then they may rule us in as joynt purchasers to other charges, or it may be they may find out some flaw in y^e Commissions order in y^e point of legality — they may say they had no power, by virtue of their Commission, to order us to pay only our share of y^e purchase to y^e Saliant. They may think that by as good right we ought to pay our share of all other charges. We cannot tell what they, being a great body, may easily overtopp us, & force us to pay what they please towards y^e continuall Government maintenance, and Reparations; & yet we have no other means to help ourselves, but by way of petition in an arbitrary way.

2. We answer y^t in case we should be p^rsueded to joyne wth them in y^e said purchase, according to y^e Commissioners order, yet then we shall be at a losse how to find out y^e Reason, why they do order us to pay an equall share wth them of all such goode as passeth out at y^e Rivers mouth. Seeing they have not only y^e said fort & appurtenances, but y^e pattent also, with y^e said purchase — by w^{ch} pattent they have a legale right to govern & order all y^e King's Subjects that shall inhabit wthin that large tract of land. — as it is specified in y^e said pattent.

Is not this power of government to be esteemed as a chiefe p^t of y^e said purchase, — seeing y^t power of government w^{ch} they had before, stored but uppon their own combination. Therefore, how can y^e Commission, by y^e rule of equity, force us to pay equal rates wth them; y^e said pattent & fort, & yet never give us any legall right in y^e ordering either of y^e said pattent or fort.

Obj. 3. It may be it will be objected y^t they doe not esteem y^e pattent at any value at all, and therefore hould it good justice to make us pay equall rates wth them of all y^t passeth out at y^e River's mouth.

Ans. 1. We can hardly think y^t either y^e Commissioners or purchasers do so much undervalue y^e said pattent as to esteem it as nothing; but in case they do esteem it as nothing, yet seeing we do judg it to be of some value, why shall not we, if we be joynt purchasers wth them, make what benefit we can on it; for we regard not y^e purchase of ye rotten palisade, so much as y^e pattent. If y^e Saliant had had no pattent, could he ever have given such a rate for a rotten

palisade; w^{ch} at y^e most, wth all y^e appurtenances, was not, in our estimation, worth a quarter part of those rates y^t y^e Saliant doeth expect to give with his purser. If so, what justice is it to make us pay so greate a share for so like a comedy, especially if we be deprived of our right (if ever we be purchasers) in y^e ordering of y^e said pattent?

Obj. 4. We judg y^t y^e upper plantation hath a common benefit by y^e fort, for it was built for y^e securing of all y^e River against an enemy.

Ans. 1. We denie not but y^t y^e first intent of building y^e said fort, might be, to secure y^e River against malignant shippes & pinaces, but this must be remembered, y^t it was made in haste, & therefore, it was but a palisade, & but y^e like forme at first; but when it was purchased, it was utterly ruined; neither is there like to be any fort there of sufficient strength in haste — therefore, we judge y^t such kind of fortification will rather be a dangerous snare to y^e River than a benefit. We judge such kindes of fortes to be rather an advantage yⁿ a disadvantage to an enemy. Therefore, if ever we be forced to have any right or interest in y^e purchase of y^e said pattent & forte, we shall, in likelyhood, give our votes to have it demolished, with all speed that may be —

2. We answer y^t there is no need of any fort here to secure y^e River against malignant shippes or pinaces.

1. For y^e Rivers' mouth is naturally barred wth a sand bank all over, w^{ch} is sufficient to terrifie all malignant shippes from coming into y^e River, more than any fort there can doe. 2dly. A fort there is needlesse against malignant pinaces, for such as are of small burden may easily passe in and out, eyther by day or night, without any great damage of a fort, y^e passage there is so broad.

3. If malignant pinaces shall at any tyme attempt any mischief against y^e River, yet we are fearlesse of danger, for no pinace can come nigh us by 15 or 16 miles. Therefore y^e said forte is not of y^e like use to secure us, as it is to secure you. Therefore, in equity, y^e combined jurisdiction should not expect us to pay an equall share wth them of all that passeth out at y^e Rivers' mouth.

At the meeting of the United Colony Commissioners at Plymouth in 1648, Massachusetts made another attempt to win the commissioners over, but without avail, and consequently when the General Court met at Boston in May, 1649, it was in no temper to rely longer upon the moral force alone. Solemn indignation characterized the speeches of the members, and a vote was passed rehearsing the facts of the situation, how Springfield was taxed to maintain a Connecti-

cut fort, and how the Boston fortifications had never been made a charge upon the other colonies. Then, with equally solemn indignation they imposed tariff duties, both import and export, upon all goods carried past "the castle" in Boston Bay by any inhabitant of Plymouth, Connecticut, or New Haven. A turbulent meeting of the commissioners at Boston two months later, and formal remonstrance against retaliatory duties on all the New England colony goods, had not the slightest effect upon the Bay people.

The tariff war, thus begun, threatened to ruin Connecticut, and of course would have set all New England back in its struggle for existence. The response to the retaliatory duties was quick. Plymouth and New Haven were grieved and Hartford irritated; but they all gave way, nevertheless, and Mr. Pyncheon's goods passed down the river unchallenged. Massachusetts, with equal promptness, in May, 1650, suspended the customs duties only too gladly "upon the petition of the inhabitants of Boston," after being "credibly informed" that Connecticut had done likewise.

In spite of local excitements, the minds of these remote pioneers continually turned to England, and even in the wilderness they felt a kind of security that England was a stranger to at this time. Mr. Pyncheon wrote, in 1646, after hearing of the struggle in the British Parliament over religion and the form of discipline to be adopted: "The Scotts say that their fourme of presbyterian government is the only way of Christ and the Independents say that their fourme of discipline is the only way of Christ. But the Parliament say that neather of them is the only way of Christ, & therefore they have ordained Commissioners to supervise the conclusions of the presbuterian Courtes. But truly where zeal of God's glory & godly wisdome are joyued together; a world of good hath bin done by godly ministers, even in England, that have held no certaine fourme of discipline: on the contrary, where a could spirit doth rule in ministers, though they may have a good fourme of government, there people may be said to have a name to live, & yet be dead

Christians." This is a fair exposé of the spirit at the bottom of Mr. Pynchon's warm polemics. The attempts both in England and this country to secure an iron-bound form of religion as handmaid to the State had set him to philosophizing. The attempt to secure liberty of conscience had the effect to drive him into more conservative lines of thought, and even led him to say: "I perceive by some godly ministers that have wrote into this country, that this is not a tyme of reformation, but of liberty of conscience. I beleeve by the tyme they see a little more of the lawlessnessse of liberty of conscience, they will change their judgmentt, & say that liberty of conscience will give liberty to Sathan to broch such horrid blasphemous oppinions as were not the like in any age."

The open winter of 1646-47 was followed by terrible floods and in the following autumn an epidemic of sickness. During the previous summer also caterpillars had appeared in such numbers, to the great damage of the wheat, that it may be called a plague. The settlers had many natural enemies. The pigeons in overwhelming flocks assaulted the crops and the wolves made free with sheep. A bounty of 10*d.* was paid for every wolf killed within five miles of the town.

The building of the meeting-house added to the solemnity of the Lord's-day observances. John Matthews, as we have intimated, was ordered to "beate the drum for the meetings for a yeares space at 10 of ye clock on the Lectures days and at 9 o clock on the Lord's days in the forenoon only, and he is to beate it fro M^r. Moxon to M^r. Stebbins house & ye meetinge to begin wthin halfe an hower after, for w^{ch} his paynes he is to have 6*d.* in wampam of every family in the towne or a peck of Indian corne if they have not wampam." A bell was procured a few years later, and Richard Sikes rang it and swept the house for 1*s.* a week.

In March, 1646, the town voted for "y^e remayninge 40*£* due to Thomas Cooper for y^e compleatinge of y^e meeting house, 30*£* of w^{ch} is to be payed into him by y^e last of this month, y^e other 10*£* to rest

in y^e Towns hand till an opportunity appears for p^reuringe glass or till y^e howse be finished."

The town-meeting usually specified the kind of property to be taxed. Thus the wolf bounty was raised from a tax upon "all sorts of cattell," which included horses. The tax for Mr. Moxon's maintenance, in 1647, had been raised upon "all lands and goods." Cooper's meeting-house debt was met by a tax upon "uplands (meddows excepted) and living stock." A special committee made out the valuation and assessment. Wheat was accepted for taxes at 3s. 10d. per bushel. Indian corn at 2s. 6d. and peas at 3d. per bushel. The tax for the £30 due Mr. Pynchon "for y^e purchas of y^e land of y^e Plantation of ye Indians" was rated "wholly on lands." The latter list is here given in full as it furnishes the names and landed importance of the settlers at the opening of the year 1647. There were then forty-two lot-owners and six vacant lots, some of them having been bought back by the town. We miss the names of Jehu Burr, John Cable, John Woodcock, and others of the first settlers. These men drifted to the Connecticut plantations, and were frequent parties in lawsuits for some years thereafter. The list is as follows: —

	Acrea.	£	s.	d.
Rowland Thomas	29½		08	02
John Stebbins	27½		07	08
Miles Morgan	34½		09	06
James Osburne	40		11	00 ⅓
Tho: Cooper	41		11	04 ⅓
Mr Will: Pynchon	237	3	05	06 ⅓
Mr Elliz: Holyoke	125	1	14	06 ⅓
Henry Smith	148	2	00	08 ⅓
Mr Moxon	67		18	08 ⅓
Sa: Chapen	43		12	00 ⅓
Tho: Reeve	32		08	10
Rich: Sykes	39½		11	00 ⅓
Will: Warener	40½		11	02 ⅓
Tho: Stebbin	34		09	05

	Aeres.	£	s.	d.
ffra: Ball	33		09	02
Robt: Ashley	51		14	04 9
John Leonard	34½	•	09	06
Tho: Mirick	46		13	00 11
J: Bridgeman	41		11	04 7
Alex: Edwards	60½		16	09 6
Jno: Clarke	36		10	00
Wid: Deeble	22		06	00
Katherine Johns	19		05	04
Rowl: Stebbin	38½		10	08
Sa: Wright	41½		11	06 14
Hen: Burt	47½		13	04 10
Jno: Herman	33		09	02
Roger Pritchard :	28		07	00
Nat: Bliss	51½		14	04 8
Wid: Haynes	40½		11	02 1
Tho: Tomson	56½		15	10 1
Rich: Exell	40½		11	02 10
Jos: Parsons	42½		11	09 10
Jno Matthews	31		08	08
Will: Branch	27½		07	08
Geo: Colton	61		16	09 5
Grif: Jones	36½		10	00
Reice Bedlortha	20		05	06
Will: Vahan	6		01	08
Benj: Cooly	40½		11	02 12
Hugh Parsons	37½		10	04
Jno: Lumbard	25		06	10
Vacant Lott	25		06	10
2 Vacant Lotts	40		11	00 12
3 Vacant Lotts above	60		16	06
	2178½	30	11	02

In January, 1646, Miles Morgan and George Colton were commissioned to "get a Smith for y^e towne," and we find that in the following September "A bargaine was driven the day above s^d betwixt the towne

of Springfeild and ffancis Ball for a shopp for a Smith w^{ch} is to be 12 foote wide, 16 foote in length, five foote studd betwixt Joynts, a chimney for the forge rung'd, to be boarded both roof and sides, to make a doore and windows in the end wth a beam in y^e middst." It is difficult to tell just when Miles Morgan came to Springfield, but he had probably been a resident several years before the date of the above order. Comparatively little is known of Miles Morgan's early life. He was born in England, lived for a while at Bristol, and in 1636 came to this country when a young man, being accompanied by two brothers. The story that Miles Morgan accompanied the Roxbury pioneers to Springfield is utterly untrue. His house-lot was on the south side of Ferry lane (Cypress street), the site of Dr. Chauncey Brewer's residence. During the voyage to America young Morgan made the acquaintance, and, we may infer, won the heart, of a Miss Gilbert, who upon landing settled with her family at Beverly. After Morgan had built him a house in Springfield he pressed his suit with the Beverly maid, — not by letter, as is stated, for the simple reason that Miles could not write. The negotiations were evidently carried on by mutual friends, and Morgan, after his offer was accepted, made the journey to the east in about 1643, taking with him two neighbors and an Indian, duly armed. We are told that Miles and his three attendants walked back all the way from Beverly, while the bride and "some household stuff" were carried by the only horse at the disposal of this unique bridal party. Morgan was a butcher for many years, when his farming operations permitted.

The selectmen chosen in the autumn of 1645 were Lieutenant Smith, Richard Sikes, Samuel Chapin, Thomas Cooper, and Henry Burt. The selectmen for 1646 were Henry Smith, Elizur Holyoke, Samuel Chapin, Henry Burt, and Benjamin Cooley. That year Robert Ashley was licensed to keep the ordinary. Henry Burt's house was on south Main street, near Broad. He was a very active man, and one of his sons became the Deacon Burt of the First church, who was so much honored in later years.

The first Tuesday of November was settled upon for the regular annual town-meeting, which was quite a change from the early habit of holding monthly town-meetings.

The fine for absence from town-meeting, or for leaving the meeting before "y^e blessinge is desired," was raised in 1646 to one bushel of Indian corn.

But centralization invited suspicions. Two months after the election of the second board of townsmen in 1643 voted in town-meeting that they should publish their orders "after Lecture or at any trayninge day or any other publique meetinge." In case the town within a week did not pass a "negative vote" the selectmen's order was to stand as the act of the town. Having made this provision the town put into the hands of its selectmen the duty of assigning meadow lands to those entitled to a share under the rules then prevailing.

The townsmen began keeping a record of their acts in April, 1647. Thomas Cooper was this year substituted for Holyoke upon the board. Francis Ball and Miles Morgan were surveyors for the upper part of the town, and John Clarke and John Herman for the lower part. Their special instructions, besides keeping the highways in condition, were to open "a Horse way over the meddow to y^e Bay path," and a "Bridge over the 3 corner Brooke into the plaine." In 1648 the following were made freemen: John Pynchon, Elizur Holyoke, Henry Burt, Roger Pritchard, Samuel Wright, and William Branch.

The year before the General Court had authorized William Pynchon to administer the freeman's oath at Springfield to "those that are in covenant & live according to their p^rfession." The wording of the vote — "liberty was granted M^r Pinchon to make freemen" — would seem to imply that he was the judge of an inhabitant's qualifications for freemanship.

No change was made in the townsmen until 1650, when John Pynchon, Henry Smith, Samuel Chapin, Henry Burt, and Thomas

Cooper were chosen. John Pynchon now began to figure prominently in local affairs, being elected the town treasurer.

Much trouble was in those days occasioned by breaches of the town order as to swine, and it was specially decreed, in 1646, that : —

All swine that breake into any mans corne ground or meddowe y^t is sufficiently fenced against yoked hoggs : in case men let y^r Swine run abroad unyoked if they breake in and doe any man Trespass, then y^e master of the sayd Swine shall be lyable to p^{ay} all damages as two indifferent men shall Judge y^e damadge to be : but if Swine be yoked and runge then they are free from damages.

The townsmen took the matter up the year following, and ordered that : —

All swine that keepe about his howse or neere any corne ground belonging to the Plantation and not under the hand or custody of a keeper, shall be sufficiently yoked and runge, according to the age and bigness of the swine : And in case any Swine that are above the age of six months shall be found in the streete or about any of y^e Common fences of the corn fields with out yoke & runge : It shall be lawfull for any person soe findinge them, to drive them to the pound (w^{ch} may be any mans privat yard or out howse in y^e present defect of a comon pound) p^{ro}vided alsoe y^t he give the owner of the sayd Swine notice of his impoundinge them with in 24 hours after it is soe done, etc.

We have transcribed several notes of passing interest. Ordered by the town in November, 1646 : —

That Jno Clarke or those that shall Joyne with him in y^e burninge of Tarr shall have liberty to gather candlewood in y^e playne in y^e Bay path : p^{ro}vided they come not to gather any in this side the great pond and y^e swamps that point out from it to Chickopee river and the Mill river w^{ch} is Judged to be about five miles from the towne.

Ordered by the town in September, 1647 : —

Y^t no person shall gather any hops that grow in y^e Swamps or in the comon grounds untill this p^{re}sent day yearly upon payne of forfeitinge what they shall

soe disorderly gather, & 2s. 6d. for breach of order. The forfeiture to y^e informer & ye penalty to y^e town treasury.

Ordered by the town in January, 1646 : —

Y^t if any trees be feld having no other worke bestowed on y^m above 6 months from this day forward in y^e Comons. it shall be lawfull for any man to take them, but any tymber y^t is cross cutt. or firewood y^t is cut out & set on heapes, or rayles, or clefts for pales. no man may take any of these till it have lyen twelve months after it is soe cross cutt or cloven.

The townsmen then declared it unlawful to transport outside the town limits any “ buildinge tymbers, board loggs or sawne boards or planks, or shingle tymber or pipe staves.” The townsmen also decreed that “ Whereas it is judged offensive and noysome for flax & hempe to be watered or washed in the Brooke before mens doores, y^t is of ordinary use for dressinge meate : Therefore it is ordered that no p^{son} shall hence forth water any flax or hempe in the sayd brooke ” on pain of a 6s. 8d. fine.

April, 1649 : —

Henry Smith & Samuell Chapen were chosen to seal up our ffreemens votes for magistrates & to send them sealed up to John Johnson of Roxbury. who is chosen for our deputy to y^e Generall Court.

William Pynchon held court four times a year, all breaches of the peace being presented by a grand jury of two men. In April, 1648, Thomas Mirrick was mulcted in 12s. 8d. for abusing the child of Alexander Edwards. It is believed that Mr. Moxon usually opened court with prayer. The town-meetings now were held in the meeting-house. In later years taverns were sometimes utilized for that purpose.

CHAPTER VII.

1648-1652.

Witchcraft. — Mysterious Lights seen at Night. — Mrs. Bedortha. — Hugh Parsons's Threat. — Mrs. Parsons condemned for Slander. — Mary Parsons bewitched. — Parsons arrested. — Mrs. Parsons accuses herself of Child-Murder. — Taken to Boston. — Mrs. Parsons sentenced to be hanged. — Death before the Day of Execution. — Pecowsic. — John Pynchon's growing Importance. — Church Expenses. — William Pynchon's Heretical Book condemned by the General Court. — Mr. Norton's Reply. — The Doctrine of the Atonement. — The Protest of Sir Henry Vane and the Reply of the General Court. — Pynchon, Moxon, and Smith return to England.

THE task of recording the story of early New England is made embarrassing by an amiable disposition to remember a people by their virtues only. While the stalwart devotion of our forefathers to their faith makes an irresistible appeal to us, their superstitions are continually intruding themselves and making it impossible to forget that they were the children of an ignorant and somewhat unreflecting age. They were self-assertive, brave, and biblical, rather than intuitive. Up to Jonathan Edwards's time one looks in despair for any conscious or serious attempt in New England to verify the teachings of the gospel in reason. With close interpretations of texts they were content to rest; the terrors of witchcraft came constructively within this interpretation, and formed a part of the belief of the age on both sides of the ocean. The witch was not the invention of the Puritans. The belief in a veritable devil of ponderable shape was general in the seventeenth century. The Bible accounts of devils dwelling in earthly habitations were its justification. Men and women, it was believed, made a league with familiar spirits, entering into secret compacts with them, and for the price of their souls secured for a time a diabolical control over the laws of nature. These persons

were called witches. Personal ugliness was a characteristic of the witch in the popular mind. When the Shakespearean Gloucester said to Queen Margaret :

“ Foul wrinkled witch, what makest thou in my sight? ”

he linked a current superstition of personal ugliness to a deed of blood. Witchcraft was a statute crime in England, where no less than thirty thousand lives had been sacrificed upon the gibbet and at the stake to crush it out. The league of Mephistopheles and Faust, which was poetry to the Germans, was to the English a vulgar offence against law.

In the lower part of Main street, which in 1648 must have resembled somewhat a forest road, with clearings on the river-side to make room for log-cabins, barns, and young orchards, lived Rice Bedortha and his wife Blanche. They had as neighbors upon the Mill river side, Benjamin Cooley, Jonathan Burt, Hugh Parsons, and John Lombard : while to the north dwelt Griffith Jones and John Matthews. Five doors above was George Langton. In this remote part of the town the witch fever started. These houses were situated on the border of the wet meadows, and it is quite likely that at times marsh lights were seen after dark. Mrs. Bedortha, at any rate, so asserted : and there were things happening in that part of the town, mysterious things, that were enough to make the cold moisture stand upon the brow of the bravest.

Skulking lights at dead of night out on the marshes were not the worst. Blanche Bedortha told all along the street how Hugh Parsons, her neighbor three doors below, had called at the house one day to see her husband about some bricks. While the two men were talking she joined in the conversation. “ Gammer,” exclaimed Parsons sharply, “ you needed not have said anything. I spake not to you ; but I shall remember you when you little think on it.” Mr. Bedortha was naturally offended at Parsons’s outburst, and declared

that it was "no good speech." The situation was in no way extraordinary. A woman says an unnecessary thing, a man retorts with feeling, and things get involved.

The men probably soon forgot the circumstance, but Mrs. Bedortha did not; she treasured the threat of Hugh Parsons. She thought of it at her work; she told of it when out among her neighbors; and she trembled with secret fear when she retired at night. "I shall remember you when you little think on it!" These were the words that rang in her ears. One night, as she was retiring, she was startled by three flashes of light. They appeared to come from the inside of her red shag cotton "waistcoat," which she had just taken off and was about to hang upon a peg. She quickly held up the garment between her hands a second time, but there was no flash. A double Indian mat was between her and the fire, so that no light could have been cast from that. For several nights she held up the red waistcoat, but no flash of light was seen.

A month later Mrs. Bedortha was delivered of a child. Before her recovery she became afflicted in a strange, mysterious way. She felt upon her left side sharp pains as though pierced by knives in three different places. "Suddenly after," she said, "my thoughts were that this evil might come upon me from the said threatening speech of Hugh Parsons. I do not apprehend that I was sick in any other part of my body, but in the said three places only, and by the extremity of these prickings only." Those who are familiar with Cotton Mather's elaborate accounts of how the little "gentleman in black" was in the habit of pinching and pricking people, will at once see the drift of such evidence. Her nurse was a widow, Mrs. Marshfield, who had once lived at Windsor, herself a character not free from rumored connection with witchcraft. It is within the possibilities that the widow at once went all through the neighborhood, and while the good matrons were carding or spinning (for it was then winter) described the prickings as well as the threatenings of Hugh Parsons. And it is not at all improbable that Mrs. Parsons (Mary Lewis)

heard of the reflections upon her husband's character with high resentment. Widow Marshfield and Goody Parsons at any rate fell out. "There are divers strange lights seen of late in the meddow that were never seen before y^e Widdow Marshfeild came to towne," said Mrs. Parsons by way of a home-thrust at Mrs. Marshfield. Mrs. Parsons also went along the street and elaborated her case against the widow Marshfield. She charged that the widow envied every child born at Windsor until her daughter became a mother, but that the child soon died,—and so did her cow! "It was publicly known," whispered Goody Parsons, "that the devil followed her at her house in Windsor, and for ought I know follows her here." This talking match between the two goodies culminated in a suit for slander, brought by Mrs. Bedortha's widowed nurse against Mrs. Parsons; and William Pyncheon, after due deliberation, condemned Mrs. Parsons to twenty lashes, to be administered by the constable after lecture, or to pay to Mrs. Marshfield £3 damages "towards the reparation of her good name."

The payment of this fine to the widow was in Indian corn, twenty-four bushels, and when it was offered Hugh asked her to abate one-third; but she refused, because Hugh had said after the trial that her witnesses had given false testimony. Thereupon Parsons exclaimed in his usual recklessly mysterious way, "Take it!" and he added, "It will be but as wildfire to this house and as a moth to your garment I'll warrant you, and make account it is but lent you!" Mrs. Marshfield secured her corn, but with it the fatality of some overhanging machination.

Mrs. Marshfield, who was the sister of Samuel Marshfield, so often figuring in our early history, was continually on the watch. Her daughter was presently taken with fits. The threats and the fits ran hand in hand all over the excited plantation. They visited every household, and frightened the godly folk half out of their wits; but no one seemed called upon to secure the arrest of Parsons. Martha Moxon and her sister, daughters of the minister, had previous to this

also been taken down with fits, and the reverend father at once recalled the fact that Parsons had grumbled because compelled to build his chimney according to contract, and had even made a mysterious remark that the bricks would do Moxon no good.

Public opinion now ran strongly against the Parsonsese. No deviation from the dead prose of life could take place, but it was mysteriously connected with the quarrelsome family in the lower part of the street. Whenever the red coat of Hugh Parsons appeared, women trembled and clung to their children. The terrible fact was whispered in every kitchen, — Springfield had a witch!

Five months after the Marshfield-Parsons slander case the wife of Hugh Parsons gave birth to a child, which lived but a year. The mother's condition now became serious. Her husband was calculated by nature to irritate and annoy her. When he was about the house frequent disagreements occurred, and his long absences she considered heartless neglect of his family. These strained relations, the eye of suspicion and the finger of the gossip turned upon them by the community, and finally the death of the child, worked Mrs. Mary Parsons's highly-strung organism into a flighty, hysterical condition. She was being pushed down one more step in the long staircase that led her from vivacious maidenhood to the level of a social outcast and the inmate of prisons.

Sarah, the wife of Alexander Edwards, added to the fear of Hugh Parsons by telling how he had called at their house for milk, and how, after she had refused to give him more than a pennyworth, the cow almost "dried up," and the next day the milk was as "yellow as saffron," and each day it turned to some other "strange odd color." Neighbor Griffith Jones, not to be outdone in the relation of wonders about the doings of Parsons, told the Bedorthas, who lived next door, that upon the Lord's day he had left his wife at a neighbor's house after the first sermon, and gone home. He proceeded to "take up" his dinner and to put it "on a little table made on a cradle head." He then looked for a knife, he having two, but they

were both missing, and so he was compelled to use at dinner an old rusty knife in a basket "where I had things to mend shoes withall." After clearing away his dinner dishes he laid the rusty knife on the corner of the table "to cutt a Pip of Tobacco wthall," fed his pig, which had come up close to the door, and returned, only to find *three knives* on the table, "w^{ch} made me blush!" He had presence of mind to cut his pipe of tobacco, however, and at that very instant Parsons came in and asked if he was ready to return to the meeting-house. They smoked together, and Jones told all through the neighborhood that Parsons had bewitched the knives.

Anthony Dorchester, employed by Parsons, had one-fourth interest in a cow which when killed was divided, his employer owning another one-fourth. Both wanted the tongue of the animal, but it fell to Dorchester, and subsequently, when cooking it, it mysteriously disappeared from the pot. It was the work of a witch, of course. George Lankton slipped a pudding out of a bag one day after it was cooked, his wife Hannah being indisposed, and the pudding parted from end to end as though cut with a knife. Lankton had previously refused to sell Parsons some hay. Parsons made a bargain for a piece of land of Thomas Miller, and Miller immediately thereafter cut his leg while chopping. Men heard strange noises at night like filing of saws. Blanche Bedortha's child, now two years old, cried out one day that it was afraid of Parsons's dog: Parsons had no dog. Parsons was at Longmeadow at work when he heard of the death of his second child. Several people were near him and heard him say, "I will cut a pipe of tobacco before I go home." The speech was in everybody's mouth before the day was done, and when appealed to for an explanation for this unfatherly placidity, he replied, "I was very full of sorrow for the death of it in private, though not in public." Even the worthy Henry Smith could not withstand the infection. He had once refused to sell Parsons some peas, and in the summer of 1648 it was remembered that two of his children had died.

The effect upon Mrs. Parsons was pitiable. She was already in a decline, suffering from consumption. Her every movement was watched. Disgrace followed close upon her heels, and her wavering mind invited a subtle suspicion: Was not her own husband really a witch? The tragedy had begun, — Mrs. Parsons was becoming insane. The suspicion that her husband was in league with the devil became a mania. She watched him with cat-like tenacity. When he lay asleep she would search for the little black marks which in those days the devil was supposed to put upon those making a covenant of witchcraft. She did not find the devil's sign-manual upon his body, but he talked wildly in his sleep, and had satanic dreams, which he narrated upon waking. So time wore on.

The death of Mrs. Parsons's second child, Joshua, took place March 1, 1651. She was now ready for the worst, and she went before Magistrate Pyncheon and made oath that her husband was a witch, and was the cause of the death of her infant. Parsons himself had been under legal examination some time before.

"Ah, Witch! Ah, Witch!" cried Goody Stebbins as Constable Mirrick took Parsons past her door, and she fell down in a fit. Miles Morgan had been visiting Thomas Miller when the dreaded man had approached a short time before, and he saw Miller's wife fly into a passion and cry, "Get thee gone, Hugh Parsons! Get thee gone! If thou wilt not goe, I will goe to M^r. Pyncheon and he shall have thee away!" and she too fell prostrate upon the ground. The red coat of Hugh Parsons was the nightmare of the village.

The examination before Mr. Pyncheon only added to the consternation of the community. Jonathan Taylor, after listening to Mrs. Parsons's evidence against her husband, saw in his dreams three snakes on the floor, and one of them with black and yellow stripes bit him on the forehead. He then heard a solemn voice cry out, "Death!" That voice was like the voice of Hugh Parsons. "Death! That is a lie!" shouted Taylor; "it was never known that such a snake killed a man." But Taylor was by this time shaking so that he

roused his wife, who did everything to rescue him from his unseemly dreams. After Mary Parsons had made oath to the witchcraft of her husband she was placed in the hands of Thomas Cooper for safe-keeping, and as Cooper watched the wretched, unnerved woman, he could not refrain from asking her questions, either from curiosity, pity, or a desire to extract new evidence. Here is the record of Mr. Cooper's remarkable testimony: —

I said to her why do you speak so of y^r Husband; methinks if he were a witch there would some apparent Signe or Mark of it appeare upon his Body, for they say Witches have Teates uppon some p^t or other of their Body, but as far as I heere there is not any such apparent Thinge uppon his Body. She answered, it is not always so; but, said she, why do I say so. I have no Skill in Witchery; but, said she, why may it not be with him as it was with me; that Night I was at Goodman Ashlies: the Devell may come into his body only like a Wind, and so goe forth againe, for so the Divill tould me that night (for I think I should have bin a Witch afore now but that I was afraid to see the Divill, lest he should fright me.) But the Divill tould me that I should not Feare that (I will not come in any Apparition, but only come into thy Body like a Wind, and trouble thee a little While, and p^rsently go forth againe;) and so I consented; and that Night I was with my Husband and Goodwife Mericke and Besse Sewell, in Goodman Stebbinges his Lott; and we were sometymes like Catts, and sometymes in our owne shape, and we were a plodding for some good cheere; and they made me to go barefoote and mak the Fiers, because I had declared so much at Mr. Pynchon's.

Wretched woman! She had been made victim to every relation of life, whether as wife, inhabitant, or church member. Her first marriage to a Roman Catholic had brought her into bad odor; her second marriage to a talkative, happy-go-lucky, pipe-smoking bricklayer, who evidently had a way of appropriating other people's goods on occasion, and maliciously resenting all reflections upon his character, drew her down to a level of life where even her strong points but made fuel for the fires of persecution. This highly-strung creature was forced to lose, first, respect for her neighbors, then respect for her husband, and finally respect for herself. Then her mind gave

way, but not her self-consciousness ; for her final terror came upon her with all the force of remorse. She had charged her husband with murder and witchcraft. This was her remorse. " They made me to go barefoote, and mak the fires, because I had declared so much at M^r. Pynchon's." These words give the full force of her remorse. Her husband had been carried to Boston (about March 20, 1651), but more evidence was being taken against him at Springfield, to be forwarded to the Bay. Madness and remorse brought a change in the burden of her talk, and Mrs. Parsons finally confessed that the blood of her child was upon her own hands. She went farther, and declared herself to be under the influence of Satan. Her wild words were accepted for the sober truth, and she too was conveyed to Boston under arrest for both murder and witchcraft. If her distracted brain responded in any degree to an appreciation of the situation, she at least had the sad relief of knowing that the same tongue which had placed her husband under the shadow of the gallows had undone the mischief in part by putting her by his side, or rather in his place. Mrs. Parsons's jury in May accepted her crazy confession of child-murder, but refused to believe her a witch. The General Court confirmed the verdict ; she was sentenced to be hanged, and the death watch was placed over her.

Upon the morning named for the execution she was too feeble to be moved from her cell, and she was respited. The second day of doom came, but Mary Lewis Parsons lay dead upon her couch. She is as much a martyr to be held in commiserating memory by us, as many others who fell by the way during the making of Springfield.

The trial of Hugh Parsons in June ended in conviction, but in May, 1652, the General Court refused to confirm the verdict, and he escaped the gallows. He left Boston, and probably Massachusetts, and was never seen in Springfield again.

While the machinery of local government went steadily on, there are not wanting indications of an unsettled spirit in the community. Many of the inhabitants had shown a decided preference for " the

longe meddowe," and, foreseeing that that part of the town was destined to grow in importance, a request was lodged for a permit to surrender the planting-grounds upon the river-bank, and to take lands back upon the next plantation. This request was granted in 1648. Three years after, lands were apportioned at Pecowsic and Mill river as follows : —

The names of such as have meddow granted y^m, & how they are to ly, by lot.
On Pacowsick beginning at y^e lower end.

Benj ^a Cooly lys	1st	who hath 3 acres
Anthony Dorchester	2d	4 acres
Widdow Bliss	3d	3
Roger Prichard & } John Lumbard }	4th	1 & ½
Nath Pritchard	5th	4
John Harmon	6th	2½

On y^e Mill River beginning lowermost on y^e south east branch, & so going up to y^e litle brooke & then upward to y^e — 16 — acres, and so on to y^e North-branch and y^e upper end & then come downward & lastly to y^e lake or pond.

Wm Clark	1st	4 acres
Nath Bliss	2d	2
Miles Morgan	3d	2
Jno Leanord	4th	2
Rich Exell	5th	1½
Jonathan Burt	6th	1½
Sam Marshfield	7	1
Benja Mun	8	1
James Bridgman	9	2
Mr Moxon	10	2
Jno Drembleton	11	4
Henry Chapen	12	4
Robert Ashly	13	3½
John Lamb	14	5
Tho: Mirick	15	3
Henry Burt	16	3
Wm Warinar	17	1
Rice Bedortha	18	1

Tho Cooper	19	1
Jonath Taylor	20	1
Sam Chapen	21	1

Robert Ashley's section was given on condition that he keep an ordinary, but it was to be surrendered in case he failed in this respect.

The fact that John Pynchon was becoming an extensive trader and business man was probably due to the encouragement of his father, who felt that he himself was not destined to spend his closing days in Springfield. The son was pushed forward in both public and private affairs, and soon gained the confidence of the community. In the winter of 1650 we find that, "It is agreed by the Towne that if Mr. John Pynchon will make a chamber over the meeting-house and board it : he shall have the use of it entirely to himself for Ten years," when the town could secure it by paying the expense of building it. A year later a dispute arose between John Pynchon and the town over this chamber. The young man used the chamber for storing corn ; many feared that the grain would come down upon their heads, and he was limited to 400 bushels at one time, unless he "underprop y^e floor." The town finally bought the chamber outright.

There is not a line of manuscript of this period extant that can be pointed to as evidence that the course of Mr. Moxon's teachings was not in full accord with the orthodox views of the times, and yet it is more than probable that he differed with the great divines down at the Bay. One wonders what was the occasion of this action, taken Dec. 27, 1649 : "It is alsoe ordered y^t y^e select Townsmen wth y^e Deacons shall in y^e behalfe of the Towne draw up & send down to y^e elders a letter desiring y^m to explaine y^e cleere meaninge of y^e voates concerninge Mr. Moxon's maintenance."

In 1652 John Pynchon headed a committee to bargain with Mr. Moxon for all of his Springfield real estate, which, after due deliberation and several meetings, was brought about, the agreement being that

his home-lot and buildings, and all of his meadow, wood, and planting-grounds should .. Remaine for ever to y^e use of y^e Inhabitants of Springfeild.” In 1655 a formal vote was passed dedicating this property for the perpetual use of the ministry. The price paid Mr. Moxon for his property was £70. This was about what he received as a yearly stipend, but there had been some uncertainty even about this, as can be inferred from a clause in the following treasurer’s account, approved Jan. 30, 1651 : —

	£	
Mr. Moxon's maintenance	70	00
Mr. Will. Pynchon for the Bell	05	00
for Mr. Moxon wch he pd for y ^e Towne upon y ^e close last yeare.	10	00
Mr. John Pynchon for a barrell of powder for a towne stock .	07	12 6
1 qr 11 lbs muskett bullets & y ^e caske	01	17 6
50 L of match &c.	01	13 4
for y ^e cartway to y ^e foot of y ^e falls	10	00 0
	<u>21</u>	<u>03 4</u>
for charges about repayringe the meeting howse. hanging the		
bell & other charges	18	00 00
for killinge 5 wolves	05	03 04
		<u>129 03 04</u>
Total	129	03 04

It is agreed and ordered that the prices of corne for payment of all these rates shall be wheate at 3s 10d per bg. pease at 3s per bg. Indian at 2s 6d per bg. only Mr. Moxon's rate we are to agree with him.

The purchase of the Moxon property was a wise move upon general principles, but it meant also that the poor plantation was about to suffer a great loss. The May session of the Massachusetts Bay General Court of 1651, which confirmed Mary Parsons's death-sentence, was furnished forth with a matter of still greater importance in the eyes of the great men of that day. The waters of tribulation had gathered about the great, clear-visioned founder of Springfield. He had reached Boston from Springfield in company with Henry Smith, the deputy, and a number of citizens ready to swear in the

Parsons cases. He had not been elected assistant as in former years, because a cloud hung over his head touching his theology. Mary Parsons lay in jail awaiting her execution; her husband had not yet had his trial. Mr. Pynchon was also oppressed by the "present troubles of his family." Some of the brightest minds of Boston were set at work to win Mr. Pynchon back to an orthodox belief. It was his hour of humiliation, and unless one can realize the terrible weight of a despotic popular sentiment, it will be useless to attempt an explanation of Mr. Pynchon's almost heroic retreat from settled theological convictions. The solemn court had just confirmed the sentence of death upon Mary Parsons when Mr. Pynchon's retraction was presented and considered. Here it is, as set forth in the records of the Massachusetts Bay colony: —

According to the Court's advice. I have conferred with the Rev. Mr. Cotton, Mr Norrice and Mr Norton about some poynts of the greatest consequence in my booke, and I hope have so explayned my meaninge to them as to take off the worst construction; and it hath pleased God to let me see that I have not spoken in my booke so fully of the price and merrit of Christ's sufferings as I should have done, for in my booke I call them but trialls of his obedience, yet intending thereby to amplyfy and exalt the mediatoriall obedyence of Christ as the only meritorious price of man's redemption; but now at present, I am much inclined to thinke that his sufferings were appoynted by God for a further end, namely, as the due punishment of our sins by way of satisfaction to divine justice for man's redemption.

This document was signed, "Yo^r humble servant, in all dutyfull respects, William Pinchon." It will be out of the limits set for this history to follow the steps of this fierce theological controversy, except so far as it affected the Springfield plantation. Mr. Pynchon had found time to discuss somewhat philosophically and intuitively the doctrine of atonement, and he had gradually come to the conclusion that Christ's mediatorial obedience was a more important element in the agency that secured man's redemption than His suf-

ferings. He had written quite a pamphlet upon this subject, and had sent it to England for publication. It was the now famous "Merritorious Price of our Redemption." It reached Boston during the



PYNCHON'S BOOK BURNED ON BOSTON COMMON.

session of the October court, 1650, and produced the most profound consternation. Gall was as vital as grace to the Boston divine: without any unnecessary ceremony the book was ordered to be burned in the market-place after lecture, and the distinguished Mr. Norton, of Ipswich, was subsequently chosen to prepare and publish a reply to Mr. Pyncheon's book. Mr. Norton was just the man for such a commission. He had been a brilliant student at Cambridge, was set against Arminianism, and was one of the politico-theologians who

ruled New England. John Cotton, in his last days, when much concerned about a successor to his pulpit, dreamed that he saw Mr. Norton coming into Boston on a white horse. It fell out (so Cotton Mather claims) that Mr. Norton, when he entered Boston to take charge of John Cotton's church, did ride upon a white horse. This was the advocate appealed to by Massachusetts to give battle to William Pynchon over the doctrine of the atonement, and it will be found upon reading Norton's reply and Pynchon's second book that our honored pioneer was quite the equal of the university student as a logician, and much his superior in the reasoning that is based upon the inspiration of a catholic heart and a broad mind. We can make this claim without casting reflections upon the Boston scheme of government, which for that age was a protest against the worldly formalism of the English Church.

The cautiously worded retraction which Mr. Pynchon felt justified in submitting did not quite reconcile the authorities at the Bay. In a frigid manner they simply voted that he was "in a hopeful way to give good satisfaction," and allowed him to return home, but bound him over to answer still further at the next session. Henry Smith was at once substituted as magistrate at Springfield, however, — a bit of stern discipline which Mr. Pynchon deeply felt.

The merits of Mr. Pynchon's conviction as to the real nature of the atonement would take a chapter to detail. He claimed, in short, that Christ's obedience was set over against Adam's disobedience; that if He had died unwillingly, the sacrifice would not have been sufficient. "His divine nature," argues Mr. Pynchon, "was the altar upon which He sacrificed His human nature. Yet His meditorial death was a miraculous death. The devil and his agents had power to bruise Him, and to nail Him to the cross. But they had no power to separate His Soul from His body. So His death was not passive but active; and, therefore, a part of his meditorial obedience."

Those familiar with the long course of the discussion over the philosophy of the atonement, and the old Puritan tenets, will understand

why Pynchon's book fed the flames on Boston Common, and why the General Court hastened to draw up a protest to send back to England in a vessel that was ready to weigh anchor. At that time the Pynchon book had not been read, but was condemned by its title-page alone. The death of Governor Winthrop had given the more orthodox in New England greater freedom to work out to the full their beliefs. Sir Henry Vane, like Winthrop, had been a warm personal friend of Mr. Pynchon, and he wrote the Massachusetts authorities from England, in the spring of 1652, advising them to deal with Pynchon in a brotherly way, and to encourage him to remain longer in the service of the churches. Sir Henry's letter brought this reply: —

HONOURED SIR. We received your letter bearing date the 15th of April, 1652, written in the behalf of M^r William Pincheon, who is one that we did all love and respect. But his book and the doctrine therein contained we cannot but abhor as pernicious, and dangerous: and are much grieved, that such an erroneous pamphlet was penned by any New England man, especially a Magistrate amongst us, wherein he taketh upon him to condemn the judgment of most, if not all, both ancient and modern divines, who were learned, orthodox and godly in a point of so great weight and concernment, as tend to the salvation of God's elect, and the contrary, which he maintains to the destruction of such as follow it. Neither have we ever heard of any one godly orthodox divine, that ever held what he hath written: nor do we know any one of our ministers in all the four jurisdictions that doth approve of the same: but all do judge it as erroneous and heretical. And to the end that we might give satisfaction to all the world of our just proceedings against him, and for the avoiding of any just offence to be taken against us, we caused M^r John Norton, teacher of the church of Ipswich, to answer his book fully, which, if it be printed, we hope it will give yourself and all indifferent men full satisfaction.

Mr. Pincheon might have kept his judgment to himself, as it seems he did above thirty years, most of which time he hath lived amongst us with honour, much respect, and love. But when God left him to himself in the publishing, and spreading of his erroneous book here amongst us, to the endangering of the faith of such as might come to read them, as the like effects have followed the reading of other erroneous books brought over into these parts, we held it our duty, and believed we were called of God, to proceed against him accordingly. And this we

T H E
M E R I T O R I O U S P R I C E
O F

Our Redemption, Iustification, &c.
Cleering it from some common Errors;

And proving,

- Part I. { 1. That Christ did not suffer for us those unutterable torments of Gods wrath, that commonly are called Hell-torments, to redeem our soules from them.
- Part II. { 2. That Christ did not bear our sins by Gods imputation, and therefore he did not bear the curse of the Law for them.
3. That Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law (not by suffering the said curse for us, but) by a satisfactory price of attonement; viz. by paying or performing unto his Father that invaluable precious thing of his Mediatoriall obedience, wherof his Mediatoriall Sacrifice of attonement was the master-piece.
4. A sinners righteousness or justification is explained, and cleered from some common Errors.

By *William Pinchin*, Gentleman, in New-England.

The Mediator saith thus to his Father in *Psal 40.8, 10.*

I delight to do thy will O my God, jea thy Law is within my heart: (viz.) I delight to do thy will, or Law, as a Mediator.

I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart, I have declared thy faithfulness, and thy salvation: Namely, I have not hid thy righteousness, or thy way of making sinners righteous, but have declared it by the performance of my Mediatoriall Sacrifice of attonement, as the procuring cause of thy attonement, to the great Congregation for their everlasting righteousness.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *J. M.* for *George Whittington*, and *James Moxon*, and are to be sold at the blue Anchor in Corn-hill near the Royall Exchange. 1650.

can further say. and that truly, that we used all lawful Christian means. with as much tenderness. respect, and love, as he could expect, which we think he himself will acknowledge. For we desired divers of our elders such as he himself liked, to confer with him privately, lovingly and meekly, to see if they could prevail with him by arguments from the scriptures, which accordingly was done: and he was then thereby so far convinced that he seemed to yield for substance the case in controversy signed with his own hand. And for the better confirming of him in the truth of God, Mr. Norton left with him a copy of the book he writ in answer to him; and the Court gave him divers months to consider both of the book, and what had been spoken unto him by the elders. But in the interim (as it is reported) he received letters from England. which encouraged him in his errors, to the great grief of us all. and of divers others of the people of God amongst us. We therefore leave the author. together with the fautors and maintainers of such opinions to the great Judge of all the earth, who judgeth righteously and is no respecter of persons. Touching that which your honoured self doth advise us unto. viz. not to censure any persons for matters of a religious nature or concernment. we desire to follow any good advice from you. or any of the people of God. according to the rule of God's word. Yet we conceive. with subemission still to better light. that we have not acted in Mr. Pincheon's case either for substance or circumstance, as far as we can discern. otherwise than according unto rule, and as we believe in conscience to God's command. we were bound to do. All which we hope will so far satisfy you as that we shall not need to make any further defence touching this subject. The God of peace and truth lead you into all faith. and guide your heart aright in these dangerous and apostatising times, wherein many are fallen from the faith. giving heed to errours, and make you an instrument (in the place God hath called you unto) of his praise. to stand for his truth against all opposers thereof. which will bring you peace and comfort in the saddest hours, which are the prayers of. Sir.

Your unworthy servants.

20 October, 1652.
Past by the Council.

John Endicott. Gov'r
Tho Dudley Dep'ty
Rich. Bellingham
Increase Nowell
Simon Bradstreet
Wm Hibbins
Sam. Simonds
Robt Bridges
John Glover

After Mr. Pynchon had signed his retraction, and the General Court had not considered it full enough to warrant their continuing him in his position as magistrate at Springfield, Pynchon returned home with his son-in-law, Henry Smith. No one can say why Smith should accept a mark of favor which was a rebuke to his father-in-law, and no one can really say that he did. For two years after the burning of Mr. Pynchon's book the magistracy book is blank. If Mr. Smith acted as local judge, he left no record of it. As Pynchon rode for three or more days westward, what must have been his thought? — loss of public confidence, an object of hatred by the General Court, relieved of office, disgraced, and set upon by busy tongues!

The whole Commonwealth was shaken with an uneasy, unsettled feeling. Witchcraft and heresy seemed, in the eyes of the Boston divines, to be walking hand in hand. Springfield rested under a cloud, and the names of William Pynchon and Hugh and Mary Parsons were in the minds of the stern soldiers of the gospel when they recorded the following solemn decree: "This Court, takeinge into consideration how farre Sathan pwayles amongst us in respect of witchcraft, as also by drawing away some from the truth to the pfection & practise of straung opinions, & also consideringe the state & condition of England, Ireland & Scotland, & the great thinges now in hand there, conceive it necessary that there be a day of humiliation throughout o' jurisdiction in all the churches."

Mr. Pynchon's feelings can best be inferred from his acts. He did not appear at the October term, according to the direction of the court. Mr. Smith attended the court, but after remaining a few days he was granted special leave to return. When it became known that Mr. Pynchon was not to be present during the session, the court voted that it "is willinge, that all patience be exercised towards M^r Wm Pinchon, that, if it be possible, he may be reduced into the way of truth, & that he might renounce the errorrs & haeresies published in his booke; & for that end doe give him time to the

next General Courte in May more thoroughly to consider of the s^d errors & haeresies in his s^d booke, & well to weigh the judicious answer of Mr. John Norton thereto." The penalty of non-appearance was £100.

The distress at Springfield over the strange things was great. Mr. Pynchon had determined to go back to England and stay there. If his retraction was not sufficient, then he could never meet the demands of the Bay authorities.

But who in Springfield were to go with him, and who to stay? Young John Pynchon decided to remain, as his wife naturally objected leaving her family in Connecticut. But Elizur Holyoke and his wife Mary had no such ties. Would they go with her father? And Henry Smith and his wife, — what would they do? Here was the parting of the ways, and on the decision hung the fate of the western Massachusetts of that generation. The young men saved Springfield. John Pynchon and Elizur Holyoke stood by the plantation, but Henry Smith accompanied the retiring party. Rev. Mr. Moxon, too, gave up his parsonage, his new church, and the hopes that had gathered around them, and joined Mr. Pynchon's party.

William Pynchon suffered the usual fate of men who are ahead of their age, and if he had elected to remain in Massachusetts he would have been banished, without doubt, as Roger Williams had been a short time before. His career in New England was personally a trying one, most of the time antagonizing the tendencies of government here. We in our day can recognize the broad spirit that moved him, and, at the same time, we can understand the motives of State that dominated the earnest men of the Bay. They had fled from a corrupt civilization to the forest, and their loss of physical comfort and the continued association with pioneer perils was the price they were willing to pay for the privilege of reading and preaching the word of God. The Roger Williamses and the William Pynchons are sure to get entangled in the meshes of such a scheme. Roger Williams had watched the Pynchon controversy, and had written to an



THE PYNCHON TABLET AT WRITTLE, ENGLAND.

acquaintance deploring the lack of liberality on the part of the province toward the Springfield man.

William Pynchon, Henry Smith, and Rev. Mr. Moxon were at Hartford in July, 1652, on their way to England; and in May, 1653, Pynchon met, at London, his brother from Bedfordshire, who had gone up to greet him. Mr. Pynchon settled at Wraisbury, on the Thames. He might have gone to Writtle, where now exists an elegant marble memorial of the Pynchon family; but he preferred to settle where he could see from his window Magna Charta island and Windsor castle. There is a tradition in the Pynchon family that Mr. Moxon was silenced upon his return to England, and was reduced to the position of servant to a tradesman. It is not likely, however, that Mr. Pynchon would have permitted his old friend to suffer in this way. It has been understood by the American branch of the Pynchons that William Pynchon bought of the government, upon his return to England, some lands, valued at £1,100 sterling, which he lost at the Restoration. He certainly lived at Wraisbury, upon an estate of the Pynchons.

Bulstrode Whitelocke, the great Parliamentary lawyer of Cromwell's time, was a relative of Pynchon through the Empsons; and when the returning Puritan reached Wraisbury he was near his Bulstrode relatives.

Mr. Pynchon's second wife died October 10, 1657. People from many towns about Wraisbury attended the funeral. Pynchon's daughter, Mary Holyoke, had died that year, and he writes feelingly: "I am the more solitary as Son Smith is of a reserved melancholy disposition, and my daughter is crazy."

William Pynchon founded Roxbury, the mother of fourteen New England towns; he founded Springfield, the mother of thirteen New England towns and god-mother of quite as many more. Roxbury has named a street after him; so has Springfield. Beyond this, William Pynchon has no public memorial in this country.

CHAPTER VIII.

1653-1675.

Springfield in the Hands of Young Men. — The Discipline more rigid. — Apportionments of Land. — Power of the Selectmen. — Quabaug. — The Vacant Pulpit. — Various Candidates. — Rev. Mr. Glover settled. — How the Meeting-House was “dignified.” — Hampshire County. — Business of the County Courts. — Numerous Offences against Private Morals. — The Cause. — Tything-Men. — Death of Mary Holyoke. — Death of William Pynchon in England. — The Pynchon Fort on Main Street.

THE town of Springfield had touched its low-water mark with the departure of its founder, its minister, and its scribe. One needs no evidence of tradition to be convinced that the young men left to take up the burdens and responsibilities of the plantation thought seriously of abandoning the work and going down the river. Nothing but the most heroic courage and faith could have induced the depleted community to hold fast to the lands already cleared. They were poor, unprotected from the dangers of the great wilderness west and north, and separated from the jurisdiction of the Bay by a 100-mile forest, and were unable for a long time to secure a minister.

The man of the hour was John Pynchon. He was methodical, naturally given to the details of business and government, and was a wiser man than his father in avoiding annoying complications. He had a technical mind, and was more of an executive officer, but less of a thinker. He wrote a better hand, and was a natural student; but he could not take in with his eye, as could William Pynchon, the sweep of a new government, and determine the principles that make for permanence in the State. John Pynchon was not the man to found a town, and William Pynchon was not the man to build one up.

John Pynchon and his young associates, Elizur Holyoke and Sam-

uel Chapin, took the oath as magistrates, Nov. 22, 1652. It was the turning-point in everything that makes Springfield a stronghold of regular government in local affairs. John Pynchon was only thirty-one years of age. The business of administration was more closely attended to: the "presenter," or grand jurymen, was instructed to seek out offences against the laws of the colony. The regular court days came in March and September, and while private interests continued to figure in court as before, public causes multiplied. Richard Sikes is fined for smoking on a hay-rack: Gooly Griffith is punished for carrying fire uncovered in the streets, and in a multitude of ways it became evident that a strong governing hand had taken hold of the helm.

When Mr. Smith sailed for England late in the autumn of 1652 he left his wife here, probably on account of sickness and death in his family: the General Court did not think best to confirm his election as captain of the Springfield trainband, "untill he shall return from England." But the elections of John Pynchon as lieutenant and of Elizur Holyoke as ensign were at once approved. And it might be here remarked that every officer, from hog-reeve to magistrate, was first elected by the people, the General Court only using its prerogative of ratification.

Mr. Pynchon secured from the General Court in 1652 the loan of a "great gun" for the protection of the town. It was ordered from Boston that "Samuel Chapin be joynd with M^r. Pynchon & M^r. Holyoke for the dividinge of the townes." The division referred to was at "Noatucke" or Northampton: the commission was duly performed, and approved by the Bay authorities in 1654, and the year following the Northampton commissioners were ordered to take the oath before the Springfield commissioners. The latter court was also sometimes specially called upon to try cases in the infant plantation, as appears from the vote passed in May, 1656, that John Pynchon and Elizur Holyoke shall try Robert Bartlett, charged with committing "a great misdemeanor in attemptinge to force the s^t Smith's wife."

In 1653 the town appropriated a tract of land on Chicopee plain to support a schoolmaster. The custom of subsidizing the innkeeper has already been spoken of. This was a custom brought from England. At a later date Samuel Ely was released from duty on training days if he would agree to keep an ordinary.

The young blood upon the judge's bench began to produce results. Daniel, a Scotch servant, gets twenty lashes for profaning the Sabbath; Joane Miller is summoned to answer the charge of calling her husband a "foole, toad, vermine, and threateninge him;" Samuel Ely is fined for selling cider to the Indians; Aquossowump, an Indian, is flogged for theft; and Goodwife Hunter is gagged and made to stand half an hour in the stocks for sundry "exorbitancys of y^e tounge."

The town-meeting showed a like infusion of new life. Its reduced numbers were not followed by reduced financial burdens in town expenses. Money for Moxon's real estate was provided for, which ran the tax-rate to £107 12s. 6d. in 1653. They paid that year £35 on the Moxon purchase, £50 for Rev. Mr. Horsford, with the hope that he would remain with them, and 1s. 3d. for an hour-glass, which latter ensured them full measure of preaching on the Sabbath.

In 1653 John Pynchon was dropped from the board of townsmen, probably because he was a magistrate and recorder of deeds. The new board of selectmen were George Colton, Robert Ashley, Thomas Cooper, Benjamin Cooley, and Thomas Stebbins. This was quite a change, and a change, too, in the direction of the small landholders. The importance of the selectmen was lessened by the vote of October, 1664. In defining the powers of the new board it is expressly said that "giving out of y^e land belongs to y^e towne." On the previous May John Pynchon's lot on Long Hill had been increased by the town, upon the condition that he would buy a flock of forty sheep, and sell them as he might to the inhabitants. In 1666 Mr. Pynchon proposed to spend £200 in building a new mill, and a stormy town-meeting took place on account of a proposition to refund this money. The proposition was voted down. A private subscription was then

taken up, and Mr. Pyncheon concluded to go ahead. Subsequently the town voted Pyncheon one-twelfth part of a bushel for all the grain ground in the new mill. A few days later he was voted some land, if he would also build a saw-mill. Pyncheon's slaves, "Harry" and "Roco," worked on the first mill put up at Suffield in 1672.

From the mass of orders in town-meetings, as to small matters, the following is selected as a sample : —

Ordered that the y^e gate at the higher wharfe shall be set in repaire ag^t y^e spring of y^e yeare & y^t y^e s^d gate shall be kept in repaire and well hung fro yeare to yeare & after fences be made up in y^e spring yearly the s^d gate shall be always kept shut till all y^e fields about it be broken up. And if any person shall throw open or leave open the s^d gate fro the tyme of making up fences in y^e spring till liberty of laying y^e fields commons he shall forfeit a fine of 5s.

About 1662 the old road along the brow of the hill (Maple street), through the pines to the dingle, was laid out, and on it the house of correction was built. It was found convenient, also, to build a pound on the west side, at the "hay place," which was probably not far from the old upper ferry, opposite Cypress street.

The board of townsmen of 1654 consisted of Thomas Cooper, George Colton, Robert Ashley, Henry Burt, and Benjamin Cooley. The following year, Cooper, Ashley, and Cooley were reelected, and Miles Morgan and John Dumbleton chosen in the place of Colton and Burt. The three members reelected refused to serve, and they were fined 20s. apiece, while George Colton and Thomas and John Stebbins were chosen to fill their places. Lieutenant Cooper was evidently a brisk, outspoken man, which sometimes made it difficult to get on with him. Some years later he was appointed by the County Court to aid in laying out a highway, but the judges finally substituted another man on account of his refusal to serve.

The new board of townsmen, with John Pyncheon and Samuel Chapin, were constituted a commission to allot the common lands. The new plan was followed for several years, but we find that in 1663

the power to grant allotments of land was again taken from the selectmen and given to Captain Pynchon, Ensign Cooper, Benjamin Cooley, George Colton, Rowland Thomas, Miles Morgan, and Elizur Holyoke, "for the present." A brisk apportionment of lands followed.

We cannot but think that behind these short orders, changing the privilege of dividing and assigning lands from the town-meeting to the selectmen, then back to the town-meeting, then to the selectmen aided by a committee, and finally to a special land board, is an interesting chapter of our annals that is lost beyond all hope of recovery. Certain it is that, for some reason, a rebellious spirit rested upon the local waters. Men sometimes absented themselves wilfully from the town-meeting. In April, 1665, the following persons were fined for this offence: Henry Chapin, Griffith Jones, Edward Foster, William Branch, Deacon Chapin, Robert Ashley, Thomas Mirrick, Anthony Dorchester, Jonathan Burt, William Brookes, Joseph Crowfoote, John Leonard, Ensign Cooper, Benjamin Mun, John Clarke, and Nathaniel Burt.

It was in 1655 that the base of assessment of taxes was changed from the number of acres to the value of the lands. Stock was, as before, included in the ratable property. Men without any property were taxed 5s. per annum for the support of the ministry.

The town-organizing genius of John Pynchon showed itself in January, 1656, when he and others received power to assign lands at Woronoco (Westfield) to settlers. The final apportionment was not made, however, until 1664. Pynchon was authorized, with others, to apportion land at Squakheag (Northfield) for a plantation, in 1672.

The struggling community at Quabaug had all along been under the fostering care of Springfield. As early as 1655 Elizur Holyoke had been a member of a legislative committee to lay out four thousand acres for some Indians near Quabaug; and, ten years later, the plantation applied to Springfield to secure for them the Indian title to the lands they occupied. Lieut. Thomas Cooper performed that service, Elizur Holyoke and Samuel and Japhet Chapin witnessing the deed.

In 1667 John Pyncheon headed a provisional committee, appointed at the Bay, to lay out lands, admit inhabitants, and complete the town organization at Quabang. Thus it happens that the first records of Brookfield are in Major Pyncheon's handwriting. In 1673 Pyncheon refused absolutely to serve on the provisional committee, and Quabang was at once incorporated as a town, under the name of Brookfield.

John Pyncheon was on the commission appointed in 1664 to receive the surrender of New Amsterdam (New York) from the Dutch. It is believed, however, that he only went part way upon his journey when news reached him that the surrender had been made. Pyncheon's church, judicial, military, and political duties pressed heavily upon him, but his business-like habits enabled him to carry a load which might have overcome a stronger man.

Rev. Mr. Horsford was a disappointment, and when Rev. Mr. Thomson came to Springfield to preach as a candidate, he was given (November, 1655) the "towne house" or parsonage, situated between the lot of Thomas Cooper and Deacon Chapin. Thomson to keep the house in repair. For some reason the new minister did not occupy it, and the town had to undertake repairs at its own expense.

In March, 1656, Mr. Thomson had "deserted this Plantation," and Deacon Wright was chosen to supply the pulpit. In February following Mr. Holyoke and Henry Burt were called upon to carry on the public services, Deacon Chapin being substitute. In 1657 services were conducted by Pyncheon, Holyoke, Chapin, and Burt, and Mr. Pyncheon was even authorized to read his "owne meditations." Wealth did much for John Pyncheon, to be sure; it may have put him on the board of selectmen, or secured his election as an associate in the Great and General Court; nay, it may have contributed toward placing him upon the bench; nothing, however, but his gifts of mind and heart could have induced the Springfield town-meeting to open the pulpit to his "owne meditations," with Deacons Chapin, Burt, and Wright sitting in the pews.

It was not until February, 1659, that the struggling inhabitants renewed the hope of settling a minister ; but he, Mr. Hooker, son of the famous Thomas Hooker, of Connecticut, who had been drawn into the controversy with William Pynchon, remained a few months only. There seemed to be some fatality about securing a minister ; but after a vacancy of over nine years, the right man appeared. Nearly two years after Mr. Hooker's candidacy, a young minister named Pelatiah Grover preached here, and in September of the year following, 1661, he was settled over the Springfield church. He was somewhat of a student, and was well calculated to take up the line of theology abroad in the valley. He was a worthy instrument in the hand of Providence for the advancement of the community. The dark interim had closed, and the people must have felt the old confidence return with the renewal of the stated means of grace. They were not able to give Mr. Glover a liberal support in money, but they made free to supply him with valuable landed property. Here is the list of lots made over to him, and it is incidentally interesting as indicating the various sections subject to allotments. The town committee having the matter in charge did not record their deeds until the spring of 1665, for the following parcels of land : —

- (1.) House-lot, 7 acres from Main street to river, 14 rods wide.
- (2.) Wet meadow, 4 acres, corresponding to house lot on East side of Main Street.
- (3.) Wood-lot, 7 acres, abutting the Wet meadow to the East.
- (4.) Meadow, 7 acres. West side of Connecticut river opposite home lot.
- (5.) Meadow, 5 acres, second division, 80 rods West of river.
- (6.) Lot in 3d division, West of river, 16 acres.
- (7.) Lot on the plaine above the End brook, 16 acres.
- (8.) Meadow, in the "house meadow," 9 acres.
- (9.) Meadow in Indian fields on Agawam river, 4 acres.
- (10.) Lot on East Branch of Mill river, 2 acres.

Year after year the selectmen and deacons, or some committee chosen in town-meeting, assigned the pews or "dignified" the

meeting-house, and their arbitrary duties often caused heart-burnings quite as intense as those resulting from assignments of land, since the rule followed was worldly condition and social importance. In the winter of 1663 Deacon Chapin and the selectmen, consisting of Thomas Cooper, Robert Ashley, John Pynchon, Benjamin Cooley, and Samuel Marshfield, distributed the seats as follows, no mention being made of Mr. Pynchon, as he probably owned a seat : —

Goodwife Chapin is to sitt in the seate alonge with M^r. Glover and M^r. Hollyocke.

In y ^e first seate	(Robert Ashly : Benja. Cooly : Tho: Cooper : George Colton, & Rowld Stebbens :
In y ^e 2d seate	(Nathanell Ely : Rich Sikes. Tho Mirick. & Willm Warriner :
In y ^e 3d seate	(Serja Stebbins ; Serja: Morgan : Benj Munn : John Leonord : Anth. Dorchester : Saml Marshfeild :
In y ^e 4th seate	(Benja Parsons : Jonath Burt : Wm Branch : Reice Bedlotha : Jo Dumbleton ; Rowld Thomas :
In y ^e 5th seate	(John Matthews : Jo Clarke : John Lamb : Lawr Bliss : Tho Miller : Tho Day :
In y ^e 6th seate	(John Lombard : Griffith Joanes : N. Pritchard : Rich Exsell : The Noble : Saml Ely :
In y ^e 7th seate	(Jonath Taylor : Tho: Bancroft : John Scot : Nath Burt : John Stewart ; Wm Brooks :
In y ^e 8th seate	(Jer Horton : Jo Bag : Jo Riley : Lyman Beamon : Abell Wright :
In y ^e 9th seate	(Joh Henryson : Saml Terry : Obadi Miller : Hugh Dudley :
In y ^e 10th seate	(Jo Crowfoote : Edwr ffoster : Charls ffery : James Osborne : Wm Hunter : Peter Swinck :

In y^e forseate of y^e gallery :

In y^e upper part above y^e Pillars on y^e North side — Henry Chapin : John Bliss : Jo Keefe :

In y^e upp p^t above y^e Pillars on y^e South side — ffraunces Pepper : James Warrinar : Saml Bliss :

Below y^e Pillars on y^e North side — Saml Holyoke : David Ashly : Jonath Ashly ; Japth Chapin : Tim: Cooper : Isack Colton : Obadi Cooly :

On y^e South side below y^e Pillars — Tho Cooper Jun : Jos Warrinar : John Leonord ; John Harmon ; Saml Harmon ; Increase Sikes : John Dorchester :

In y^e seate in y^e Gallery wth faces agt y^e minister. — Ephraim Colton : Eliakim Cooly ; Jonath Morgan : Saml Stebbins ; James Dorchester :

In y^e Backer seate of y^e Gallery on y^e North side at y^e upp end of it — James Taylor; John Horton; Hugh Mackey; Wm Morgan :

In y^e South side at y^e upp end of y^e Backer seate — Jonath Ball; Saml Ball; Jos. Harmon; Nathanell Sikes; Tho: Thomson :

In y^e Backer Seate (a break) the Pillars on the North side — John Hitchcock; Jo Clarke; Jon Lombard; Sam Bliss :

On the South — Jos Thomas; Tho Stebbins; Jos Bedortha.

Those of the present generation having ancestors in this congregation, and being curious to learn their social importance, can entertain themselves by studying the above list; and, if the family vanity is not flattered by ancestral assignments to “ y^e Backer seate,” let it be remembered that the good people of that day were themselves often quite as much disturbed at the way they were ranked. This trouble became so serious in 1666 that the selectmen were compelled to interfere; many having refused to sit where they were assigned, and having acted “ with a high hand,” it was ordered : —

Whosoever of this towneship shall not fro tyme to tyme in respect of their sitting in y^e meeting house submit y^mselves to the ordering of y^e Select men & Deacons or such as are impowered to seate & order psons in y^e meeting house : All such Persons as shall refuse or neglect to attend unto order as aforsd shall forfeite as is hereafter expressed viz : Hee or She that shall not take his or her seate ordered y^m from Tyme to tyme But shall on y^e days or Tymess of Gods Publike worship Goe into & abide in any other seate appointed for some other; Such disorderly pson or psons for y^e first offence shall forfeit Three shillings foure pence to y^e Towne Treasury, w^{ch} shall be exacted by warrant fro y^e Selectmen directed to y^e Constable to Levy y^e same, And if afterward Hee or Shee shall still psist in such disorder, they shall pay sixe shillings eight pence as a fine to y^e Towne to be exacted as aforesd; & if a 3d tyme they shall still psist in such obstinacy, such pson to pay Ten shillings to y^e Towne; to be exacted as aforesd; And if afterwards they shall still psist in such obstinacy, y^e selectmen are hereby ordered to complaine of such pson to y^e magistrate or county courte to deale with them as they shall Judge meete :

And whereas the Seate w^{ch} was made by y^e Towne at a common Town charge (formerly called the Guard seate) is now appointed by the selectmen (who only have y^e disposing of that Seate) for Boys to sit in; & y^e Selectmen having de-

clared that the smaler Boys should sit there. that they may be more in sight of y^e congregation & having warned all men out y^e said seate. both maryed & other growne psons, some whereoff doe still continue to sit there. & seem as if they did it wth a high hand; It is therefore hereby ordered that noe Persons of this Towneship above y^e age of 15 or 16 yeares shall sit in y^e seate aforesd formerly called y^e Guard Seate. unless he be ordered to sit there to looke to y^e Boys. etc.

The selectmen promulgating this order were John Pynchon, George Colton, Benjamin Cooley. Samuel Marshfield, and Lawrence Bliss. This vigorous action seemed to have a sobering effect: but it did not pave the way for a permanent peace among the young people in the gallery. Some years later (1669) Miles Morgan and Jonathan Burt were stationed "up in y^e gallery to give a check to disorders in youth & young men In tyme of God's worship. Anthony Dorchester to sit in y^e guard seate for y^e like end."

The time had come for some more definite arrangement on the Connecticut than petty justices at the infant towns of Northampton and Hadley, and recourse to the Springfield judicial commissioners, by special orders of the General Court: "It is ordered by this Court & authority thereof," so runs the ancient record, "that henceforth Springfield, Northampton, and Hadley shall be & hereby are constituted as a county." The county ran from the Connecticut line to indefinite points, not more than thirty miles from any of the towns. This would bring the county into what is now Vermont and New Hampshire. Springfield was made the shire town, the court sitting alternately at Springfield and Northampton. The colony tax was to be paid in cattle or corn. A county government, however, had been practically in operation for two years. At the May term of the General Court, 1659, the inhabitants of Springfield had presented a petition for some form of shire government, and "Capt. John Pinchon. Left: Elitzur Holiocke, and Mr. Samuel Chapin" were chosen for one year to hold court, "Northampton to be referred to Springfeild in reference to County Courts." These courts, it was decreed, "shall in all respects have the power and priviledges of any County Courte

till this Court shall see cause otherwise to determine." Thus, during the years 1660 and 1661 we had a provisional county court. Mr. Pynchon took the oath in open court at Boston, and subsequently administered it to Mr. Holyoke and Mr. Chapin.

After the formation of Hampshire county, in 1662, the county taxes collected by the constables were ordered to be delivered to the county treasurer at Springfield or at Windsor, each town to pay for transportation. In 1664 the commissioner and selectmen of all the towns were summoned before the County Court for not making out the tax assessment on time. Ensign Cooper, tax commissioner, who was specially summoned to appear, was fined 6s. 8d. for not responding. For several years the judges seemed to have the greatest difficulty in making the town and county officers do their duty. The court being somewhat of a legislative body, as we will see, found the burdens of administration of justice very severe. A Hadley man who was chosen to carry the votes for magistrate to Boston, neglected to do it, and was fined. Anthony Dorchester, of Springfield, constable, failed to make returns of warrants for jurymen in 1666, and was fined. Springfield had been previously fined 5s. for having a defective pound, and was subsequently before the court for not choosing a "gager for cask."

It will be remembered that Springfield was freed from paying a portion of the colony taxes when William Pynchon was magistrate. On account of special hardships at the time of the formation of the county, another attempt in that direction was made, and with what success this vote of Aug. 14, 1662, at Boston shows:—

In refference to y^e order of y^e Gen^l Cort last May that y^e Inhabitants of these Townes on Qoonectticot should pay there corne to y^e countey Rates not as y^e court sets y^e price yearly but at such price as it passes among themselves: The Towne concieving it more hard for us than for other Townes in y^e Collony and not to be according to law, voted to send a Petition to y^e next Gen^l Court for easing y^e Paymt & that it may be accordinge to Law. And M^r. Holyyke is appointed to draw it up.

The fence question, which, from the first settlement in this valley, was a constant source of trouble, came under the eye of the County Court, and it is interesting to note how the judges handled a matter that was the despair of local legislators. We quote from the records of the Hampshire County Court, held at Springfield, in September, 1664. It is to be remembered that Pyncheon was a member of the court, and upon the jury-list were Robert Ashley, John Dumbleton (who had been a servant of a Mr. Whiting, at Hartford, and had lived awhile at Windsor, before coming to Springfield), and Rice Bodortha : —

John Dumbleton & Thomas Miller of Springfield were presented by the Jury to this Courte for y^e breach of a law of this Jurisdiction for not attending their office for viewing the fences on the West side of the River at Springfeild :

This Courte Freeth John Dumbleton for that he pleadeth y^t he would have attended it but could not gett his partner to joyne wth him in y^e service but Thomas Miller was fyned in y^e summe of 2s to y^e use of y^e County.

Robert Ashley & Jonathan Burt were presented for the like offense in not viewing the fences on y^e East side of y^e River (at Springfeild) being chosen for y^e work : But Robert Ashley pleaded y^t he had not warning y^t he was soe chosen & it beinge not proved y^t he had warninge ; The Select men are fyned 20s. a peese for the use of the Towne according to y^e law except they can cleare y^mselves that they did give warning to y^e viewers, w^{ch} Capt. Pynchon is ordered to examine & determine. vizt whether he had Legall warning, and if he fynd Robert Ashley had Legall warning y^of then the Select mens fynes are to be remitted & he is to pay as a fyne 20s. for the use of the County.

Anthony Dorchester & Rice Bedortha surveyors of y^e high wayes for Springfield were presented to this Courte for neglecting their work in the Season allotted by their Town Order whereby the ways were very bad & dangerous ; therefore they are by this Courte fined 5s. peese.

The jury also presented Capt. Pynchon & Jno. Scott for not maynteyning their fences on the West side of ye River A breach of the Law of this Jurisdiction :

The Courte uppon hearing the cause and perusinge y^e aggreemts between Capt. Pynchon & Jno. Scott did 'judge y^t y^e blame of not repaying the fences lyes uppon Scott because though Capt. Pynchon were to allow for making the

fenses yet Jno. Scott who improoved the land was to repaire them & therefore doe judge y^t Jno Scott shall pay his fyne to the towne awardinge to y^e Town Orders in Springfield according to Law.

The County Court had likewise jurisdiction of the common lands, and many cases are reported for damages to crops by cattle. These disputes, in the earlier years of the plantation, were brought up in town-meeting, and often put out to "two indifferent men." In 1664 John Leonard, of Springfield, was fined five bushels of Indian corn, to be paid to Thomas Mirrick, for letting his cattle loose in the common corn-field.

There was, of course, much regular county business, as we understand it to-day. In March, 1674, our old friend, Anthony Dorchester, was authorized to keep a ferry on the Connecticut, below the Agawam river, and to make these charges: "Horse and man, 8d.; foot passengers, 2d.; troopers of training days, 3d."

Mr. Pynchon himself, as well as Mr. Holyoke and George Colton, were presented by the jury for selling unwashed wool, contrary to law, but they were not fined, as the wool was not in bales, and the prices were reduced on account of its condition. The minister, Mr. Glover, was in court in September, 1672, as thus appears: —

Mr. Glover complaynes agt Robin the Indian for stealing 3 or 4 gold rings & 2 half half crownes English money knives and a search being made the rings were found in his wigwam the money he had sold to Goodm Ely, all are restored to Mr. Glover, And the Indian being apprehended & put in prison he made escape from y^e Gaylor before other punishment could be inflicted on him.

The court as well as the town authorities kept a sharp hold upon church members in matters of discipline. In 1665 the County Court had Walter Lee before it for threshing corn on the Sabbath at Woronoco. We learn by the record that Lee was a hard case. It runs: —

Walter Lee being presented & complayned of to this Courte for his passing the Lords day at Worrnoco this Last Winter in that he threshed corne on the

Sabbath w^{ch} act he acknowledged to be soe for his calling Isaak Sheldon a member of Old Nick & a member of the Devill And for his contempt of the Authority in Springfeild in saying he thought he might as well believe his boy (when he said Springfeild commissioners threatened him with y^e Stocks & pmised him some new clothes) as the said Commissioners in declaring w^t his boy said ag^t him: This court judged the said to pay as a fyne to y^e Courte the summe of 20s.

John Webb was before the same court.

John Webb Senr. being presented by y^e Jury for abusing y^e Constable in execution of his office in Elizur Holyokes case in saying of the Constables he would make it too hott for him if he lay there, & his neck so stretch before the morrow if he tooke any harme by his lodging there; also for that he said he could afford to thumb both y^e Constables and his man that attended him & for his contemptuous behavior toward Northampton Commissioners. he is fyned to y^e county by this Courte in y^e summe of 40s.

Ministers and judges alike shared the ill-will of those unruly spirits. In 1668 our bibulous acquaintance, John Matthews, was led to the post and severely flogged for the offence referred to below : —

John Matthews of Springfield being by Capt. Pynchon bound over to this Courte to answer for his exceeding contemptuous behavior towards M^r Glover minister of y^e Word: the sd Matthews appearing at this Courte & the evidences pduced & read. it appeareth that his carriage was very odious & shamefull to wards M^r Glover in a very vile manner much after the custome of y^e Quakers reviling M^r Glover as by the testimonys more at large appeareth :

This Courte therefore doth judge the sd John Matthews to be well whipped on the naked body with fifteen stripes & that he be bounde in y^e summe of ten pounds for his good behavior till the Courte at Springfield in Sept next & that he pay costs of Courte vizt 20s for Courte charges.

Execution also was pformed according to y^e sentence.

It is sad to relate that the duties of beating the drum for divine service did not have a more salutary influence upon Matthews. This reference to the Quakers brings up a subject not quite in the line of

our narrative, except as it was one of the causes of anxiety on the part of our forefathers, who hated heresy quite as cordially as Catholicism itself. In March, 1673, a Westfield Quaker was dealt with, but by no means so severely as the Bay authorities would have done. The case was as follows : —

Geo. Filer of Westfield being presented by the Jury for diverse disorders and being examined firstly, for entertayning of Quakers Last summer : he ownes he did entertayne them being necessitated thereunto because none else would as he sayes. George Filer sayth he shall before the World own that he is one of them whom y^e world calls Quakers : Also he is presented for absenting himselfe from Gods publike worship on y^e Sabbath he ownes he has gen^{lly}ly absented himself gen^{lly}ly last winter, his speeches have been contemptuous of the Ministers of the Word and their work vizt that they turne over 20 or 30 Authors in a week to patch up an hours discourse or two on the Sabbath : And tho he would pretend that he meant not the ministry in that Town or of N England, yet by the testimonyes it appeares otherwise : He seems to be a very seminary of corrupt & hereticall opinions tending to poysoning & corrupting the minds of them wth w^m he hath to do : And in speaking of the religion of the Quakers (he speaks of it as distinct from that p^fessed by our Nation in this countrey) he calls it *Our religion*. that is his own & such as hee.

Filer was simply reprimanded for his opinions, but £5 fine “ or be well whipped ” was imposed for his “ speaking against the ministry.”

We will not leave John Matthews without transcribing a very curious and interesting record found at Northampton, where the County Court sat in September, 1678. While it is a few years beyond the limits of the period dealt with in this chapter, it can best be given here : —

John Matthews of Springfield being be y^e Grandjury Presented to this Courte for his Scandoulous vile revileing of his Neighbor Jonth Burt and appeareing in Courte & being examined according to his Presentmt he did acknowledge his fault fullie according to y^e testimony given in against him. This Courte Weighing his ungodlie unseemelienss of his sin as it stands odiouslie Circumstanced under y^e Considerations of a hoarie heade which Ought above Others to be founde in y^e way of Righteousness and his long Profession & standing in Christeanitie Could

doe noe less As alsoe would Beare due testimony agst such Scandoulous ungodlieness They adjudge y^e Old man Professor to be well Whipt on y^e naked back with ten Stripes Butt upon y^e Motion of some of his Neighbors & y^e Intreatie of y^e Delinquente y^t such severe Punishment might a while mitigated or respitted Promising y^t Lenitie or hopeing y^t Lenitie may Rather yⁿ such Severitie may gaine y^e delinquent to reflection on his vile course & amendment. This Courte likes well of this motion & Being agreived in there thoughts to smite old age. doe recall the judgemt from being justly executed on y^e old man & delinquent for y^e triall of his good behaviour.

Matthews was bound over in £5 to keep the peace: but he forfeited his bond by not appearing as ordered at the next court. Four years later Matthews was put under a guardian, and his child maintained by the town. The above record is an invaluable and precious bit of evidence of the working of the true and enduring spirit of forbearance that follows in the path of strict justice. We associate so continually the iron in the dispensations of New England jurisprudence that the other side of the picture rarely appears. But directly upon the heel of this and like attempts to reform as well as punish offenders in the same breath come some truly Spartan exhibitions of justice. We may not applaud the law, but must admire its impartial application. The colonial laws regulated the subject of extravagant dressing, and our Hampshire court was awake to its duty. The County Court first took notice of this class of offences by summoning before it the selectmen of all the towns for not assessing "forbidden apparel" at its full value, and this not leading to a reformation the extravagant women were duly proceeded against under the colonial law. In many cases, when women were summoned before the court on a charge of wearing silks or finery, their husbands were forced to apologize for their absence. It was a very difficult thing to bring women into court. In September, 1673, it is recorded: —

Diverse women at Springfeild presented at y^e Courte in March last for that being of meane estate they did weare Silkes contrary to Law vixt Goodwife

Labden Goody Colton Goody Morgan ~~Goody~~ Barnard Mercy & Hephzibod Jones Hunters wife & Daughter & Abell Wrights wife, & warned to this Courte the six former appring in Courte they were admonisht of ~~their~~ extravagancies & dismiss.

The Goody Morgan referred to was Mrs. David Morgan. Three years later the following persons were "presented by y^e Grandjury to y^e Courte at Northampton March 26 1676 some for wearing of silk & y^e in a flouting manner & attire for Long haire & other extravegancies, Contrary to honest & Labor Order & Demeanor not Becoming a Wilderness State at Least y^e Profession of Christianity & Religion." In the list of offenders were the following from this village: "Wife of Henry Rogers, Lidia Exile, Hanah Morgan, Sarah Gilburt, Hanah Leonard, Nath^l Bliss, Thos Stebbins & his wife, John Bakers wife, Jonth Stebbins, Henry Chapin, Corporal Holyoke, Mary & Sarah Colton, Sarah Cooley, Meriam Merricke, Sarah & Mary Dumbleton."

Warrants arrived in Springfield in 1661, from the Bay, for the arrest of the regicides Goffe and Walley, but it may be inferred that as both fugitives passed through the town, the vigilance of the authorities was not of a remarkable order.

Before following the course of legislation and administration of justice during this period, we will dispose of the numerous offences against private morals by saying that the records show that for many years, indeed, until the eighteenth century, the local authorities and the country magistrates had as much trouble in enforcing the laws in this regard as those of theft and of assault and battery together. All that need be attempted here is the quotation of specimen cases. We find the following in the court record, under date of September, 1660, at the Springfield session: —

John Stebbins of Northampton beinge bound to presente Robert Lyman of the same Towne for misdeameaninge himselfe towards his, the said John Stebbins wife: he the said John Stebbins complains to this courte that the said Robert

frequentinge the said Johns house did use very evil & unseemly behavior towards his the said Johns wife enticeinge her several tymes that he might ly wth her, takinge her in his armes & otherwise venting his unchast desires.

Lyman was fined £10 and bound over to keep the peace. Some years later a Hadley Indian was caught in compromising relations with Rebecca Allen, of Northampton. He was committed to "two able young men" to be conveyed to Springfield, but "as they travelled he used means to loose his bond and escaped, notwithstanding their utmost endeavors to take him." The girl was condemned to twenty stripes, the court believing that she did not resist him as she should have done. The punishment was deferred until after the birth of her child. Ebenezer and Hannah Miller confessed in open court to improper relations before marriage, and were fined 40s. Masters often flogged their slaves for immoralities, and in at least one case the court ordered a father to whip his boy on the naked back in the presence of the constable, or to pay a fine, for his relations with a negress. The boy had told the judges that he had been tempted by the negress, and might have fallen, "if God had not kept him." The court refused to accept his word. In 1673 Hannah, the unmarried daughter of Thomas Mirrick, accused Jonathan Morgan, son of Miles Morgan, of the paternity of her child. Miles and David Morgan went his bail. The following year Jonathan, who made a stout fight, and appears to have won over many to the belief in his innocence, was forced by a decree of the court to pay 2s. 6d. weekly for the first four years toward the support of the child. The witness whose word settled the doubt in the minds of the court was Mrs. Elizur Holyoke (his second wife). She received from Hannah a full confession, and the girl was condemned to pay £7 or receive twenty stripes. Even at this late stage Jonathan was not content to let the matter drop, and brought a suit for slander against Thomas Mirrick, Hannah's father, for circulating charges against him. Jonathan lost his case. Eight years later, Miles Morgan was in

trouble over another child. His daughter Lydia worked in the family of Samuel Gaines, of Hartford, who became the father of her illegitimate child. The suit of Mr. Morgan against Gaines resulted in a decree of maintenance of the child against the latter.

In passing a sentence of "ten stripes" upon a man for immoral conduct and living "apart from his wife," the judges declared their "greate Cause to Lament and bewaile y^e sore hand of God agst us in suffering such vile inornityes to Breake out amongst us w^{ch} as a Flood doe threaten to overwhelme us."

Griffith Jones, who figured in the witchcraft case, was given fifteen lashes on the bare back for low conversation among young people; and there is reported a case before Mr. Pynchon, where it was decreed, in reference to the disposal of the illegitimate child of two negro slaves, that "the masters of s^d negroes be joynt & equall in the charge of s^d child either in paymts or otherwise till s^d child attaine y^e age of nine years & then to have a joynt & equall propertie in s^d child of value thereof to be divided between y^m, or one of them taking the child the other to have paymt of full one half of y^e vallue of s^d child from him who hath y^e child." Both negroes were flogged, the woman receiving fifteen lashes before, and fifteen lashes after her sickness.

Francis Hacklinton, of Northampton, while furnishing brick for Pynchon's new house, found time to act scandalously toward Pynchon's domestic, Hector Bliss, and Mrs. Samuel Ely circulated evil reports about them. Hacklinton sued Mrs. Ely for slander, but lost his case.

It goes without saying that these sad exhibitions were the result of the lack in the Puritan polity of proper provision for innocent amusement, sports, or pastime. To remark that Springfield life was an unrelieved struggle with Satan and the wilderness is only admitting that it was a worthy member of the Massachusetts family of towns. There was a despotism of theory and practice that regulated the movement of everybody, from the magistrate and minister to the

slave, and family government was a part of the grand scheme which began in town-meeting and ended in paradise or the bottomless pit. Fancy the spirit of the age which made it possible for a court to order a man to flog his son upon the bare back in the presence of the town officers and possibly a gaping crowd!

The County Court kept a sharp eye upon the home, and was quick to enforce the parental authority. Samuel Ball was ordered to be flogged because he used abusive language to his father-in-law, Benjamin Munn, saying that he respected him "no more than an old Indian," and exclaiming, "A father! There's a father indeed!" Here is a specimen vote of this period touching the management of children: "This Courte doth ord^r Capt. Pyncheon wth y^e Select men of Springfield to dispose of James Osborne's eldest son, there being complaynt made to this court y^t the said Lads tyme is spent very unprofitably."

Whenever a town showed any signs of relaxation in family government the court would sharply reprimand the selectmen, who were in general ordered to "regulate & settle young p^rsons under Government according to law." This meant family government, of course.

In March, 1675, the County Court lamented "much idle expense of Precious time," and prohibited tavern-keepers from selling liquor to any but "Governers of families of Sober Carriage, y^e intent of this order being y^t such Persons y^t have y^e liberty should use y^er but to prevent a trade of Drinking & Drunkenes amongst us."

The children of the town were brought into very close relations to the tything-man, and at all times were made conscious that the eye of authority was upon them. The tything-men for Springfield, appointed at the March term for 1678, were as follows: —

Jno Lamb	(To Inspect y ^e upper pt of y ^t Town all Families from y ^e uppermost House to Mr Glover's House inclusivelie.
Sam ^{ll} Ball	(To Inspect all y ^e Famielies from Mr Glovers to Jno Clarks House inclusivelie.

Increase Sikes { To Inspect all y^e famielies from thence to Obadiah Coolies in-
clusivelie.

Israel Colton { To Inspect all y^e Famielies in y^e Long Meadow.

Jno Barber senr {
James Taylor { All y^e famielies on y^e West side of y^e River at Springfeild.

The court added the following order, which, it may be remembered, is not in the phraseology of the colony laws, and technically, at least, is in the nature of legislation : —

All w^{ch} Persons as aforesd being Authorized y^e Tithing men for y^e severall Townes as aforesd are hereby required faithfullie to act in inspecting of y^r Neighbors, so as y^e sin & disorder be prevented & Suppresd in there severall Precints, & as occation may be to assist One another & act in One anothers Precints dischargeing y^e office of tithing men, according to y^e law made Nov^r 1675, May 1677, Oct^r 1677 they haveing Refference thereunto — And Further this Courte doth now Comend to these tithing men & require y^m dilegentlie to take Care y^t y^e Sabbath be not Prophaned by Youth or elder Persons sitting or standing abroad out of their Meeting houses in ye time of Gods Publique Worshipp whereby they are exposed to many temptations & diversions. But y^t they do Check all such Persons & soe deale with y^m as thereby to enforce them to goe in within there Meeting Houses where they may attend better and be in sight or otherwise to present there names in Case such doe not reforme, to y^e Magistrates Comissors or other authoreeties in y^e severall Towns to proceed against such Persons y^t shall remayne refractory according as they shall see Cause. As alsoe to have a vigelent eye upon such Persons y^t shall without just and necessary Cause be unseasonable abroad in y^e Evenings from y^{ir} parents & Masters Famielies all Persons being to repaire to their Lodgings or homes by Nine of y^e Clocke at Night or rather Before, And what Persons soe ever they find faultie herein in being abroad unseasonable or othwise faultie they are to admonish & hasten to y^{ir} own proper places of aboade wheather they are to repaire wⁿ it draws towards Nine of Clock at Night.

Under the shadow of this supervision the youth grew ; but one finds a singularly Roman spirit of administration of the law. When the lad Samuel Holyoke was caught with other boys making a dis-

turbance one Sabbath day, and was brought, with the rest, before the court of which his father was a member. no parental consideration prevented the imposition of the regular fine. The boy subsequently became the noted Indian fighter, Samuel Holyoke.

It was some time after the first meeting-house was put up that glass was secured for the windows, and the natural curiosity of the children went to the usual lengths, and some of the windows were broken. The selectmen at once laid down a rule that a child caught at any sports about the meeting-house should be fined, and in case the governors or parents refused to pay the fine the children should be duly whipped in the presence of the board. Having run beyond the date of this chapter, we will go a step farther and add some orders passed in 1680 : —

Wher as there have ben for a longe tyme great disordir in our assembly by many young persons flocking out of the meeting hous before the blessing is pronounsed many of them canot be thought to have any nesesyty so to do and thare being a Cuntry law that doth comend it to the select mens care and it being a grief to seryous minds. we doe declare and order that no person so doe exceptin thare shall be a nesenary ocasyon : and we doe request and order Incres Sickes to keepe the east doore and Isaack Gleson and Benjamin Thomas to looke to the South doore. And we doe request Liffenant Stebins to apoynt one of the gaurd to see to the youth there about etc.

It is also ordered by the Selectmen that all persons or boys under the age of twelve years of age sit on that seat under the Decons seat and also on that seat against it and on the stars. only they must not Block up the stars when Mr Glover comes.

The death of Mrs. Mary Holyoke, October 26, 1657, may be called a sad sequel of her father's practical banishment. Her sister, Mrs. Henry Smith, as we have seen, finally went crazy, but whether as a result of her father's persecution is not known. John Pynchon was called to England in 1664 by the death of William Pynchon, which took place at Wraisbury, October 29, 1662. His body was not carried to Writtle, where many of his family are buried, but he lies in

the church-yard at Wraisbury, an interior of whose church is given in the accompanying illustration. When William Pynchon returned



INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH WHERE WILLIAM PYNCHON IS
BURIED.

to England ten years before, Oliver Cromwell was at the head of affairs, and Mr. Pynchon sank into his grave just after the merry King Charles II. had set at work undoing the work of the Revolution.

John Pynchon's estate was materially enlarged by his father's will, and he himself, in November, 1663, made a will, before sailing for

England, in which he speaks of his warehouses at Boston, his wharf, and land adjoining. He found upon reaching Wraisbury that his father had left him several hundred acres of land besides much personal property. But John Pyncheon was a rich man for those times before this enlargement of his estate.

In about 1659 John Pyncheon had planned to build the finest house in New England outside of Boston. He made it at once a garrison, a residence, and a court-house. He bargained with Francis Hackington, a Northampton man, for the brick, — in all 50,000, for which he paid a little over \$2,000. This building was probably completed in 1661, and was situated where Fort street now is. It was the most important structure in this valley for many years, and remained a historic landmark on our Main street until well into the present century, when it was pulled down in spite of ardent protests, and for no good reason that business or propriety can suggest to us.



THE OLD PYNCHON "FORT" OR RESIDENCE

CHAPTER IX.

1674-1676.

The Indian Situation. — Puritan View of the Savage. — The Agawams. — English Laws for the Natives. — Indian Mortgage Deeds. — An Appeal to Boston. — The Origin of Slavery in New England. — Perfecting Title to the Land. — King Philip's War. — The Attack upon Brookfield. — Lieutenant Cooper sent forward from Springfield. — Beers, Lathrop, Mosely, and Treat march to the Rescue of the Connecticut Valley Towns. — The Swamp Fight. — Death of Beers. — Bloody Brook. — Pynchon's Protest to the Commissioners. — The Indian Fort at Springfield. — The Town burned by King Philip. — Pynchon's Hasty Ride from Hadley. — Death of Cooper and Miller. — Captain Appleton in Command. — Trouble about Military Authority. — Winter. — Death of Elizur Holyoke and Selectman Keep. — The Fight at Turner's Falls. — Heroism of Samuel Holyoke. — King Philip's Death.

For forty years Springfield was happily free from the scenes of fire and blood that usually attend the occupancy of a savage wilderness. If we have read the town's story aright, there was reason for this exceptionally good fortune. The first planters never occupied a foot of ground without paying for it, and the Pynchon rule of even justice toward the Indian was known to the tribes hundreds of miles away. The Pynchons were famed in all the wigwams from Quabang to the Mohawk country for their justice and fair play. The Indians often brought their disputes to Springfield for settlement, and they were justly dealt with, even when the authorities in Connecticut and down at the Bay were antagonized.

Looking at the question broadly, it will baffle philosophy itself to analyze the workings of the Puritan mind when confronted by the savage ; but what can be said of the results of the contact of English, Indian, and negro? The subject seemed of little moment in those days, but, measured by the result, is of vital importance. The very

charter of the Massachusetts Bay colony imposed upon the incorporators the duty of extinguishing the Indian title and making the native a convert to the gospel. The general sense of the early settlers was that the Indians should receive fair treatment ; and in a degree they did. At the same time we see in the Puritans from the start an insidious element working against the native. The Puritans did not flee from sin : they hated, pursued, and fought it : the heathen were children of sin, and the Indians, heathen. This is the simple chain of unconscious logic that prevailed in New England.

The inevitable tendency of a strong race to make headway against an inferior one was apparent right here in Springfield. William Pynchon soon found, in dealing with the Indians, that they were lazy, unreliable, and quick to take offence. Their vengeful disposition, coupled with their secretive ways and their long memory of slights, soon caused Pynchon to avoid employing them as much as possible. He even refused to use them as messengers and scouts, when white troopers were within call. Indians would loiter by the way, and were not above breaking their word. Nor did they come up to the English standard of personal tidiness ; if they had not been probed by the sharp rod of the white man's law, they would have been content to stroll about these streets and live off alms at the back doors of this plantation. Our Agawams and our Woronocos, like all the Algonquin tribes, were accustomed to subjugation. They gave tribute to the Six Nations, and no doubt looked upon the whites as a relief, and they preferred to pay out their wampum to a race more worthy of it. The Agawams were numerically inferior to the Pocomtucks at Deerfield, who were the leaders of the local tribes.

The English regard for the Indian, therefore, was the regard of the strong for the weak, the shiftless, and the unreliable. The red man of the forest, in whose richly bronzed bosom beat all the nobility God ever breathed into a hero, did not reside in Springfield, at least in the seventeenth century.

We have seen in the deeds executed and signed by Indians and in

the records of the town-meetings, that while the natives retained sundry hunting and fishing privileges they were continually brought under restrictions in their personal movements.

The following important deed, secured in 1652, furnishes an instance in point : —

This Indenture made the fourteenth Day of April: 1652: between Coe (or) Coa. one of the Indians of Agawam, who is the cheife & y^e proper owner of al the Land below the Long medow brooke, in the East side of Quinnecticot River, down to the Falls, on the one party. And John Pynchon of Springfeild on the other party Witnesseth that the s^d Coe the Indian, for & in consideration of one broad Essex shag Coote of 1. yard & 3 quarters & more to him in hand paid, hath bagained, sold & granted, & by these p^rsents doth sel give & grant to the said John Pynchon a certaine parcel of wet medow upon the head of a River, Running into the great River, above the fals, comonly called by the English Freshwater River which River is by the Indians called Asnuntick at y^e mouth of it & a little higher Is called Allows, & at the head of said River is called Sick-compsqu, where the said wet medow lyes. the which medow is called by the Name of Quellicksqu.

Also the said Coe doth sel give & grant free & ful Liberty for the English to gather & make use of Candlewood, called by y^m weakshackquock, in all the grounds adjoining thereto, & from the Long medow brooke downward, & also free Liberty for Cattle to feed fro the spring til winter, in al the s^d grounds, for & in consideration of one yard 3 quarters of Red Essex shag cloth to him by the s^d John Pynchon in hand paid: Al the s^d p^rmises y^r s^d Coe doth Condition as the True owner that the said John Pynchen shall absolutely clearly & for ever enjoy al the said p^rmises, to him his heires and assignees for ever. Submitted, this 14th of April, 1652.

The notable point in this deed is the privileges granted the English in regions still held by the Indians, who were thus establishing precedents dangerous to their interests.

Among the many innovations which English rule brought about was the gradual observance of the Sabbath, in form at least, by the Indians. In 1669 the County Court had occasion to admonish a constable for roughly handling some Indians found abroad upon the Lord's day : —

Certayne Indians being found at Worrnoco travelling on y^e Sabbath & carrying burdens, vizt bringing apples w^{ch} they said they had from Windsor & own shooting a Gun when he came to the house there. the Constable there seized 4 guns & one of them called (name omitted) to appear at this Court to answer the offense. The w^{ch} being proved & owned the Courte judges the Constable striking the Indian and the dog biting him he should be only admonished.

There was no end of trouble in keeping savage hands off from portable property. They would dodge into kitchens and steal food, cider, and any articles in reach, and they would also run off cattle. In 1668 it was recorded in the County Court that “Whereas the Indians called Magnaws made Spoyle among the Cattell or swine of these 3 Townes of the county neere about 2 yeere synce And there being gayned from those Indians 20£ w^{ch} being sent to M^r. Bryan is in y^e hands of Lyman Lobdell of Springfeild in Leather,” it was ordered that this sum be distributed. Springfield parties received £5 of this.

The selling of liquor to the Indians was strictly forbidden; but the natives were continually securing drink on the sly, and this class of cases was very common before the magistrates. Indians were sometimes put under bonds to keep away from liquor, wampum being deposited as security.

The mill of Preserved Turner was robbed in about 1664, and the Indian Wenawen was caught and put under bonds, a companion named Sopos and another Indian becoming his sureties. At the next court, in 1665, Wenawen did not appear, and the property of the bondsmen was levied upon for 40s. each.

There was given the Indians, in 1666, a convincing proof of the sense of justice among the whites. The town paid fifty fathom of wampum to satisfy a claim set forth in an ancient document, which opens as follows:—

This writing witnesseth That Neesahegan alias Squomseat & Kepaquomp alias Squinnamoh for themselves, & in behalfe of an old woman called Potucksisg affirming, that the English at Springfeild never bought the Lands over Agawam

River in the higher meadows, that is to say, the Lands between the middle meadow, & so round the hills, fro that pond by the mdle meadow to Ensigne Coopers House, & so to Agawam River, & yet acknowledging that the middle meadow & house meadow called Quana & Agawam, were Long since bought by the English; etc.

The first land transaction with the Indians was carried on by a committee or agent for the town, as has been noticed but eventually private parties secured the Indian titles directly from the natives. This was a long step forward, and clearly contrary to public policy. The occasion of these private transfers was the habit of running in debt among the Indians. They were not satisfied with their arrows after they had seen the blunderbuss, and while the lending of flintlocks or snaphances, like the selling of fire-water, to the Indians was prohibited, it did not break up the practice. They also secured blankets, food, and agricultural tools on credit often, and thus the mortgage system grew up as naturally as garden weeds after a rain. The Indians also hired the English to plow their planting-grounds, and sometimes planted English land on shares.

To meet these obligations security was demanded. A very interesting specimen of this is found in our probate records, under date of April 2, 1661. A mortgage was made by Coa, Menis, Cuttonus, and other Indians, who figure in our first Indian deed to William Pynchon and his associates, and is made out to that active land speculator, Samuel Marshfield. The mortgage which is here given was duly approved by the selectmen, however: —

Severall debts w^{ch} wee owe Samu^l Marshfield for goods already received w^{ch} wee did ingage to pay in bever, & we doe still ingage to doe the same if we can gett it, any tyme this summer, or else we soe ingage to pay him in C^orne at 2s per bush by heape or if in wampum, then to allow the said Samu^l six fathom for every five fathom due unto him, or if we can gett mooseskins or otter or good deare skins, then to pay them unto him at a reasonable rate, or guns w^{ch} the fore said Samu^l hath in his hands, w^{ch} if he doe Lend to any of us, wee ingage to return them to Him when he shall call for them: and if we doe not pay the aforesaid Samu^l in any of these prises, to his content by Michelmas next en-

suing the date thereof, then we give the aforesaid Samuel full power to ceaze on all our lands & come as his proper right, and if that we Indians whose Names are above written, doe ingage that if wee & the aforesaid Samuel cannot agree about the price of any of the aforementioned pay, then wee will stand to w^t Captayne Pynchon, & Lieutenante Holyoke shall appoynt.

Cuttonus figured occasionally in the records. He was fined in 1660 for not keeping up his "water fence." He owned lands on the west side of the "Greate Ryver," and had previously sold some planting-grounds to Ensign Cooper, who, the year following the above mortgage, secured a record of this transaction. Cooper had himself obtained Indian lands by the foreclosure process. He had taken from a Woronoco Indian, named Amocussen, a mortgage in 1660, and in 1664 he received an absolute deed upon the Indian's failure to pay. John Pynchon also foreclosed, in 1666, upon a large tract of land in Woronoco, mortgaged by an Indian and his squaw. Mr. Cooper was before the General Court in reference to the Amocussen transaction. It was claimed by Allignot, Neemp, and Wallump, sachems of "Pochosick near Westfield," that Amocussen was not the sole owner of the lands deeded to Cooper. These Indians appealed, as they had a right to do, to Boston, and the General Court referred the case to the Hampshire County Court, which compelled Cooper to give the sachems due satisfaction. It cost Cooper one hundred and ten fathom of wampum to get out of this scrape; but he doubtless made money even at that.

We transcribē the following deed of Westfield land: —

These present writings Dated September the 29th in the yeere One six hundred Sixty-ffive sheweth y^t wee Spanosa & Poxonock both of us joyntly & severaly have upon a valluable consideration to us secured & by these presents doe alienate & Sell unto Daniell Clark & Samuel Marshall of Windsor their heirs & assigns one pcell of meddow Land lying at Woronoco on y^e South Side of y^e River part whereof hath been already planted w^{ch} pcell of Meddow is in quantity fforty acres. such pcell of meddow Land, it shall be Lawfull for the Said Daniell & Samuel their heirs & assigns to enjoy & possess & inheritt forever. And for

the more full assurance of the said Land unto y^e Said psons wee the Grauntors doe hereby morgage or fully engage that *if we make not the title of the Land good to these two grantees, then Samuell Marshall is to hare our little Daughter now about ffoure yeares old to enjoy her & dispose of her as his own estate.* And wee the Said Grantors doe hereby promise & oblige our selves unto the said Grantees that when we be minded to make Sale of the other of our Land at Worrnoco they the said Grantees shall have the right tending to them to take or refuse uppon such termes as we shall aggree unto.

The following entry is found in the records of the County Court held at Springfield in September, 1665 : —

There being presented unto y^e Gen^l Court at Boston in May last a Petition to consider of the complaynts of the Indians of Springfeild agt Samll Marshfeild who hath gotten the lands of the Indians into his hands by virtue of a deed of mortgage from y^e Indians whereby they are impovished haveing little or nothing left to plant but are constrayned to hire of ye English & The said Gen^l Courte referred the said business of y^e Indians complt to y^e County Court of this shire ; This Court therefore upon agitation of the business advised Samuel Marshfeild & the Indians to accord amongst themselves & also advised the said Samuell for y^e making of fynall issue of all complaynts & trouble from y^e Indians about the Land that he hath of them to allow the said Indians some of the Land w^{ch} before y^e Courte he manifested himselfe willing to doe :

Whereupon the Courte appoynted John Dumbleton & Miles Morgan to go over y^e River with Samll Marshfeild & the Indians to see w^t land the said Samuell Marshfeild would allow & how far it might be to y^e satisfaction of y^e Indians :

And the said Persons returning wth y^e Indians to y^e Courte they made report y^t Samuell Marshfield according to y^e Indians desire shewed the Indians where they should have fifteen acres of land to themselves for ever : that is to say twelve acres in one place & three acres in another place : And the Judges expressed themselves well satisfied therewith.

It will be asked whether Mr. Marshall would have held the Indian girl in slavery in case he had been compelled to insist upon the bond as indicated by the instrument as executed in September, 1665. Most certainly, but he would not necessarily have kept her as a bond-servant in his family. Indians became slaves in New England, it would

seem, in three ways, — through life sentences for crimes, through captivity in war, and through legal process as security for loans, as above shown. The Pequot war seems to have led directly to slavery. Merchants sent captive Indian maidens and boys to the West Indies or Africa and traded them off for negroes.

We now have the necessary facts of the coming together of the three races, and the enlargement of one at the expense of the other two. New England practised negro slavery by and through its ownership in Indian flesh and blood, and Springfield shares in the unenviable distinction of contributing to its extension.

The claim to the land was still in many points defective, and the “worshipful major,” with his usual business thrift, made haste to perfect the title. The tract bounded on the south by an east line at Freshwater river, near Enfield Falls, on the east by the mountains, on the north by the Chicopee river, and on the west by a line running through the Five-Mile pond, was considered at this early day a part of the town ; but the Indians refused to admit the claim, and calculated upon a liberal payment of wampum therefor. The land in dispute was claimed by Wequogan, Wawapaw, and Wecombo. After a good deal of trouble Mr. Pyncheon assembled these Indians, probably in his garrison-house on the main street, and succeeded in negotiating a sale, there being also present Elizur Holyoke, George Colton, Benjamin Cooley, Samuel Marshfield, and Anthony Dorchester, the town committee authorized to receive the Indian deed. There had been many informal meetings, and apparently a good deal of dickering, the Indians proving apt scholars in the science of making bargains. The price fixed upon was one hundred and eighty fathoms of wampum, and it was left to Mr. Pyncheon to draw the deed and deliver the money. This he did ; but curiously enough he delivered the wampum before the deeds were signed, thus breaking his revered father’s rule, and by this means getting into trouble. The Indians came to him one by one to affix their marks to the instrument, but Mr. Pyncheon followed an ancient custom calculated to impress upon the sav-

age mind the solemnity of the act, and refused to allow them to sign separately, insisting that they should come in a group. Thus matters drifted on through the whole year, and in fact until the spring of 1675, when the plantation entered upon a terrible chapter in its history. The Indians never signed the deed, and this strip of farming land has never been technically relieved of its Indian claim. The title may not be called clouded, but it rests upon Mr. Pyncheon's oath, made in 1678, declaring that while the Indians never signed the deed, they showed a "readiness to come altogether & subscribe."

Springfield was now about forty years old. Many of the first settlers had passed away. The children had grown up and assumed public burdens. Rev. Mr. Glover, a man of great energy and studious application, had contributed materially in the direction of the town's activities. There were scores of Agawam Indians who had never put on war-paint nor remembered the time when the whites had not dwelt here. They had prattled in the door-yards of the white man, had followed the deer and elk, and trapped beaver with them, had planted and harvested with them, and had come to look upon our people as just, humane, and friendlike. The feeling of trust among the whites was quite as deep-seated. One generation had grown up and another started, and no outbreak had disturbed the cordial relations of the two races.

It is therefore not to be wondered at when the Pokanoket country became disturbed, and the ambitious and treacherous King Philip undertook to stampede the New England tribes into a war of extermination, that the local plantation had little fear that the Agawams and the Woronocos would listen to him. This cordial feeling had even led some squaws of Nonotuck to divulge the secret that Springfield was to be attacked, but the same feeling prevented the whites from believing it. The Indians up the river — so John Winthrop, Jr., tells us — had "assured Major Pynchen of their fidelity to the English."

The Indian situation in Massachusetts in 1675 needs no extended

description of this place. Enough to say, the gentle-mannered Leverett was governor. The general worldly condition of the colonies was good, and in the main the Indians had been bettered by their contact with the whites; but the Narragansetts, Pokanokets, and Mohegans had resisted the Christian missionaries. The Pokanoket sachem, Massasoit, had died in 1660. The Plymouth authorities gave the name Alexander Pokanoket to one of his sons, and Philip to the other. Alexander soon died, and Philip became sachem in 1662. His suspicious actions, indicating hostility to the English, resulted in his enforced signature to a document acknowledging that he was a subject of the English king. King Philip was a natural leader and good fighter, in whom distrust of the English, however, was deeper than his word given under duress. He was repeatedly forced to sign pacific treaties with the English, but this never obliterated the English fear of him. In 1674 Sausamon, a praying Indian, made definite charges of treason against King Philip. In June of the following year Sausamon was murdered, and three Indians executed for the crime. Philip kept himself constantly armed, and the forests were filled with his runners. In June, 1675, he partially burnt and plundered Swanzey. While forced to evacuate Mount Hope, he was able to send bands to plunder the Plymouth towns. The English secured an alliance with the Narragansetts and Mohegans. Philip made a dash for the Nipmuck country. On August 3, by the light of the moon, the Nipmucks set fire to a fortified house at Brookfield, the only settlement between the Connecticut river and Lancaster. This mode of attack the English had taught them in the Pequot war. Arrows with burning brands as well as fireballs were thrown upon the roof, but quickly extinguished. The house was besieged for three days, when it was relieved by a company of troopers from the east, commanded by the white-haired Major Simon Willard. Philip arrived just as the Nipmucks had been driven back from Brookfield, and he refreshed their tired spirits by presenting the sagamores a peck of wampum. When the Nonotuck (Northampton) Indians, who were connected

with the Nipmucks by marriage, heard of the Quabaug fight, they gave "eleven triumphant shouts" for the number of the English killed.

The moment the news of the attack upon Quabaug reached Springfield Major Pynchon sent forward Lieut. Thomas Cooper with twenty-seven horsemen and ten Indians, reënforced by a company from Hartford, under Capt. Thomas Watts; but the danger was over before their arrival on the 7th. After scouring the surrounding country Cooper returned to Springfield three days later. Willard pressed on to Hadley, which had been selected as the head-quarters of the English commander, and after a stay of a fortnight returned east.

Captains Richard Beers, of Watertown, Thomas Lathrop, of Ipswich, and Samuel Mosely, of Boston, as well as Major Treat, of Milford, Conn., with some Mohegan Indians, were hurried towards the Massachusetts towns in the Connecticut valley. Beers and Lathrop made a stop at Brookfield, and Pynchon sent Lieut. Samuel Wright to hold Northfield. The whole country was searched for Indians to no purpose. The Indians, in their fort a little below Hatfield, towards Northampton, caused great uneasiness. They were in a sullen mood.

Watts, Lathrop, and Beers had massed their men at Hatfield on the 23d, and, perceiving the temper of the Indians, had demanded a surrender of their arms. Night came on before anything was done beyond hurried negotiations. Deep in the night an order was sent to Northampton for a force to cut off the Indians if they escaped in that direction, while the Hatfield men were to watch the northern approaches to the fort. The Indians meantime had been holding a powwow; the young warriors were for war; there was no time for deliberation. An aged sachem opposed war. He was struck dead in his tracks, and the whole party made a dash for the forests; they hastened north before daybreak, and the dreadful valley campaign opened. Lathrop and Beers hotly pursued the fugitives, and on the 25th engaged them in battle in a swamp in the town of Hadley and drove them back, losing nine men, and killing about twenty-five.

It was six days later, according to a tradition in Governor Leverett's

family, that an attack upon Hadley took place during meeting-time, when the outlawed regicide, Colonel Goffe, emerged from his hiding-place, gave the alarm, and led the men to battle and victory. The incident was used by Sir Walter Scott, but is now discredited, owing to the investigations of George Sheldon, of Deerfield.

Northampton, Hatfield, Deerfield, and Northfield were hastily garrisoned. September had opened in blood, as has been noted, with attacks upon Hadley and Deerfield. Captain Beers fell dead, with twenty-one of his men, near Northfield, September 4, while attempting to relieve that place. The Indians lost twenty-five, but the survivors became drunk from the rum found in one of the English casks. Major Treat, at Hadley, who had sent Beers to the north with an inadequate force, burdened with an ox-team, to carry away the effects at Northfield, hastened forward with one hundred men, September 5. As they approached Squakheag (Northfield) they discovered a range of twenty high poles, on which were stuck the ghastly heads of the Beers party. After the Indians had drunk liberally of the rum found in the ox-cart they plunged into a perfect death revel, even to burning two or three at the stake and hanging a man alive to a tree, with a chain hook caught in his jaw. We have it on good authority that this disaster provoked in the minds of the struggling yeomen of that time not so much the instant vows of revenge common to poor human nature, as a fear that the hand of God had set up these bloody impalements as a warning to the people to turn away from pride of rich dress and long hair and the frivolities of a sinful world.

Treat pushed on and brought away the terrified families from Northfield, and upon the return was met by Captain Appleton. There was a small force at this time, at Deerfield, under the command of Captain Mosely, and Lathrop, with ninety of the best fighters, was sent up there to thresh and bring away the grain. The savages, fully aware of the importance of this supply of grain, gathered their forces in the vicinity, and upon the morning of September 18 the supply

train started for Hadley. Lathrop seemed to think that his Essex troopers were equal to any emergency which the savages might precipitate. In crossing a brook in South Deerfield the soldiers were attracted by some wild grapes, and at this unguarded moment 600 savages made a murderous attack. An ancient oil painting of this event represents the soldiers in the trees gathering the wild grapes, their guns having been put aside. The short story of that day is one of the most revolting in our valley history. Barely seven men escaped. Mosely hastened on from Deerfield; Treat, with 150 soldiers and Indians, arrived later in the day and drove away the savages from this dreadful slaughter-place. The bodies of these men, including Lathrop, were buried the next day on the bank of the brook where they fell, and the murmuring waters of "Bloody Brook" still tell the grim story of that day of death which sent a piteous cry to heaven from every town in New England.

Northfield and Deerfield had been extinguished and 128 lives taken within two months. Almost a panic prevailed in the valley. While King Philip nowhere showed himself in battle, his cunning hand was felt. His runners kept him well informed of the movements of the whites, and his own forces moved in comparative obscurity.

It is difficult to tell how much military authority Major Pynchon had at this time, although he was nominally in command. The United Colonies commissioners seemed to think it was their province to give minute directions as to the defence of the valley. After the Bloody Brook fight the commissioners renewed the order that the army be kept together, even if some towns were left ungarrisoned.

Pynchon did not approve of this, but was unable to meet the emergency as a genuine soldier might have done. The game of hide-and-seek in the wilderness was just what King Philip wanted, and Pynchon knew it. He distrusted the friendly Indians, and by that time even the bravest feared extermination.

Pynchon wrote to the governor September 8th in a thoroughly disturbed state of mind. "Is the Lord about to ruin us?" he asks, "and to

leave us to be destroyed? It is matter of lamentation ; some of our people speak of breaking up, and will be gone, and discouragements enough are on all."

Meantime Major Pynchon's desire to be relieved of the duties of a commander-in-chief took the form of a formal request to the council of Massachusetts for a permission to withdraw ; he wrote a private letter to Boston from Hadley, September 30, 1675, in which he said :

It is to much y^t I should still troble you wth my Continued desires for a rebate for y^e charge you have laid on me w^{ch} I am necessitated to doe y^t y^e worke may not miscary by so much & unable a manager. It were for better some more thorough & meete Instrument were imployed in y^e service & I discharge upon y^t very acct : But besides (not to mention some scruples upon my spirit) The distressed state of my affaires at Hom, y^e sorrows & afflictions my Deare wife undergoes, & her continual calls to me for releife & succor, she being almost overwhelmed with greife & Troble, & in many straites & pplexitys, w^{ch} would be somewhat holpen & alleviated by my presence there.

Mr. Pynchon had written his more formal request the day before, and in answer to this he was relieved of his military command October 4, and Captain Samuel Appleton chosen as his successor. Before this change was announced at Hadley stirring events had taken place.

Our Agawam Indians had up to this time remained quietly in their wigwams on the river-side, and in their fort that overlooked the beautiful bend of the river. This fort was situated upon what is known as the Storrs lot, on the old Long Hill road, below Mill River. The owner of this property sixty years ago (Chester Osborne) named it Fort Pleasant, and took much interest in identifying the Indian landmarks. A little plateau on a prominent spur of a hill, with abrupt declination shaped like a sharply truncated cone, afforded natural advantages for a fort. There is a deep ravine on the south side, which was probably the fortified approach to the fort. Many stone arrow-heads and hatchets have been found in this ravine, and on the plateau pottery and pestles for bruising

corn have been turned up by the plough. It has been assumed by some that only a part of this plateau was included in the fort. The capacity of the fort, however, was sufficient to shelter at least four hundred Indians, and as the rule of the Algonquins was to build a palisade of sufficient size to admit the putting up of rows of little round wigwams made by concentrating poles, covered with skins or bark, it is fair to conclude that the whole brow of this hill was surrounded by a stockade. The neck joining it with the main land was but a few rods wide, and a living spring in the ravine furnished an abundant supply of water. Upon the north side of the hill stands to this day an ancient chestnut-tree. Its gnarled limbs, hollow trunk, and rugged bark indicate an antiquity quite sufficient to have been flourishing at the time of King Philip's war. Artists have painted it, tourists have climbed the hill to look at it, and it is withal a sacred though speechless monument of the local past.

The inhabitants of this section were now thoroughly roused to a sense of danger. "Our English," wrote Major Pynchon from Hadley, as far back as September 30, "are weak and fearful in scouting and spying, though we do the best we can." Two weeks before that the Massachusetts council, recognizing the danger of a contagious panic, had written Major Willard, at Brookfield, to ride over to Springfield, and "give Major Pynchon a visit and encourage him and the people in those parts." It was only after the whole valley was aroused that any definite precautions were taken against the Agawams in the shape of hostages, which were exacted and sent to Hartford for safe keeping.

There were at the beginning of the war communities of praying Indians, who refrained from going on the war-path. John Eliot, in a letter dated December 10, 1675, says: "Another great company of our new praying Indians of Nipmuck fled at the beginning of the war, first to Connecticut, offered themselves to M^r Pinchon, one of our magistrates, but he (though willing) could not receive them. They fled from thence to Unkas (who is not in hostility to the English)

and I hope they be there." The Agawams could not be called praying Indians, but faith in them was quite as strong at first.

On Monday morning, October 4, 1675, Major Pynchon, following the direction of the commissioners, rode at the head of a company of troopers to Hadley, where he proposed, with others, to arrange for a hot pursuit of the enemy. But King Philip was not longing for a pitched battle. He undoubtedly knew of this move, and may have been waiting for it, as over two weeks had passed in silence since the Bloody Brook fight.

But the Agawam Indians had been secretly prevailed upon to join in the war of extermination. At the dead of night a large number of warriors stole into the fort of the Agawams on Long Hill. Historians doubt very much whether King Philip commanded this expedition in person. Mosely said at the time that he did, but upon what evidence is not known. The fort may have been filling up for some nights, or runners may have brought the news before, for some Agawams had been down to Hartford and effected the escape of the hostages held there. Upon their way back the word was passed among the Indians that Springfield was doomed. Toto, an Indian living with a Windsor family, became agitated on the night of the 4th, and the family succeeded in extracting from him the terrible secret. It was long after dark when Toto made the confession, and in post-haste a man was sent to carry the news to Springfield. He rode into town at the dead of night, and roused the inhabitants, who were doubly terrified, the soldiers having gone off on the Hadley campaign. The alarm was sounded at every door in the village. What few men there were seized their guns and ammunition, and with all haste escorted the women and children to the three garrison-houses of the place, which had been recently repaired and fortified. It was a night of dramatic consternation. Among the men known to have been in Springfield at that time were the disabled Deacon Chapin, Jonathan Burt, Rev. Mr. Glover, David Morgan, Lieutenant Cooper, and Thomas Miller. Messengers were at once despatched to Pynchon.

at Hadley, and to Captain Treat, then at Westfield. Mr. Glover succeeded in transferring his "brave" library to Mr. Pyncheon's house, and Tuesday's sun rose with a community of empty houses, — all but three, and those uncomfortably full. With the morning meal, and possibly some religious services in the three forts, courage returned, and Lieutenant Cooper went so far as to discredit Toto and his frightful secret. Mr. Glover was easily convinced, and carried his library back to the minister's house, and very likely others paid visits to their homes in order to complete their dressing, made in such undignified haste during the night.

Lieutenant Cooper knew by name every Indian of the Agawams, he having been for over a quarter of a century a familiar figure among them. Sometimes he would apprehend one of them, as an officer of the law; sometimes he would aid them by loans of seed or utensils. He had, personally, no fear of the Agawams, and he induced Thomas Miller, who was always ready for adventure, to accompany him to the fort quite early in the morning. In less than half an hour from the start the horse of Cooper returned on a full run up the village street from Mill river. Upon his back was his bleeding master clinging in the saddle. The horse ran directly toward the Pyncheon house from which he had started, and when he stopped at the door Cooper fell to the ground dead. Miller was killed at the first volley from the Indians, just as they were entering the woods this side of Mill river.

The dreadful secret was out. Springfield had indeed been set apart for fire and slaughter. The Indians were already making the air dismal with their yells. Some of Mr. Pyncheon's mills at the South End were soon in ashes. The wife of John Matthews who lived at the South End was probably found at her home and there butchered. The torch was applied to the deserted houses by the excited savages that poured through the street in great numbers. At the head of the horde the astonished planters saw the old sachem of the Springfield Indians, the friend of the whites. — Wequogan, whose

name figures in the unsigned Indian deed referred to at the opening of the chapter. He was sometimes called Wrutherna, a name attached to the original Indian deed of 1636. If it was the same person who knew William Pynchon and had been the recipient of his liberality, if not his bounty, the sachem's treachery was all the more marked, and it may be here said that he was probably killed in battle a year later at Dedham.

One party fired the house of correction on the hill, and after the flames were leaping from thirty-three houses and from twenty-five barns, the savages seemed determined on more blood, but the three houses were too well built and defended for the Indian mode of attack. An importunate savage having secured a pewter platter held it before him and marched toward one of the houses, but it only served as a guide to the bullets that pierced his heart. This platter, with two bullet-holes, was owned by Joseph Ferre, but a domestic sold it to a junk-dealer about thirty years ago.

The Indians secured rich plunder but little blood upon this dreadful 5th of October. Edmund Pringrydays was fatally wounded, and about noon David Morgan received a bullet wound in his neck, while attempting with others to bring over some of Major Treat's soldiers who had arrived in great haste on the West Springfield bank. The Indians had little trouble in keeping the reinforcements at bay, but three hours later Major Pynchon and Captain Appleton with 200 troopers rode into Springfield on a dead run all the way from Hadley; but all that was left for them to do was to scare off the Indians, who had no notion of joining battle. They were heavily laden with plunder. The ashes of the town was the evidence of their wrath, and off they went into the forest.

The Indians retired with their booty to Indian Leap (Indian Orchard), built up twenty-four fires on that naturally fortified spot, overhanging the waters, slept in perfect security, and awoke in triumph; but Springfield slept in smoke and danger, and awoke in fear. The town never knew a darker day.

An Indian squaw was captured by the English, and she said that there were 270 warriors in the attack upon Springfield. It is probably nearer the truth than the 600 which some writers claim. Rev. Mr. Russell, of Hadley, even considered 270 too high. The captured squaw said that King Philip intended to burn three towns in one day, and his divided army makes the smaller estimates as to the force at Springfield seem more probable. This squaw, by the way, had a terrible fate, according to Mosely, who writes: "This aforesaid Indian was ordered to be torn to peeces by Doggs and she was soe dealt withall." Mosely was a typical Indian-hater. We decline to believe that this was done by the order of the English, who received too much valuable information from captured Indians to kill them after such service. If the squaw had returned to her people and suffered death for serving the English, that story might be believed.

The opinion was general, at first, that Springfield had received its death-blow. Winter was approaching and retreat seemed inevitable. Mr. Pynchon so wrote the Massachusetts authorities. Not a house nor a barn was standing between Round Hill and Mr. Pynchon's house, except that of William Branch. While Pynchon's garrison-house was saved, the Indians had levelled his barns and out-buildings, thus destroying much hay and grain. Many of Pynchon's neighbors owed him money, and this, with mills and property outside destroyed, almost bowed him down with sorrow. There were a few houses standing about the old meeting-house, but otherwise there was a blackened district between that and Mr. Pynchon's, the losses including the minister's house and Mr. Hitchcock's. From Mr. Mirrick's place to the garrison-houses in lower Main street was another burned district. Mr. Pynchon had quite a property in that part of the town. — grist and corn mills, four tenement-houses, — all destroyed, with possibly one mill, and with them much corn. "Y^e Ld shew mercy to us," writes the down-hearted magistrate, "I see not how it is Possible for us to live here this winter If so the sooner we were holpen off y^e Better." There were left standing fifteen houses



Maj. JOHN PYNCHON & RIDGE.

on the street, and in all, with those in the outskirts and over the river, about forty-five survived the attack. That is, forty-five occupied houses had to accommodate forty families more, as well as a garrison of two hundred soldiers. They were in great need of medicine for the wounded, and provisions were scarce. Several whose houses were saved lost their goods in other houses, whither they had carried them on the night of the 4th. The soldiers, many of them from the east, complained that there was no bread to be had, but meat seemed to be plenty. Major Treat was called upon by the Connecticut authorities to hasten south for the defence of the towns below. The "Worshipful Major" was alive to the unmilitary move in leaving Springfield undefended, and in his report of October 8 to the Bay authorities he takes occasion to refer to his calling off the soldiers to Hadley, "leaving none to secure y^e Towne bec y^e commissioners order was so strict." He was not aware at this time that he had been superseded in command, and he says: "To speake my thoughts, all these Townes ought to be Garrisoned, as I have formerly hinted & had I bin left to my selfe I should I think have done y^t w^{ch} possibly might have prvented this damage."

The loss of Lieutenant Cooper was severely felt. For many years he had been a wheel-horse in the town affairs. He was auditor of the selectmen's accounts at the time of his death. His various accomplishments showed how wide were the demands upon the early dwellers. He was a practising attorney before the County Court; he was a practical carpenter and farmer; he was a bone-setter and a surveyor; he had been a deputy at the General Court, and townsman, and had been an invaluable agent in dealing with the Indians. His descendants may well place him beside the good and noble Deacon Samuel Chapin as a pillar of the town. His deeds fully warrant it. Thomas Miller was constable of the town when shot.

It is one of the admirable traits in the men of these times that they did not for a moment lose an abiding faith in the religion they had come here to spread. They might think of abandoning the

plantation, but not the gospel; and the words of Pynchon to his son Joseph, written October 20 of this dreadful year, were the words of Springfield: "How sweet is our interest in Jesus Christ in these distracting tymes!"

John Pynchon was of a sensitive nature, and he was a great sufferer, personally, under this affliction. When he first began his appeals to Boston to be relieved of his military post, he had referred among other things to the "lashes of the tongues of men" against him, and his sharp sense of the foolishness of the Hadley expedition was not a bit lessened by the plea that he had done a rash thing even though under strict orders. A bolder man — his father, for example — would have chosen rather to stand the ordeal of explaining to his superiors how he saved the town by disobeying orders.

Captain Appleton received from Lieutenant Upham the news of his promotion to the command of the valley forces, and on the 12th returned to Hadley, where he wrote Governor Leverett that he proposed to use his own judgment about garrisoning the towns. He spoke feelingly of Major Pynchon's misfortunes, but opposed the idea of abandoning Springfield. He continued: "As to the state of poor desolate Springfeild, to whose relief we came (though with a march that had put all our men into a most violent sweat, and was more than they could well bear) too late, their condition is indeed most afflictive . . . I have in regard to y^e present distress of y^e poor people, adventured to leave Capt. Sill there, to be ordered by the Hon. Major until further order be received. What hazard I run, I am not insensible, but do rather choose to adventure hazard to myself than to the public, and so throw myself on your worship's mercy in so doing . . . In the account of Springfeild houses we only presented the number of them on the East side of the river, and that in the town flatt; for in all on the West side, and in the outskirts on the East side, there are about sixty houses standing, and much room in and about them: which coming into the Indians' hands will yield great support to them. We had been considering the making of a boat or boats, and find it not de-

sirable ; first, because the river is not navigable, and so none made here can be had up. Secondly, should we make any above the falls, there must be an army to guard the workmen in the work : — Thirdly, we find exceedingly hard, by any provision, to secure our men in the boats by reason that the high banks of the river giving the enemy so great advantage of shooting downward upon us.”

Three days after the above letter was penned Edward Rawson wrote Major Pynchon, by order of the Massachusetts Council, explaining that the order of the Commissioners concentrating the troops did “ not, in the least, obstruct your quartering of soldiers in such wise as may be for your greatest security, nor did it enforce your drawing them off to so great a disadvantage as hath happened.”

This attempt to escape the responsibility of the burning of Springfield reads very strangely in face of express military orders, and Major Pynchon's frequent protests against such a policy. Still, Pynchon should share the blame of the disaster, as he ought to have taken the responsibility of using the natural means of self-defence within his reach.

The General Court, immediately after the burning of Springfield, issued a military manual for the government of the army in the field. This was the first provision of the code : “ Let no man presume to blaspheme the holy & blessed Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, upon payne to have his Tongue bored wth a hott iron.”

Appleton was a man of pronounced character. Indeed, he had lost his seat in the General Court because he had signed in 1666 the petition from Ipswich recommending submission to the King's order to send agents to his Majesty at once. The mark of favor shown him after being so long under a cloud did not lessen the courage of his convictions. He deplored the commissioners' plan of defending the valley by concentrating troops. He followed out the declarations in his letter to his superiors, and distributed his little army in a way to protect all the towns.

Hartford sent up some ammunition to Springfield just in the nick of time, the stock up the river being very low.

The destruction of the mills forced Springfield to go to Westfield for flour, which was a very dangerous journey at that time, and the withdrawal of Treat and his Connecticut soldiers added to Appleton's embarrassment. Appleton sent to Hartford calling upon the authorities once more to send him reinforcements. It appears that besides the alarm over a reported advance of savages in that colony, there was a disposition to look out for number one, because Plymouth had neglected to send its quota of troops.

Scouts were sent in all directions from Hadley, to secure some trace of the enemy. The men were affected with "timorousness," as they had been when Major Pynchon was in command, and nothing came of it. After two days Appleton became very uneasy. On the 14th of October, Mosely at Hatfield, and Seeley at Northampton, were ordered to report at Hadley for action. Mosely, with his company, were soon on the ground, and Seeley came alone and doubted the legality of the order. A new one was made out, to appear on the 15th. That night he sent a message from Northampton to Hadley, saying that Major Treat had ordered him to remain at Northampton until further orders. Seeley was a Connecticut officer, and his force Connecticut men. Here was a conflict of authority, growing out of the apparent refusal of Connecticut to fight in Massachusetts because Plymouth had failed to respond.

On the 16th Appleton started with some Massachusetts troops for Northfield, but a messenger overtook him with word that the Indians had appeared on the west side of the river. He immediately crossed, marched to Hatfield, and pushed on north by night. The report of a gun showed that the enemy was near. Appleton proposed to advance to Deerfield. Mosely did not want to get so far from the towns. A thunder-storm finally forced them back to Hatfield. It seemed that Philip was at Deerfield, and that his scouts were lurking about Hadley, Hatfield, and Northampton, watching a chance for an

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attack. On the evening of the 17th Appleton, then at Hadley, was beset with couriers. Seeley sent from Northampton for aid, as the enemy had been seen there; Mosely reported the Indians within a mile of Hatfield; and word came from Connecticut that troops would be sent up the river at once. Detachments were sent to Hatfield and Northampton that night. The Indians failed to attack, but on October 19th the forces of the great Pokanoket chief, flushed with the destruction of four towns and almost unlimited plunder, closed in upon Hatfield with a large force. Mosely and Poole bravely defended the town, and Appleton, hearing the sound of battle from Hadley, dashed to the rescue. The Indians outnumbered the whites three to one, but the place was saved. Only about nine of the English fell.

The fighting season was now over. The winter closed in early, and many Springfield families probably were forced to live in closed cellars and dug-outs. Some of the Indians went east; many, especially the aged, wintered above Northfield; and Philip, with a band of about five hundred, pushed over to the Hudson river. He was a sick man, and although he survived to do much harm, his career was drawing to a close.

The second year in King Philip's war is in the main but remotely connected with Springfield. The new board of selectmen were Ensign Cooley, Jonathan Burt, John Keep, John Hitchcock, and Elizur Holyoke. The winter was passed in a state of practical imprisonment for fear of skulking Indians. Mr. Pynchon visited Westfield, where the mills were, with Goodman Dumbleton and two young men, and three men were killed by Indians. Mr. Pynchon attended the May General Court, and was chairman of a committee to consult with Captain Mosely as to the military situation.

A new valuation for Springfield was ordered on account of the fire, and later in the year £150 was taken from the colony tax on account of Springfield's losses. In February the town met to elect a selectman, "God having taken away Captain Holyoke." Samuel Marsh-

field was elected to fill his place. The brave Samuel Holyoke was made "Clarke of y^e writts."

The Longmeadow settlers were not able to visit the village on Sunday to attend service. In March a party attended by a guard ventured to make the journey. They were attacked by eight Indians, and Selectman Keep, his wife and child, killed, and several wounded. There was a story told at Boston at the time that the guard took to their heels the moment the Indians fired. Major Pynchon pursued the savages with a company of horse, but to no purpose. Anthony Dorchester was chosen as Keep's successor.

The snow suddenly disappeared in the latter part of January, and a kind Providence gave the planters a mild winter and early spring. The discovery of the treachery of the Narragansetts and the destruction of their fort, with slaughter far more dreadful than that of the Pequot fort, sent hundreds of savages again into the Connecticut valley, who met the desperate King Philip. In the latter part of March Canonchet, together with Sancumachu, a Nonotuck sachem, to whom the Agawams had acknowledged sovereignty, were with Philip a few miles above Northfield. Canonchet lost his head while attempting to bring seed-corn from the Narragansett country; but the maid of Quinnapin, who undertook the errand, was more successful, bringing away a peck and a half of seed. They then scattered into planting and fishing parties to provide against famine. Hatfield, Northampton, and Hadley were garrisoned. An Indian attack on Northampton in the middle of March was successfully resisted. The Massachusetts council renewed its advice about the concentration of forces, suggested Springfield as the best place to fortify, and directed the abandonment of Westfield. Protests were sent to Boston from the various towns; Westfield in town-meeting voted that the inhabitants were ready to go down the river if properly protected by soldiers, but refused to remove to Springfield, although they would like to do it for the "worshipful Major Pynchon's sake." The assertion of some writers, that Westfield did not want to go to Connecticut, but

made the threat in order to secure aid from Boston, is now discredited.

On May 18, Captain Turner, of Boston, attacked the Indians while yet asleep at what is now called Turner's Falls, killing over three hundred. Another party of Indians hastened to the rescue and forced the whites to retire down the river, our Captain Samuel Holyoke protecting the rear. Samuel had seen a little fighting, and was gaining a name for Indian warfare. Upon the retreat Holyoke was brought into hand-to-hand contests with the savages, five of whom he ran through and killed with his sword in the morning fight. Holyoke's horse was shot from under him, and, as he fell, numbers of Indians closed upon him. The first was killed by Holyoke's pistol, and the captain's men saved him from death; he was but twenty-eight years old. Turner had been shot in Greenfield meadow, and young Holyoke, assuming command, succeeded so well in checking what was almost a panic, that he arrived at Hatfield with one hundred and forty men. He had taken charge of a rout, and converted it into a military retreat. But it cost him his life. He never recovered from the exhaustion of those two days, and in October he sank into his grave, and was buried beside his father, Elizur Holyoke.

Philip made a desperate effort on the 30th of May to overpower Hatfield, but he was repulsed with considerable loss. He was equally unsuccessful June 12, when he attacked Hadley. His army was now forced to scatter. A party passing Westfield towards the Hudson were pursued, and lost sixty in killed and wounded. Philip was surrounded August 12 in a swamp near Mount Hope. An Englishman aimed at Philip and missed, when a friendly Indian shot him, and he fell upon his face in the mud and water with his gun under him. His hands were exhibited at Boston, his head at Plymouth, and the beasts of the forest fed upon his mangled trunk. The famous Indian was dead, the Connecticut valley was at peace, and Springfield was in ashes.

CHAPTER X.

1677-1703.

Waste Places rebuilt. — Deacon Chapin. — Chicopee. — Fishing Privileges. — The Second Meeting-House. — Trouble about Mr. Glover's House and Lot. — Schools. — Taxes. — Law Breakers. — The Freemen of 1678. — The "Accord Tree." — King William's War. — Pynchon's Attempts to protect the Towns. — Sir Edmund Andros in Springfield. — Massacre at Brookfield. — Captain Colton's Heroism. — Pynchon's Letter to Stoughton. — Death of Mr. Glover. — Suffield. — Enfield. — The Boundary Question. — Brimfield. — West Springfield. — Its Struggle for a Separate Minister. — Pynchon's Place in the Commonwealth. — His Business Connections. — Beaver Trade with England. — Pynchon's Death.

THE first thought of Springfield was safety, and the second the restoration of the street to its former condition. The men upon whom the first steps of the burden of the rebuilding rested were Selectmen George Colton, John Dumbleton, Benjamin Parsons, John Dorchester, and Henry Chapin.

The venerable Deacon Chapin had sunk into his grave amid the desperate confusion of war. It would have indeed required that faith which removes mountains to have died in a serene hope for the future of Springfield. The larger faith in the gospel and the Christian commonwealth we know he did have.

Samuel Chapin is supposed to have been a Huguenot, possibly one of about 150 families that reached these shores shortly after the Massachusetts Bay settlement. The Chapin name had an honorable place in France so far back as the tenth century, when a Frenchman won a coat of arms and the sobriquet "Capinatus," from a cut in his head received during a fight. The cap with a cut in it and sword lying across it became the coat-of-arms of the family, and this

heraldic device has come down in the American branch. It is supposed that Samuel Chapin's father fled first to Holland. After marrying Cicely, a French maiden, Samuel went to Dartmouth, England, and migrated with several children to New England, settled first at Roxbury about 1635, and finally, 1642, or a year or two later, arrived at Springfield. As a deacon in the ancient Springfield church he will always stand in solemn relief in this community : as the progenitor of a large and important family his name is perpetuated in many cities and towns. The selectman Henry Chapin of 1677 was the deacon's son. Henry and his brother Japhet had become interested in the Chicopee part of the town. Henry about this time built a house in what is now the lower end of Chicopee street, and Japhet at the upper end. They became veritable patriarchs. Henry begat five children ; Japhet begat ten children. Of these, eight were boys ; and these eight boys begat eighty-seven children.

George Colton, who stands at the head of the list of selectmen, was the well-known Quartermaster Colton, father of Longmeadow, as some have called him, and the head of the numerous family of Coltons in this country. Benjamin Parsons was the Deacon Parsons of Mr. Glover's ministry, who also became somewhat of a patriarch.

Other officers chosen in the winter of 1677 will excite more than an idle interest. John Pynchon was moderator of the town-meeting, as usual. The officers elected in addition to the selectmen were : —

Clerk, John Holyoke ; measurer for land apportioned, Samuel Marshfield ; constable, Rice Bedortha ; surveyors of highways on the east side of the river, Nathaniel Prichard and Joseph Ashley, west side, John Petty ; haywards for the common fields, — for house-lots on east side of the river, Goodman Clark ; for Longmeadow, Ephraim Colton ; for west side, Henry Rogers ; Agawam meadows, James Stevenson ; Chicopee plain, Samuel Bedortha.

The street must have presented a dismal appearance at this time, with its extemporized shelters, roofed cellars, fortified door-ways, and even barricades extending into the street. It was proposed at first

to run a street parallel to the main street through the house-lots (Water street) in order to bring the planters together; but the scheme was abandoned. Garrison soldiers were quartered in the town at times for some years, and the skulking Indians in the forests made every journey out to the commons for wood or over the river or to the land above the Three-Corner brook, a little military campaign. Disorderly appearance of the main street may be inferred from this order of the selectmen as late as the winter of 1679 : —

That no persons henceforth without liberty fro y^e Towne doe dig or cumber y^e highway or streete fro y^e upper wharfe to y^e bridge of Obadiah Cooleys wth firewood, clay, timber onto it before his building or fencing and that such as have filled the streete or Lanes wth clay, wood, Timber & remove not the same by the middle of June next shall be Lyable to forfeit the same, as also that no Persons dig holes or pits in the streets without leave upon the penalty of 5s.

About a dozen men received allotments of land in 1677, and in a short time, it will be here remarked, the custom of taking money for these apportionments sprang up.

The house of correction and jail, to supply the place of the one burned in 1675, was located on Main street (corner of Bliss), and was built under the direction of Major Pynchon.

The town voted in 1677 that “Goodm: Lamb, Sergeant Morgan, Joseph Crowfoot, John Clarke senior, Charles Ferry with such others as they shall take in with them” be given a license to fish “from y^e falls in Chicuppi River where the wadeing place is, down to y^e mouth of that River, provided they enter not upon any man’s Lands or proprietyes.” The scale of prices fixed for them was as follows : Fresh salmon at the river, 6*d.*, in village, 8*d.* ; fresh shad, half penny at river, 1*d.* in village ; salt fish, “to the Town twelve pence p^r Barrel for al that shal be transported.”

The year 1677 did not pass without an attempt to come to an understanding with the Indians, but after some negotiations at Northampton the hope of cordial relations was abandoned.

The meeting-house was old and small, — not equal to the demands of the congregation, even with benches in the aisles. Before the Indian troubles the contracted quarters occasioned much inconvenience. The selectmen in 1674 had proposed additions to the house; but the town wanted a new building. Finally various motions for a new house, including that for a building committee, headed by John Pyncheon, were passed “wth alacrity wthout contention.” The site at first selected was Sergeant Stebbins’s lot “on the hill,” he to have in exchange four acres north of Round Hill. A tax was not levied until the winter of 1675, but the division of opinion about location delayed the work until King Philip’s war. Even in August, 1676, the people, overwhelmed with loss of property and men, were bold enough to vote with a faith that commands our admiration : —

Ordered That Ensigne Cooly & Sam Marshfeild be added to y^e committee for y^e meeting house affaire; some of y^m being Dead: These are a supply & wth y^e rest remaining, to act as formerly. The s^d comittee or any 3 of y^m to treate wth John Allyns And (in regard to y^e Towne’s Poverty by reson of y^e warr) If he will stay for his pay Then to get him to Raise y^e Meeting house as soone as may be.

During the following summer the second church edifice of Springfield was put up. The old building was evidently not removed until the new one, situated just west of it, was consecrated; and then it was disposed of for £5. The meeting-house yard was enclosed by a five-rail fence, except in the rear, where a hedge was built. The total cost of the building itself, so far as can be figured out from the records, was £400, which was not all paid until 1688. It had a turret, but a bell was not put in for nearly ten years. The deacons had a seat by themselves, and there are references to the great pillars, banisters, posts, friezes, “benches in the alleys, rods &c for the canope,” and so on. They kept the children away from the windows this time, but some dogs managed to break 3s. worth of glass. Here are some items in the accounts of the building committee : —

Raising the pulpit floor frame	15s.
Two quarts of drinke for Jno Gilbert when he made y ^e glass	4s.
Hands to raise the Ladder, 1 qut of Rum	2s.
Slitworke used about the pulpit	10s 9d

The meeting-house was fortified against Indians, the paling or stockade being made of foot-logs ten and a half feet long. The same fortification was put up about Mr. Glover's house. The town's accounts for 1679 included the following items: —

The Towne is debtor	
To the ministry or minister.	£80 00 00
To the Comittee for y ^e new meeting house,	50 00 00
To the comittee for Mr. Glovers house,	06 00 00
To the Schoolmtr, 6£ for y ^e Towne; and 6£ 10s for Chicupi,	12 10 00
To y ^e sweep of the meeting	02 10 00
To Sam: Ely for expences at his house & 1 qu: rum for Per-ambulators,	1 13 06
To G. Parsons for his team for y ^e Flanker,	0 05 00
To making y ^e votes,	20
To Jon: Sikes for a flanker.	1 00 06
To Sam: Marshfield, for making y ^e lockes,	0 05 00

The Towne is creditor	
by a vote made for Mr Glover	80 00 00
Ct by a vote made for y ^e new meeting house	50 00 00
To a Towne rate	20 00 00
Ct by y ^e sale of the old meeting house	5 00 00
Ct by y ^e boards of y ^e same house	1 00 00
Ct by y ^e Town Land at Chickuppi: 6, 10s	06 10 00

The perambulators were men who were appointed to make the rounds of the town limits and see that the surveyors' marks remained intact. We have no local traditions like those in England about whipping boys at these corners in order to aid their memories for the benefit of future generations; but the ceremony was not without its

attraction, especially to young men who joined the excursion and repaired with the officials to the tavern for the comforts of the inner man. In 1678 Rowland Thomas, Joseph Bedortha, and John Dorchester were the perambulators on the Suffield and Westfield sides of the town, and it is said that they performed their duties "with divers men of both those Townes." The "flanker" was a fortification that prevented side attacks. They may have flanked the main entrance of the church. The town gave (1678) Major Pynchon a special permit to "set up a flanker in the street at the east end of his new house y^e is now building on the north side of his own house-lot the which flanker he desires he may have liberty to set into y^e streete five foot broad ten foot in length."

The item about Mr. Glover's house calls up another interesting subject. Mr. Glover was a man of great tenacity of purpose, and was as quick to defend his personal rights as his religious tenets. In June, 1669, Mr. Glover had produced the deepest consternation by the announcement that he had about concluded to leave Springfield on account of the smallness of his stipend. A town-meeting was called, and a committee, headed by Major Pynchon, was sent over to the minister's house, while all the inhabitants waited in painful suspense. The most Mr. Glover would say was that he would not decide definitely what to do. The trouble blew over for a time, but broke out again after the burning of his house by the Indians. The meeting that voted to go ahead with a new meeting-house (January, 1677) decided to continue the building of the new residence of Mr. Glover with the understanding that the town, and not the minister, should own and hold the property. The lot, it will be remembered, had been deeded absolutely to Mr. Glover at his settlement, in spite of the fact that, at Mr. Moxon's departure, it had been voted not to part with the ministry lot. Here arose a serious dispute, which carried a trail of disquietude for at least twenty years. The plantation regretted having given Mr. Glover a deed in fee-simple, since his desire to leave threatened them with the burden of voting away

another valuable lot of property to a new minister. What was wanted was a permanent ministry lot, and a powerful faction was determined to have one, even if it increased the financial burdens of the struggling plantation.

George Colton (August, 1676) headed the committee charged with the rebuilding of Mr. Glover's house. Mr. Glover was displeased to hear that the new house was for his use only, and the dispute was referred to the selectmen and building committee. Therefore, in order to secure the minister's "contentful continuing with us," it was directed (June, 1677) that Mr. Glover should own absolutely the new house; but the motion was opposed by Samuel Marshfield, Henry Chapin, Luke Hitchcock, George Colton, and many others. Before the work on the house was completed it was found that the vote was illegal; the dissidents subsequently carried the day, and secured the control of the ministry lot, attempting to placate Mr. Glover by voting him £100 in lieu thereof. This was not so blinding an offer as might at first appear, seeing that the inhabitants were far in arrears to Mr. Glover on his regular £80 stipend. But the town-meeting accompanied the appropriation with a direction to the deacons to collect the ministry rates and deliver them to Mr. Glover personally. Peace was not purchased even at that price; they were subsequently (February, 1679) burdening themselves with material for fortifying Mr. Glover's house against the Indians. Mr. Glover proposed an appeal to the General Court to determine the title to the ministry house and lot, which was agreed to; the General Court (October, 1681) decided that the property belonged to Mr. Glover, and that the latter should be paid its full value; the town offered (March, 1682) to give Mr. Glover satisfaction in land elsewhere; but this not being to Mr. Glover's liking, other land was eventually set apart for the ministry (1683) by the dubious vote of 27 to 23; and thus matters stood at Mr. Glover's death in 1692, which was a signal for another attack upon the Glover property. Mr. Glover's son stood out as best he could, but finally gave way. He offered to sell for £700;

this proposition was declined, and the matter was given out to arbitration, when the purchase price was fixed at £350. The payment of this sum, mainly in land, was another source of trouble; but that does not concern us. The town had attained their end, and established a permanent residence for the minister, whoever he might be; but, frankly, the means employed to recover the house of Mr. Glover was no credit to the community. Victory Sikes was the contractor of the house, and the cost was about £100.

One would fancy that the burdens of rebuilding the town would have crowded the matter of education to the background. It certainly did not crush it out. In 1677, "admittance & entertainment" was granted to William Madison, schoolmaster, "he taking three pence of those p weeke whom he teaches to read English, & four pence p weeke of those he teaches both to read & write, also four pence of those whom he teaches writing wholly: the Parents or Persons being to allow not more: But the Town for this year as an encouragment to Him in the work doe agree to allow him y^e Rent of y^e Town land In Chickupy." Daniel Benton began his teaching here the year following, his stipend being £20. They temporarily set apart the "watch house to y^e New meeting house" for his school-room. Mr. Benton taught domestics as well as children at this time. In June, 1679, Thomas Stebbins, Jr., contracted to furnish timber for a school-house, 22 × 17 feet, framed, clapboarded, shingled, and furnished with a "mantle-tree" and a "rung chimney." A court-house was built later. That was the order, — first the meeting-house, then the school-house, and finally the court-house. It had been voted in May of 1679 that "there should be an house erected for that noble designe & use of Learning the youth in those so necessary pieces or parts of Learning: Videl: reading, & writing." The site of the school-house was subsequently ordered to be "somewhere in the lane going to the upper wharfe" (Cypress street). The watch-house seemed to disappoint expectation, and the schoolmaster gathered his flock of children and servants in Goodman Mirrick's house. Goodwife Mirrick

was somewhat of a teacher herself. When the frame for the school-house was being put up, all the young men to be found assisted at the work, after which they repaired to Ely's tavern. The town footed the bill. John Richards was schoolmaster here in 1683, and two years later the town bought the house built by Edward Stebbins, and sold to Samuel Ball for a school-house. Fines were imposed for neglect to send children to school, and all were enjoined to send both children and servants. The County Court in session at Springfield in September, 1690, entered the following: —

The selectmen of the town of Springfeild being presented to y^e Last court at Northampton for y^e want of a School to teach children in their town & on appearing in Court & informing that since they have gott an able schoolmaster & that y^e affairs goe on to advantage soe they were discharged.

In January, 1694, the town empowered the selectmen to hire the schoolmaster, a circumstance worthy of note, as it was no unusual thing to elevate to the position of selectmen men who could not write. Miles Morgan was an example. His "mark" was a rudely drawn anchor.

Were we making a special study of taxation and the adjustment of public burdens, much interesting matter would be found at this period. The town's "country" tax was often paid in corn, it being forwarded in 1680 by water at a cost of about £3. It seems that five years later money was insisted upon at the Bay; but Springfield and Suffield secured a special permit to continue to pay in corn at a reduction of one-third of its market value. But the court, in granting this concession, took occasion to rebuke both towns for "sundry expressions" in their petition which "doe deserve sharpe reproafe." Springfield was an applicant again in 1684 for a corn-paid tax, and the following year the town voted: —

Whereas the Town did pass a Vote to pay Sam^{ll} Blisse Jun^r, Constable the Country money Rate in Corne at Country price, wth an addition of halfe so

much more. & accordingly did pay the money Rate to s^d Constable. that is the Major Part of the Town did so pay. & principally in Indian. w^{ch} at prsent is extreame Low at the Market: It is voted & concluded that Each man do again receive his Corne paid upon s^d Account. & that the Town will save harmless said Constable from the Country treasurer by reason of any Warrant fro him. & the Constable to appoint to redeliver the Corne p^d as aforesd.

The county continued to have trouble in adjusting its tax rates. The tax-assessors at one time allowed the tax to dwindle down by abusing their prerogatives in striking from the lists men in ill-health or extreme poverty. The court was, in consequence, forced to order (1691) that "all y^r rateable heads in this County by y^r Selectmen & Constable in y^r severall towns bee layed upon as others except such as are verry poor & impotent that be at the selectmens judgment for the discharging of the sum or sums of money or other pay." etc.

The smaller towns were frequently in distress about the way the taxes were imposed. Westfield protested (1692) against its public burdens, but the County Court turned a deaf ear. Suffield was uneasy under a land tax (1691), and the court included cattle and personal property; Suffield was still unhappy, and wanted a repeal of the order (1692), but the judges would not yield. The court at this time was perplexed about a highway through the western meadow across Agawam river to Suffield, and after appointing a committee (1691) from the various towns to lay out the road expressed a hope that this would be the last heard of the dispute. At this session also a ferry was established over the Connecticut, "against y^r house of Jno Alline of Suffield," the latter to be ferryman, and to charge 4d. per horse and 2d. per man as toll. The County Court by this time had become the dispenser of liquor licenses, the licenses being granted upon recommendation of the selectmen of the various towns. The court kept a sharp eye upon these taverns, and it is sad to relate that Nathaniel Ely was a sufferer thereby. Having been convicted of selling cider to the Indians, it was recorded (1681): "The Courte taking notice of his Ingenuity in Confessing his fault & being de-

sirous to encourage others to such ingenuity doe not fine him ; ” but they admonished him to do better. Ten years later Springfield desired another retailer of strong drink, and Luke Hitchcock secured the privilege, on condition that he refrain from selling to “ children, servants & extravagant Persons, & expecting & requiring that he take effectual care that no customer do git tippling in his house & be circumspect to prevent al abuses of the creature.” Samuel Bliss was also in court for selling without a license. Speaking of drunkenness at this time, the judges remarked, “ w^{ch} sin abounds.” John Dorchester offered, in 1684, to act as ferryman upon condition that he be allowed to sell strong drink and be freed from military training. This was not granted him. The ferry was opposite his own lot.

Cases of Sabbath-breaking continued to appear. One offender was discovered emerging from the woods with a deer on his horse one Sabbath afternoon, and he answered for the offence before the solemn justices. Another man was presented at the court “ for Neglecting y^e Publique Worship of God & hee Petitioning this court pleading his sickness Weakness and want of Cloaths this Cold Winter this court ordered y^t the worshipful Coll Pynchon to send for him before him & admonish him,” etc.

Here are added two extracts from the county records of special cases. The first is dated September, 1685 : —

Mark Gregory, one of y^e Robbers that were soe troublesome & injurious to this Countie last summer appeareing in this Courte & it being evident that diverse charges are to be satisfyed for by sd Gregory viz 30s to Mr. Pelatia Glover Jur for the cureing of his wounded heade & 2£ 12s to Fearenot King for sundry things stolen out of his house & to diverse other persons thier charges, this Ceurte being desirous to use all encourageing Clemency to s^d Gregory have adjudged sayd Robber Mark Gregory to be sold for 12£ to defray such charges or damages as he hath occasioned, etc.

The second extract is from the record of the County Court held at Springfield in September, 1691 : —

In Sept Court 1691 at Springfield Michal Townsley & Mary his Wife & their daughter Mary being all presented to this Courte for diverse misdemeanors & all appearing and each of them haveing beene examined before the Worship^d Coll^d Pyncheon & the diverse examinations, witnessess & testimonys being read in Courte the Courte doe judge them all to be guiltie accordding to y^e Respective testimonys of the crimes witnessed against them viz of lying of stealing & of killing creatures or some creatures of some Neighbors & of threatening some of their neighbors or expressing such things as that their Neighbors are afraide of ptevious Mischietts to be done to y^m by ye s^d presented partys. This Courte there fore to Heare due Witness against such Spitefull, dangerous & to be abhorred practices doe adjudge as followeth, & first since they finde y^t y^e Daughter named Mary is guiltie of lying especially in that she charged her father before authority as killing & stealing & teaching her to steale & againe denying her confession before this Courte, the Courte do adjudge her to be well whipt on y^e Naked Body with eight lashes well laid on & otherwise the Courte doe order y^t the Selectmen of Suffield doe take effectaal care to have s^d Mary put out to some meete person to service with whome she may be well educated the child herself saying that she cant doe better or reform while she continues with her parents or father & as to y^e Woeman wife of s^d Townsley the Courte doe finde her guiltie of desperate speeches & threatening burning to her Neighbors to the great disquietude of y^m & doe adjudge her to be well whipt on y^e Naked Back with ten lashes. And to Michael Townsley this Courte finds him Guiltie of felonious practices taking away his neighbors goods and in particular killing some swine or one swine at least this Courte doe adjudge him to be well whipt on y^e naked Body with 15 lashes & that he pay all charges respecting y^e prosecuting him for his heinous crimes & particularly y^t he pay James King 20s & Edward Fox 10s. And y^e Courte further orders that s^t Michael Townsley & Mary his wife sh^{al} be bound in y^e sum of 100 pounds more for their good behavior during the absence of the Courte.

There was just one case of witchcraft which at this time was so big like a black cloud on the eastern shores of the colony. Alice Bondeloh of New Hampshire was put under bonds to appear and answer the charge of being a witch. But this is the last that was known of her case. There was an extreme reluctance to slaves. One known as Jack escaped from Waltham and escaped to the Northampton jail.

Nathaniel Burt, of the board of selectmen of 1678, resigned in July because he was not a freeman, and his brother, Jonathan Burt, was chosen in his place. The record as to this matter begins: "It was ppounded y^r being some scruple made concerning the Selectmen's Acts, because the Major part of y^m are not freemen according to order, whether y^r Town would not rectify y^e same."

The General Court, in obedience to the royal proclamation of April 27, 1678, ordering all subjects to take the oath of allegiance, directed the various magistrates to administer it forthwith; accordingly John Pynchon performed that duty to the following inhabitants of Springfield on December 3, 1678, and January 1, 1679: —

Pelatiah Glover,	John Holyoke,	Daniel Denton,
Robert Ashley,	George Colton,	Anthony Dorchester,
Samuel Marshfield,	Thomas Mirrick,	John Dumbleton,
Benjamin Parsons, Jr.,	Jonathan Burt,	Rowland Thomas,
Lieut. Thomas Stebbins,	Miles Morgan,	Henry Chapin,
John Lamb,	William Branch,	John Clark,
Japhet Chapin,	Nathaniel Burt,	Rice Bedortha,
Thomas Day,	Samuel Ely,	Nathaniel Pritchard,
John Stewart,	James Warriner,	John Hitchcock,
Samuel Bliss,	Jonathan Taylor,	John Bliss,
John Scott,	John Harman,	John Petty,
Jonathan Ashley,	Joseph Ashley,	John Dorchester,
James Dorchester,	Thomas Cooper,	Edward Foster,
Joseph Lemana,	Isaac Colton,	Ephraim Colton,
Thomas Colton,	Increase Sikes,	Victory Sikes,
Nathaniel Sikes,	James Sikes,	John Riley,
John Bagg,	Obadiah Miller,	John Barber,
John Barber, Jr.,	Charles Ferry,	Samuel Ferry,
William Brook,	John Matthews,	Abel Wright,
Samuel Bliss,	Thomas Stebbins,	Joseph Stebbins,
Edward Stebbins,	Benjamin Stebbins,	

In order to avoid disputes about land titles a vote was passed in January, 1685, that "al former grants of Land wthin this Township

of Springfield to each & every singular Person in this Town have been, were & are to them & their heirs for ever." This was passed in order to put the town grants upon the same legal basis as a deed. This was a death-blow to the system of land communism.

After many disagreements, Springfield and Northampton, in April, 1655, settled upon a pine-tree south of Stony Brook near the "upper great Fall" about forty rods from the river to mark the east and west line between the towns. The tree was inscribed with an "SP," "NL," and an "A," and was long known as the "Accord Tree." By the colony records we learn that the line, by agreement, ran to the "great bar of the falls, — that is, about the first great bar, — next to Northampton." From here the line ran west two and a half miles, south half a mile, thence west to a point nine miles from the river. Northampton was given liberty to fish at the "lower great fall, in the Springfield bounds, without any molestation from Springfield men," as well as use of the highway to the boating-place below the falls.

In February, 1655, there was a general apportionment of lands on account of an extra land-grant by the General Court. Liberal amounts were first reserved for the ministry and the schools. Mr. Glover was remembered in the list of apportionments. The land was made up in divisions, and it was ordered that it "shall be by Casting of Lots." The land divisions were by estates and polls, which were "estimated In the Rate at twelve pounds p Pole & that al Male children under age be valued as Rateable Poles: viz: 12^l p Pole." The list of lots, including the portions for the ministry and the school, comprised 125 names. This is known to the surveyors as the "Outward commons."

The license for the "fishing Places on Agawam River & Chicoppé River" were given in 1655 to Deacon Burt, Miles Morgan, Thomas Mirrick, and several others. In 1657 Henry Chapin headed the list of those specially privileged to fish in Chicopee river so far as "Schomungonuck fal or Bar." They could make also "Wards for catching of Fish." Henry Chapin's brother Japhet was interested

with John Hitchcock, Nathaniel Foot, and others, in a saw-mill which the town authorized them to build at Schonungonuck falls, "provided they came not on y^e Town side of a straight Line drawn from the Head of Hog pen dingil to dirty Gutter."

There were scores of minor doings touching town affairs, the narration of which would prevent a reference to more important matters. Every inhabitant was required (1680) to keep at least three sheep. No one could employ an Indian on his farm (1686) without a special permit. The premium was finally (1688) taken off of wolves and put upon bears, which had been making sad work with the swine. The selectmen were authorized to choose haywards in 1684, as well as a ferryman; and in the following year they were prohibited from making any public contract above £20, without consulting the town. A fine was imposed upon persons who prepared tar not "marchantable."

The accession of William and Mary to the throne of Great Britain, in 1689, precipitated a war with France. The French, aided by many Indians, made excursions into New England, and King William's war, which in reality began before the death of King James, was attended by many harrying scenes. In the latter part of July, 1688, five friendly Indians were killed at Spectacle pond, about ten miles east of Springfield. Deeds of blood were also reported up the river, and toward the east. John Pynchon was kept pretty busy sending aid to exposed points, as the following entries made by him show:—

Aug. 17, 1688. Being y^e same day y^t tidings came to me which was y^t Northfield was invaded, I sent Post to Quabaug, viz. Tho. Powell — which is 2 days & Horse.

Aug. 17. I sent away Lieut. Tho. Colton with 16 soldiers from Springfield to Northfield, to surprise & take y^e Indians & pursue y^m etc, who were upon y^e service 6 days — which is 96 days 96 horses.

The Lieut. is besides himself & Horse 6 " 6 "

Aug. 19. I sent 6 men Quabaug, y^e people there being about to remove, ordering and requiring their continuance, only I sent to fetch off such women as

desired to come away. The men sent were Tho. Powell, Eben Graves, John Stiles, James Petty, Joseph Petty & Tho. Gilbert, who were in y^e service 2 days apiece and horses

which is

12 days 12 horses.

I sent 2 lbs. Powder & 6 lbs. Bullets to Quabaug.

Aug. 3. Hezekia Dickinson Post from Brookfield with Capt. Nicholson's second letter: one day coming & one day back. & y^e extremity of y^e wet made it a day more, so he is to be allowed for his horse & himself

which is 3 days 3 Horses.

Sept. 4. To entertaining a Post, and to quartering of two soldiers sent from Quabaug for provisions, them selves and horses.

Sept. 5. I sent to Quabaug 5 bushels of Indian corn etc. Sent two firelock guns to Quabaug etc.

Sept. 11. Joseph Marks was ordered to Northfield for 1 week, & with 4 firelock guns.

Pynchon, ten days later, sent a company, under command of Henry Gilbert, to the relief of Brookfield, with provisions and arms.

Early in October Sir Edmund Andros started from New York for Boston, where he was destined to have a taste of what an American crowd with a notion of colonial rights could do when put to it. John Pynchon had held for nearly three years the position of counsellor by Andros's appointment, and Sir Edmund arrived at Springfield about the 12th of the month. There was a conference between the two men, but nothing is known of the business transacted between them. Sir Edmund visited Northampton before proceeding to Boston and his fate.

We will speak presently of John Pynchon's negotiations with the Indians, but will here mention that his past experience as a negotiator caused his selection to head a commission to visit Albany and arrange a treaty with the Macquas. The party, ten in number, left for the spot in August, 1689, and were gone one month. A treaty was duly made.

Another invasion of the Canadian French and Indians, in New England, in the summer of 1693, threw western Massachusetts into a

state of excitement again. Six persons were massacred by the Indians, at Brookfield, July 27. John Lawrence started for Springfield with the news, arriving there late that very night. John Pynchon remained up all night, and by morning had a force of twenty-eight troopers, under the command of Captain Colton, on the road to Brookfield. Soldiers from up the river followed later in the day. Colton started north in hot pursuit from Brookfield, through thick forests and marshes, and in his eagerness finally selected a score of good fighters, leaving the rest to bring on the exchanged horses, and overtook the savages at breakfast. He made the attack; killed half a dozen or more, and captured nine guns, twenty hatchets, and about twenty horns of powder, as well as recovering a captive man and woman. Although Mr. Pynchon in his official report said of this exploit, " 'Tis God, not our 20 men, that hath done it," it will not be amiss to say that Captain Thomas Colton, with almost an Indian's instinct in following trails, and indomitable pluck, was a worthy instrument in the hands of Providence in saving the town from greater disaster. The plunder was divided among Colton's men, the State adding £1 for each soldier, and £10 to the valiant Captain, in recognition of services rendered. It is said that an Indian in ambush once took aim at Colton, but finally concluded not to shoot, fearing that he might not hit the Captain, and thus be despatched himself in short order.

Just before this fight two Indians in the prison-house at Springfield, situated on the main street, made good their escape, to the astonishment of every one. Pynchon sent out twenty men in fruitless pursuit. These Indians were from Deerfield, where they had committed murder. They had, in some way, secured a file, and the clever manner in which they cut their handcuffs and gained their liberty was the talk of the village for some time.

Pynchon kept a garrison at Deerfield and Brookfield for some time. In December, 1694, he wrote Isaac Addington, a member of the Council at Boston, about "continuing or quitting y^e garrisons at

Dearefeild and Brookefeild," saying, " I am loath upon my owne head to discharge y^m, least — If anything fal out not well I should deservedly be Blamed."

In March, 1695, Pynchon learned that the Governor had determined to withdraw the soldiers from Deerfield. This caused great uneasiness ; and, in a letter to Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton (now in the possession of Charles P. Greenough, of Boston), Pynchon explains the danger, and adds : " I have therefore ordered Capt Partrig & Capt Clap out of Those 2 Towns viz Northampton, 5. & Hatfeild, 3. to make a Present supply & assistance to Dearefeild upon L^t Holister's drawing of his men, If they wil not stay Longer w^{ch} I have motioned & desire, but almost despaire of it. . . . Dearefeild being a large Fortification cannot wel be secured under 32 men, w^{ch} are more then can wel be afforded out of this Regimt & to many in my opinion, so y^t I humbly offer it againe to y^r Honors consideration & resolve of sending some men from y^r more Plentiful pts. & y^e supplying & securing of Brookfeild who also have been minding me of their need of some help now spedyly." He soon writes again in his anxiety for Brookfield : —

TO LIEUT GOV N STOUGHTON

Springfeild March 22^d 1695

HON^{BLE} SR

I have already trobled y^r Honor to much wth my scrawls, having (besides former lines) writ two letters of this import wth in a Fortnight. so y^t I am ashame to Inculcate y^e same thing. But y^e Importunity of my neighbors at Brookfeild who are now at my house. Three of them overcome me & enforces me (at this time) to lay these lines before you. in their behalf only. whom (if they may not draw off) are irgent for speedy succours by men Placed there for their security, reckening themselves in apparent hassard of y^e enemy & fearing their app^{ch} every day, now y^e weather is open, & truly I am sensible y^t y^e enemy may have spite at y^e place. & that they may need men there out of hand : w^{ch} though they Importune my sending now along wth y^m, yet I decline it for present, having applied to y^r Honor for y^r direction & orders, w^{ch} waiting for. I acco^t it not Prudence to anticipate or act upon my owne head w^{thout} y^e same. since as I

have requested, so I am in expectation of y^t more judicious determination thereabouts. concerning w^{ch} I crave leave to say upon most serious thoughts (& discourse wth y^e Quaboug men) that such a number as may maintaine y^e Place & secure y^m, is needful. & whether less then men with a good discreete commander may be sufficient for y^e Purpose If an enymy assault y^m deserves due consideration wich is wth y^r Honor to conclud & direct in, & what ever that way comes to me, fro y^r honor, I shal Indeavor my best attendance unto, adding only y^t for y^r Omitting of y^m at Quaboug I have told y^m y^t I hope they wil have men sent y^m & a Garrison started there by y^e begining of April fro those pts By y^r Honors Countenance & authority, w^{ch} is as much — If not to much as at present is needful. from

Y^r Honors humble Servt

JOHN PYNCHON

In a fortnight Pynchon writes that the Brookfield men desire that “my son may be the commander, & set over y^e Garrison there,” which request is a “surprise” which “startles” him.

Peace was not declared between England and France until 1697, and it was sometime later when hostilities ceased in the New World. Armed men were stationed in each town to defend them in case of attack. “We know Indians are lurking about,” writes Pynchon in September, 1695, “for besides some seen at Northampton, as also at Hadley, there have been some about Springfeild: twice one hath been seen. But, upon any appearance, we range all the woods about: besides that, our daily scouting out 4 men aday on horses by Towns,” etc. And this state of things continued even after the mother countries had returned to the paths of peace.

The death of Rev. Pelatiah Glover, in March, 1692, left the Springfield pulpit vacant for two years. Every effort was made to secure Rev. John Haynes, but without success, except for a few months; and in November, 1693, Captain Thomas Colton and Sergeant Luke Hitchcock were ordered to go to the Bay to see Rev. Increase Mather, president of the “colledg,” and the “reverend elders” at Boston, as to a minister. In January, 1694, it was voted to offer Rev. Daniel Brewer £70 a year and use of the ministry property, and in May Mr.

Brewer began his ministry. He was barely twenty-five, and was from Roxbury.

The strife between the town and the son of Pelatah Glover did not end in any loss of respect on either part, as the son appears as a selectman in 1694, the others being John Dorchester, Joseph Stebbins, Nathaniel Bliss, and David Morgan. The town clerk was John Holyoke, and the constables were James Warriner and Henry Burt.

The selectmen had been empowered to nominate moderators at the town-meeting, and among the new offices that had crept into the town system were a scaler of leather, a clerk of the market, and a packer, gauger, and culler.

The plantation of Springfield had been for a long time fostering settlements, which were gradually growing in importance. The southern belt of the old limits of Springfield was destined to be cut up into towns. Suffield, now a part of Connecticut, was first known as Stony Brook (1660), then Southfield (1670), then Suffield (1674). It was in 1670 that Captain Pynchon, Elizur Holyoke, Lieutenant Cooper, Quartermaster Colton, Ensign Cooley, and Rowland Thomas were chosen a committee to lay out the site of Suffield for settlement. This committee furnished the usual rules for plantations, with which the reader is familiar. The Indian wars interrupted the plan of settlement, but the work of taking up land was renewed after the declaration of peace, and in October, 1681, the Springfield committee was authorized by the Massachusetts General Court to convene the qualified voters, and to organize a town; the last meeting of the provisional committee was on January 2, 1682. Major John Pynchon conveyed the Indian title to the inhabitants for £40, in 1684, which was £10 more than he had given the Indians. Several members of Springfield provisional committee received lands in Suffield in payment for their services in organizing the plantation.

The great island in the Connecticut at Enfield Falls was given to Rev. Ephraim Huit, of Windsor, who at his death returned it, and in 1681 Massachusetts gave it to John Pynchon. In 1713, when it

was arranged that Massachusetts should retain jurisdiction over Suffield, Enfield, etc., the southern boundary of Suffield was considered the colony line, and Massachusetts deeded 105,793 acres of wild land in Pelham, Belchertown, and Ware in reparation. Connecticut sold this tract in 1716 for £683, and gave £500 of it to Yale College.

Before describing the cause of the little break in the boundary between Massachusetts and Connecticut, it will be more convenient to speak of the settlement at Enfield, directly south of Springfield. In 1674 a committee, consisting of John Pynchon, Samuel Marshfield, Thomas Stebbins, Jonathan Burt, and Benjamin Parsons, were appointed to apportion lands about Freshwater Brook. The Indian title was extinguished in 1680, by the payment of £25 to Totaps, alias Nottatuck, the sachem. The land ran from "Asnuntuck, alias Freshwater river, on the north, down southward along by Connecticut River side, about three or four miles, to the brook below the bed of stones, which brook is called by the Indians Poggotossur, and by the English Saltonstalls Brook, and so from the mouth of said Saltonstalls alias Poggotossur, to run from the great river Connecticut directly east, eight full and complete miles to the mountains." The part of Enfield north of Freshwater river had been previously bought of the Indians, none of whom lived inside the purchase. The land granted by Springfield near Freshwater river had not been occupied up to this time. In answer to a petition submitted to the Massachusetts General Court in 1683, this "end" of Springfield was erected into a town under the name of Enfield; and the above committee, headed by John Pynchon, was authorized to manage the town affairs, until further notice. This committee delegated selectmen's powers to John Pease, Isaac Meacham, Jr., and Isaac Morgan in 1684, by which device home rule was practically vouchsafed to the new plantation. Andros refused to ratify this arrangement, and Enfield thereupon assumed charge of its own affairs. A town-meeting was held in 1688, but after the downfall of Andros the original Springfield

provisional committee resumed its functions over Enfield. In 1692 this committee, or rather John Pynchon and Jonathan Burt, its only surviving members, surrendered the books and records to Enfield, with their best wishes for the success of the new town.

In October, 1684, John Pynchon had granted to Isaac Meacham the privilege of building a fulling-mill at the mouth of Freshwater brook, a part of the consideration being the "yearly wel fulling & thickening of five and twentie yards of Cloth."

The survey of the boundary line between the two colonies, made in 1642, and known as the Woodward and Saffery line, placed Enfield in Massachusetts. In 1648 Massachusetts ordered that all the land east of the river at a point twenty poles below the warehouse belonged to Springfield. It was many years before the dispute as to jurisdiction was settled. In 1713 it was agreed that each colony should retain jurisdiction over the towns they had settled, and that the boundary should run due west from the Connecticut river, from the Woodward and Saffery line, and that reparation should be made by conveying by deed unimproved lands, in cases where one colony gained from the other. It was found that Massachusetts had appropriated over 100,000 acres of Connecticut lands by this survey. The survey was wrong, but Massachusetts paid upon that basis for many years. The towns of Woodstock, Somers, Suffield, and Enfield continued to protest against being under the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and even appealed to the king; they finally gained their point.

H. S. Sheldon, of Suffield, speaking of the break in the boundary, as appears now upon the map, says:—

Simsbury and Westfield retained their ancient boundaries, being first incorporated, leaving west of the mountain a strip of land about one mile in width between the two, for Suffield. Our proprietors mourned the loss of that part of their grant secured by Simsbury, as it was supposed to be rich in mines of copper and iron. They were consoled by the Massachusetts Court, in 1732, granting them a township six miles square (now Blandford) as an equivalent. They sold it to Christopher J. Lawton, of Suffield, receiving but little therefor.

Our bounds, with Simsbury (now East Granby and Granby), settled in 1713, and perambulated in 1734, were reestablished in 1883. That part of Westfield projecting into Connecticut between the top of the mountain and the ponds was annexed to Suffield and Connecticut in 1803. The remainder (now Southwick), containing the ponds, is in Massachusetts, causing the curious notch in the boundary line between the two States.

Brimfield was settled mainly by Springfield people. Colonel Pynchon headed a provisional committee appointed by the General Court in 1701 to lay out the town of Brimfield, and this committee, accompanied by a party of twenty Springfield men, soon after visited the place for the purpose of settling upon a house plot; but nothing definite was decided upon. After Pynchon's death his son John took his place upon the provisional committee. The town was not incorporated until 1731.

We have spoken of the part taken by Springfield in the organization of a town at Brookfield. The Indian wars broke up the settlement for a time. In 1686 we find John Pynchon once more at the head of a provisional committee to manage the town affairs at Brookfield, and they apportioned land the following spring.

West Springfield had in 1695 thirty-five families, numbering two hundred and ten souls. The first petition from the west side for a minister was signed by John Dumbleton, John Barber, and Josiah Marshfield; but nothing came of it. Upon the renewal of the petition in 1696 a distinct disavowal of a determination to become a separate town was made. It was signed by John Barber, Benjamin Leonard, Joseph Leonard, Jonathan Ball, Joseph Bedortha, Nathaniel Dumbleton, Ebenezer Jones, Josiah Marshfield, Isaac Frost, and Thomas Cooper. The latter, a large tax-payer, left Springfield that year, and this was urged as a reason, among others, why a minister should be settled, as it promised to break up the west side settlement. The answer of the Centre was that the pine plain to the north was "mean land," that while the house-lots were on the east side, the rich lands were on the west side. To the argument that crossing the

river to Sabbath worship was an undue resort to labor, the petition continues : —

Wee say most of them (west-siders) theire house lots do butt upon the greate River almost in opposition with our Town plott. As for theire Travell: sure necessary Travell is Lawful on the Sabbath. As for servile labor: We count it as Lawful to Row in a Boate, or paddle a Canoe, or bridle and saddle an horse. Works of necessity, are works of the Sabbath. Where as they say it occasions unevitable discourse which they Judge inconsistent with the holynes of the day: We say if they find them selves guilty they must mend as ffast as they can and not bringe theire ffaillings for an Argument in matters of this nature. They say theire Children Canot enjoy gods ordynances, but are under great temptation to rudenes &c the heads of ffamilies being absent &c. We say heads of ffamilies must see better to familie goverment.

In still another communication from the east side that year (1696) it was maintained that "The whole precinct of this town is as truly ours as the land of Canaan that was divided to the tribes of Israel was theirs." The petition of the west side was allowed in December 1696. The May court, 1698, was again troubled with this matter. Persons renting lands on the west side and living on the east side refused to pay for the maintenance of the west-side minister. Again, when Mr. Brewer was settled, the town agreed to give him £100 in addition to his annual stipend. This the west-siders would not pay, after they had been given permission to maintain a separate minister. These matters went up to the General Court, and the west side was directed to pay its share of the £100, while all tenants on the west side were directed to pay their ratings for the west-side minister and church.

The figure of John Pynchon stands out in the latter part of the eighteenth century like a fair monument in a rude land. While the hardest worked man in western Massachusetts, not a word reflecting upon his honor has come down to us. He had a placid disposition, a dignified bearing, and yet was as tender-hearted as a woman. He was a town organizer, a maker and administrator and interpreter

of laws, and a student of trade and commerce. When John Pyncheon visited Boston he took his place among the assistants in the General Court: when he entered the County Court room, either at Springfield or Northampton, his seat was at the head of the bench of judges; the town magistrate's chair was his chair; and at the town-meeting he was always moderator, and upon training day he was captain of the company. He was Springfield's most distinguished citizen, and his services were in demand in intercolonial affairs as well. When it became evident (1680) by the repeated attacks of the Mohawks upon the peaceable Indians of Massachusetts that something decided must be done, it was John Pyncheon to whom the Massachusetts authorities turned. Pyncheon went to Albany to meet Sir Edmund Andros, and to deal with the Macquas Indians. He frankly rebuked them for breaking treaty agreements, and then made them presents of blankets, shirts, rum, and tobacco, which "sweetened the hard speech" of the major. "Brother Pyncheon," the savages said, "wee are glad that wee see you heere againe, like as wee did see yow four yeers past." A cordial understanding was secured, by which the treaty of 1677, at Albany, was reaffirmed. The General Court, in gratitude for the success of the commission, gave Mr. Pyncheon twelve pounds, besides his expenses. The feeling of friendship, under Pyncheon's personal influence, must have been deep, causing as it did these Romans of all the native tribe to say through an interpreter four years later (1684): "Wee doe plant here a great tree of peace, whose branches do spread abroad as farr as the Massachusetts colony, Virginia, Maryland, and all that are in friendship with us: and lie in peace, unitie & tranquillitie under the shade of said tree."

In 1870 an ancient oak fell in Longmeadow, under which, tradition says, John Pyncheon used to hold conferences with the local Indians.

Mr. Pyncheon headed the committee for running the boundary line between Massachusetts and Connecticut (1680), for which service he was granted the "smale island in Connecticut Ryver, at & toward the foote of the ffalls below Springfield" (King's Island), was chair-

man of the committee appointed by the General Court to inquire into the condition of things in Maine (1681), was made one of the Massachusetts council of King James II. (1685), was authorized to resettle Northfield, and, as we have seen, usually headed provisional committees in the organization of neighboring plantations.

But it is with reference to commerce and business that we are to see best the lines Pynchon's mind worked in. While making money for himself, he labored in a way to build up the town. He was the village merchant, the beaver trader, the land speculator, the farmer, the stock raiser, the mining prospector, the banker, and the importer and exporter of merchandise. A vote passed in April, 1693, by the town-meeting, excites the curiosity sufficiently to justify investigation. Encouragement was formally extended to a certain "man that wee hear would set up Iron workes in our Town." It seems that John Pynchon never abandoned the notion that the hills guarding this river of ours were rich in minerals. This belief came from his father, who spent much money in prospecting. John Pynchon thought he had found lead near Westfield, and secured lands there. He was also so confident he had found valuable ore "nere to Millers River, above Dearefeild," that he and some associates in 1685 secured a grant of one thousand acres near by, upon the superimposed condition, however, that they would form a settlement there with reasonable speed. As late as 1697 Mr. Pynchon was full in the faith that Springfield was to develop the iron wealth of the valley. In the winter of that year he made sundry proposals in town-meeting in reference to the "setting up & carrying on an Iron mill for the produceing of iron." The town gave Pynchon and Joseph Parsons of Northampton liberty to take and work "whatever Iron Ore may bee found anywhere wthin our Township." These two men made arrangements forthwith to build an iron mill on Mill river.

The commercial aggressiveness which John Pynchon developed and one may say systematized here is of great moment, as it traces to its root-source a character and a reputation for which this community is

justly proud. Let us go outside of our calendar for a moment in order to pick the thread of business running through John Pynchon's hand for half a century. Pynchon had a warehouse in this town as early as 1660, where his goods were delivered on arrival from Hartford. We believe that this trading-house was near Mill river, upon the banks of the Connecticut. He had also a regular country store here. Almost every person, from minister to the hired hands, kept running accounts at the Pynchon store, and farmers and merchants from Northampton to New Haven were in the habit of paying off men by drawing orders upon Pynchon for merchandise. The phraseology of these orders was by no means monotonous. Sometimes it was, "I desire you to help y^e bearer to provisions;" or, "This is to order you to pay to;" or, "Be pleased to pay unto my debtor," and so on.

Brother Glover opened an account at the Pynchon store, and not only traded out Mr. Pynchon's ministry rates, but anticipated the money due from others by the congregation, which, it is sad to relate, were often allowed to go unpaid until the town stepped in and made the minister good. Mr. Glover buys at one time ten bushels of "barley mault" for £2 5s., at another 9½ yards of lace at 7s., a firkin of soap, some "manchester beys," "dinity," "locrane," and so on. Deacon Chapin's taste went to red shag cloth, Kersey cotton, and calico, and he paid for his merchandise in ox-hides, meal, corn, hay, candles, peas, carting stones, etc. Rice Bedortha buys among other things an Indian coat, a sickle, some cards, and so on, for which he "daubed" Mr. Pynchon's chimney, and performed other jobs. Thomas Cooper's bill ran up at one time to £681 6s. 6d. In 1659 Mr. Cooper received at Mr. Pynchon's hands a bale of goods directly from England, for which he agreed to pay £17. He failed to meet the bill, and it seems some misunderstanding had arisen. Deacon Chapin and Mr. Holyoke arbitrated the matter, and the bill, somewhat reduced, was paid in 1661. Cooper was continually delivering to Pynchon beaver, moose, and deer skins. He also aided in the handling of these skins, did some miscellaneous carpentering,

handed in wild honey, and drove hogs to the falls below. While their accounts mounted into the hundreds of pounds, they once went to law over a little matter of 17s. 9d., and the constable collected it of Cooper and delivered it to Pynchon. Mr. Holyoke was a more careful man, and kept his bills down to manageable proportions. Jonathan Burt met his account in part by drawing timber and stone, and by carpentering. Thomas Mirrick was often employed by Pynchon to cart goods from Hartford, and there are references to "several voyadges to Hartford" which were credited to Mirrick. Much the same thing may be said of Henry Burt. Miles Morgan bought from time to time shag cotton, calico, venison, razors, lace, raisins, sugar, "1 qt of Sack," gunpowder, while the balance was struck by the sergeant by carting, slaughtering cattle, and selling produce. Miles killed as many as twenty hogs for Pynchon at one time. Samuel Marshfield delivered many beaver and moose skins at the Pynchon store during the year. Anthony Dorchester carried lumber, boated some, transporting hay and stuff across the river. Griffith Jones could tan hides, Samuel Ferry (or wife) could weave, and make ditches and fences, Francis Pepper could tend sheep and thresh wheat; and so it went.

Mr. Pynchon was a wholesale merchant as well. He sent hundreds of pounds of merchandise to Joseph Parsons, of "Nalwatogg," and received back beaver skins, wampum, wheat, etc. Pynchon had accounts also with David Wilton, of Windsor, who would order £20 worth at a time, and pay in agricultural produce, liquors, beaver, etc. Jonathan Gilbert and Philip Davis, of Hartford, and Edward Elmer, of Northampton, were his customers. Pynchon bought flour, wine, raisins, beaver, butter, etc., of James Rogers, of New London, and seems to have made up a cargo of wheat to offset it. Pynchon was a large purchaser of lands on the Mystic river, the Norwich side. He and Rogers at one time owned 2,200 acres of land in that region. We find also that Zachariah Field, of Northampton, William Clarke, of Hartford, and many others stocked up from the Pynchon cargoes.

The trade in pelts, both from domestic and forest animals, formed the profitable basis for Mr. Pynchon's business. We will content ourself with one extract from the formidable beaver account: —

Beaver packed for England & sent to M^r Henry Ashburst & M^r Nicolas Grigson.

July 24th 1657.	{	I packed a hhd. of Bever qt as in my old booke: this Bever was most of it p ^d according to my order into my father as p acct returned 1658.
Aug. 10th. 1659.	{	Packed 1 hhd of Bever marked T. M. No. 1 containeth as followeth 203 Bever skins (I thinke y ^e Number is so) weight is 273 lb. (about 30 lb. of this is Bad Bever: 14 otter skins: 32 Musquashes & Minks: 45 fox skins & racoone skins & a psell of Bever Cods weighing 11 lb. This hhd father had y ^e mony & it is charged to y ^e acct betwixt him & mee.

Mr. Pynchon was continually letting out cattle to his neighbors for a share of the returns and increase. He rented, sold, and bought lands. He took land and goods for debt, but was known to go as long as seventeen years before bringing suit on overdue accounts. And the suits were not always favorable to him either. In 1690 Pynchon sued Abell Wright for trespass, and moving and carrying away his grass; jury found for defendant. He sells Deacon Chapin a house for £13 in wheat. He lets out to John Lamb “that black cow of mine at his house for two yeares for w^{ch} he is to allow me sixe shillings each yeare.” He hires out his colored “maid Elizabeth Waite” to Samuel Ely, for two years, and his oxen “Collier” and “Russler” to Anthony Dorchester for one year. He owned cider-mills, saw-mills, grist-mills, wharves and warehouses, canoes and boats, and was also a ship-owner. He had tenement-houses on both sides of the river, and was always ready to sell, buy, or rent. Now he pays Deacon Chapin for “worke & Bacon to y^e lead mines;” then it is £8 “to John Bagg (by Mr. Winthrop his order) for 2 months work at y^e Mine:” and John Matthews, who could turn his hand to coopering, gathered in £3 14s. for twenty-six barrels “for y^e Lead.”

With all these business and public activities Major Pyncheon did not neglect his growing family. Joseph and John, his sons, were in Harvard College at the same time, as appears by a Harvard College monitor's bill, probably for the year 1664. Joseph graduated in 1664, but his brother John remained but two years. The monitor's bill is not very flattering to the Pyncheon boys, so far as attendance is concerned. Out of fifteen days Joseph was absent from three morning and three evening prayers. John was tardy four times and absent twice; but both young men were present on the Sabbath. Joseph settled at Boston, and in 1678 his father deeded him one thousand acres of land on the west side of the Connecticut, in Springfield, Hatfield, and Deerfield, as well as all of his real estate in Wraisbury, England. The revocation of the colony charter, in 1684, was a serious matter for Harvard College, but we find that Major Pyncheon attended the meeting of July, 1686, when Joseph Dudley and the council appointed Increase Mather rector. The major was in those days accompanied to the General Court by Joseph, who was elected town deputy from time to time. As the major grew old and infirm, some special provision was made as to his safety in journeying to Boston, as appears from this vote, passed in the spring of 1693: "The worshipful Major Pynchon Esqr being chosen the Towns Representative for the general Courte, for this year, It was voted to leave it with the Selectmen to se that he have a man to accompany him to Boston according as there shal be necessity."

Pynchon continued each year to take the oath of office as judge. Here is a specimen of the record: "Court at Springfield Sept. 29, 1691 Collⁿ Jno. Pynchon Esqr being by y^e Gen^l Courte May 20 '91 invested with majestaticall power toke y^e Oath in Courte."

But the fulness of time had come, and the worshipful Major John Pynchon was gathered to his fathers. He died at daybreak, after a lingering illness, January 7, 1703, at the age, it would seem, of eighty-two years. There was an imposing funeral. A company of troopers were employed by the Pynchon family to do escort duty. Several

hundred dollars were spent upon this occasion, and sundry funeral meats and drinks, in those days allowable at the expense of the estate, were not neglected by the mourners. Hence the items in the accounts subsequently filed : —

p ^d To Thos Mirick for drink at his funeral	£2	9	6
p ^d To John Miller ferryman for ferridg for troopers	2	9	
p ^d Thos Ingersole for expense at his funeral	8	2	
To 10 Lb of best Sugar of J. P at y ^e funeral 14d per	11	8	
To 6 Lb of meaner Do of L 11d per	5	6	
To 1 Bushel of wheat Meal at y ^e funeral,	5	0	
To 5 Gallons of Rum 5s 6 at his funeral & 3 pints & half in his sickness	9	6	

The inventory of his estate shows also how his dignity was clothed : —

Light Colour'd Dublet with gold twist & sad colour'd Britches,	£2	00	00
Fine Cloth Waste Coat & Britches,	3	00	00
Blue Broad Cloath Britches & Coat & draws	3	5	00
Trooping Scarff with Gold lace	3	10	
Gloves with Silver lace etc	1	2	
10 yds. of Silver and Gold lace	2	10	
2 Bunches or knots of Silver Ribbin		6	
2 Wast Coats. one lin'd with Silk,	1	12	
Moehair Cloak	1		
Lace neck cloath etc	3	8	
Negro man Servant	10		
" maid "	30		
6 Pewter Dishes with Coat of Arms	1	16	
1 Doz Plates coat Arms	1	5	
A Light Coloured Cape Coat with frogs on it etc		10	00
Plate etc	49	7	6
6 Gold Rings etc. a Rubie ring	4	15	00
Four Rings accounted as brass			6
A Silver hilted Raper etc	4	14	00

John Pynchon left quite a library which might be called both stately and standard. There was nothing lighter than a dictionary nor

heavier than "Hodgkiss on Sin." The negro servant in the above list of valuables was the slave Tom who lived to a good old age, — our local uncle Tom, in fact, but his lines fell in pleasanter places. One with a fancy for contrasts may turn from the rich apparel of Master Pyncheon to the simple record of Black Tom's outfit: "A parcel of old cloathing of Black Tom negroe, 10s." The digging of Tom's grave cost 3*d.*, and while there were no troopers to attend the last rites, the servants and slaves upon the Pyncheon estate were given one quart of rum to drink to his memory.

With the death of John Pyncheon closes the consolidating or formative period of Springfield's history. The seeds were well sown, and time has done the rest. There were conflicts and waves of depression and prosperity both in church and town; but the Pynchons had determined the character of the settlement, and it developed steadily and healthily upon those general lines.



CHAPTER XI.

1703-1735.

Queen Anne's War. — The West Side Meeting-House. — Longmeadow. — Rev. Stephen Williams. — The Commons. — Visit of Judge Sewall. — Mr. Brewer's Salary. — Parish Matters. — Mr. Brewer's Death. — The State of Society. — The Half-Way Covenant. — A Decline in Morals. — Full List of Tax-payers. — The Church Membership. — Freemanship. — Condition of the Churches. — Call of Rev. Robert Breck. — Charges of Heresy. — Breck's Reply. The First Parish divided into Breck and Anti-Breck Factions. — Meeting of the Hampshire County Association of Ministers at Springfield. — An Exciting Session.

DURING the first part of the eighteenth century the acts of Springfield were projected against a dark background of apprehension. And yet, with this residence beside the very jaws of death, the plantation enjoyed the smile of Heaven and prospered. There were, from time to time, garrison soldiers in its streets. Its meeting-house was fortified, and so were some of its dwelling-houses and mills.

England declared war against France in 1702, and the Indians were again soon pouring over the Canadian border. With what feelings of anguish did they in 1704 hear of the revel of death at Deerfield, — that home of massacre one might almost say, — the snows stained with blood, and the captivity of scores of men, women, and children! This was at the opening of Queen Anne's war in this region, and the worst of it was that Rev. John Williams and his noble flock were taken to Canada and confronted with Romanism. But there was no good ground of fear. "It is better going in a ragged coat than with a ragged conscience," replied the Deerfield minister when a French lady superior offered him warm clothes if he would become a papist.

There is happily little of a warlike nature to record locally in these times when the up-river settlements were suffering. Samuel Chapin,

in 1706, was wounded in the north part of the town. Colonel Whiting and his Connecticut soldiers were undoubtedly here two years later on his errand of defending the outposts. At any rate, Joseph Parsons was directed that year (1708) to intercede with the governor against the proposed calling away of Springfield men to defend other towns, and to ask for a garrison itself. This was in the summer, in which the home of Lieutenant Wright at Skipinuck was attacked by the Indians, and three men and a child killed, and a woman carried away into captivity.

The old homogeneous town-meeting had become broken up. West Springfield had secured a meeting-house in 1702 in spite of the mother plantation; and, after the decree of the Bay authorities, that the east side should pay £50 toward the cost of the west-side edifice, Springfield voted the amount in provisions, "if they would accept thereof."

In the winter of 1704 the inhabitants on the east side of the river began to hold regular parish meetings. In accordance with the appropriation of £50 in "provision pay" toward the west-side meeting-house, the selectmen made a levy; but the west side would not accept this in full payment under the order of the General Court. The constables were ordered therefore not to collect the rates. Joseph Parsons, Dea. Jonathan Burt, and James Warriner were sent, in 1705, to Boston, to answer the still protesting west-siders. The General Court ordered the east side to pay the £50 in two years, and also provided for a division of ministry lands. The east side demurred, and appealed again to the General Court. When the west side became a separate parish they were released from the burden of Rev. Mr. Brewer's salary, and this increased the ministry rates on the east side. Many refused to pay the extra tax, and the town was compelled to sue in the Court of Quarter Sessions.

The little congregation upon the west side had secured a fine man for a minister in John Woodbridge, — learned, gentle, and easy of access. The Connecticut river was quite wide enough to divide the in-

terests of the two sections ; and the cordial strife and rivalry went on for over a century. It was not until the advent of railroads that fortune showed any decided preference for the east side as the district destined to outgrow the habiliments of a village.

Another child of Springfield was fast gaining proportions on the "Long Meddow" below the village. In the spring of 1703 the inhabitants were granted permission to build on the higher ground ; they were also given lands from Pecowsic to Enfield, and from the "hil eastward to the Longmedow halfe a mile further eastward into the woods." The petition for these concessions was signed by thirteen men, including Nathaniel Burt, George Colton, Benjamin Cooley, Samuel Stebbins, and Nathaniel Bliss. The inhabitants dwelling on the long meadow followed up their new ambition by asking, in 1704, for the privilege of a separate minister ; but the hope and request were premature. The maternal town-meeting, however, laid well the foundation stones for a new town, by voting, in March, 1705 : "It was ordered to pay out of the Town Treasury an Addition of sixteen pounds to encourage the inhabitants on the west side of the great river, & of the Longmedow to promote the Learning of their children for the present year."

During the year following the Longmeadow inhabitants were allowed to hire a schoolmaster ; so were those of West Springfield. A little difficulty grew out of the Longmeadow school tax, the scholars not being required to pay tuition. The matter was referred to the Court of Quarter Sessions, and the justices decided that the school rates should be raised like all the town rates ; but the town seems to have gotten round this by requiring a load of wood to be sent to the schoolhouse for each child taught. In 1709 Thomas Mirrick, Samuel Bliss, and George Colton were sent abroad to "bring" Schoolmaster John Sherman to the village ; and £40 a year stipend was allowed him out of the town treasury. This curious provision was added to a small appropriation to Captain Thomas Colton for providing schooling at Longmeadow : "W^{ch} allowance, if it occasion strife,

or disturbance amongst his neighbors at Longmedow, he promises to foregoe y^e s^d Towns allowance of 30s."

Longmeadow got its heart's desire in 1715, when the General Court granted it permission to maintain a separate minister, although not "fully up to the number of 40 families," and a £120 meeting-house was begun the next year. By another year (October 18, 1716) Longmeadow had a minister, — the famous Stephen Williams, whose capture at Deerfield by the Indians, with his father and his sister Eunice and others, make up a tragic chapter in New England history.

Springfield, on March 28, 1716, recognized no less than six precincts: (1) The west side of the river, (2) Longmeadow, (3) West side of the Agawam, (4) The Upper Chicopee, (5) The Lower Chicopee, (6) Skipmuck. Here were distinctly recognized the potentiality of towns, and not merely topographical expressions. Each precinct, with aid from the town, was required to keep a school running, the town school tax for 1716 being no less than £82. These precincts conform somewhat to the various commons, and we have seen how the proprietors of each common used to gather together by the consent of the town-meeting, appoint moderators and clerks, and legislate concerning the lands. The management of the turpentine business in 1708 gave rise to another instance of delegated legislative functions by vote of the town. The inhabitants were prohibited from "boxing terpertine trees" on the "Inmost comon." A committee, headed by Joseph Parsons, was appointed to "regulate the drawing of turpentine." The region for operating in boxing pine-trees was duly regulated by the proprietors of the commons, and no one was allowed to work more than one thousand new trees, and for this a certain license fee was imposed, the money going to the schools. This was not a town-meeting, but a gathering of the proprietors, who voted the proceeds of a franchise into the town treasury, — a curious phase of town government. This was, in fact, running local government on shares.

The colonial laws class towns, villages, precincts, and proprietors

of common fields in one category when speaking of their legal functions, such as the right to sue or be sued. After the division of Springfield into precincts the first church is referred to as a "society," for the first time. We thus have an explanation of the church and parish meetings in modern Congregationalism. The part of Springfield in the first precinct would meet as a town-meeting, and appropriate the money for a minister, etc., and the selectmen would levy the tax. This section of the town-meeting in time became the parish meeting.

A commission, of which Luke Hitchcock was a member, met in Springfield, in 1723, to form two townships, known as the "Upper and Housatonic townships," comprising what is now Sheffield, Egremont, Mount Washington, Great Barrington, Alford, and portions of Lee, Stockbridge, and West Stockbridge. The court-house was situated on the line of Sanford street, back of Market street. There having been some strife, in 1722, about the court-house, the following building committee was appointed: Ephraim Colton, Pelatiah Bliss, Increase Sikes, Capt. John Mirrick, Lieut. Joseph Cooley, Samuel Day, Dea. Joseph Ely, Ensign John Miller, Ensign James Mirrick, Jonathan Worthington, and Ebenezer Parsons. Land on both sides of the river was appropriated as part payment for the court-house. This committee's accounts were ordered to be examined in December, 1723. There was really no need of court-houses to impress the people with the dignity of judges. The formalities of those times make a very pleasing impression upon us, so accustomed to the simpler democracies of the day. Judge Samuel Sewall comes to Springfield to hold the September court, 1718. He is met at Suffield by the sheriff, and probably a company of horsemen, who, as was often the case, saluted his honor with trumpets. In riding through the Agawam river he gets his heels a little wet, it being quite dark. He finds Colonel Taylor and a number of friends at supper at Ingersol's tavern, and joins them; the next day Rev. Daniel Brewer offers prayer at the opening of the court; the judge finds time to give young Stephen

Williams two silver spoons, with the dates of his captivity and marriage engraved thereon. On the Lord's day he attends church with the associate judges, Colonel Pynchon, and the attorneys of the town, and Mr. Brewer preaches "very well and audibly" from the text, "Salute one another with a holy kiss. The churches of Christ salute you." The judge leaves Springfield after giving Mr. Brewer twenty shillings for his prayers during the court session, is accompanied east five miles by the sheriff and troopers, dines in the pine woods, and then presses on toward Brookfield.

The town acts are unimportant during this period. In May, 1719, Joseph Stebbins was chosen moderator, -- a notable break in this regard, a Pynchon having performed that office from the foundation of the town. Joseph Stebbins was quite prominent in local affairs; he was sent as delegate to the General Court, and seems to have been much trusted. John Worthington, Luke Hitchcock, and William Pynchon were also chosen moderators during this period. This William Pynchon was the great-great-grandson of the founder of the town.

In 1715 £30 of repairs were voted on the ministry house, and a committee was also appointed to confer with Mr. Brewer, who was "uneasy respecting his not having equil proportion of grain." Mr. Brewer, like other ministers of his day, suffered financially from fluctuations in the value of the pay he received from his congregation. We have seen that Mr. Glover instituted a reform by inducing the town to place the collection of the minister's rates into the hands of the deacon. Mr. Brewer found that a man who was ill-disposed toward him would not give good measure of grain, and the same was true with the firewood that was sometimes contributed in the autumn. The upshot was that the town offered (1716) to pay Mr. Brewer in money. Mr. Brewer suggested £90 as the amount he would accept. The town declined, and £85 was subsequently agreed upon: this was afterwards raised to £100.

There was still unpaid a certain sum to Mr. Brewer for losses sus-

tained in the setting up of the West Springfield parish. The following letter, still preserved, probably refers to this claim : —

To the people of our precinct :

LOVEING FRIENDS : This may signifye to you that (understanding it to be y^r desire it should be so) I am very free (notwthstanding y^r vote otherwise) that you should raise but Fifty pounds for me this year. Fifty the next, and so Fifty more the year after. And would have you withall send me y^r mind which way of Improvement of it would be most easy to you.

This is all at present

From yrs,

DANIELL BREWER.

SPRINGFIELD, April 10. 1721.

Mr. Brewer was a kindly man, and beloved of his people ; but this did not prevent the parish from driving close bargains. A year or more before the above letter, the matter of repairs on Mr. Brewer's house came up again. This, and other things of interest, are referred to in the subjoined extract taken from the parish records : —

At a meeting of the Inhabitants of the most elderly precinct for the ministry of the Town of Springfield at the meeting house in s^d precinct on munday the Twenty Sixth Day of January Anno Domi 17¹/₂⁰ at one of the clock in the Afternoon to consider & determine what Specie to Raise y^e Reverend M^r Brewers rate in and other contingent charges of y^e s^d precinct for y^e year past & for the time to come & further to grant & raise such sum or sums for the payment of any dues from y^r s^d precinct & to consider & determine what is necessary to be done for y^e repairing & mending y^e ministry house & y^e meeting-house of y^e s^d precinct. Leagally warned. Capt Luke Hitchcock was Chossen modrator for this meeting. Ajorned this meeting to the house of pelatiah Bliss in s^d precinct

it was voted to raise three pounds two shillings & four pence for the } 3 2 4
glass about the ministry house

it was voted to raise twenty shilling for pelatiah Bliss for his going } 01 0 0
for M^r Brewer

voted to raise eleven shilling for Joseph Ashly for his work about } 00 11 0
y^e Deacons seat

voted to raise 2/0 for henry Burt & 2/0 for John Worthenton & }
8/0 for left John Fere for their asesing & making y^e rates in the } all 00 12 0
year 1719 for this precinct

it was discoursed how to raise the Reverend m^r Daniel Brewer rate. Voted to send to the revernd m^r Brewer & desire him to come and declare his mind it was voted that Sam^l Bliss 3d & Thomas Horton should go to the Reverend m^r Brewer & desire him to come amongst us and declare his mind the Reverend m^r Brewer being present at the meeting gave his proposals & withdrew it was voted to pay the Reverend m^r Daniell Brewer his sallary for the future in grain at thess following prices viz wheat at four shillings per bushell: & pease at four shilling per bushell & rye at three shillings per bushell & Indian corn at Two shillings & six pence per bushell & barley at three shillings & sixpence per bushell & oats att Two shillings per bushell for the future paid in a prepotion or equivilent it was voted to pay the reverend m^r Daneill Brewer his hundred pound sallary this year as followeth (viz) Wheat at five shillings & sixpence per bushell & pease at seven shillings per bushell Rye at Three shillings per bushell & Indian Corn at two shillings per bushell and barley shillings per bushell & oats at sixteen pence per bushell or in money. it was voted that Left John Fere Henry Burt & John Worthinton should be assessors to make the rates for this precinct this year it was voted to repair the ministry house but some parsons being unsatisfied about repairing the s^d house it was voted to chuse 2 or 3 men to vew the s^d ministry house Deacon Nashmun John worthinton & Daniell white ware chossen to vew the s^d ministry house and make report to this meeting voted the above s^d men vew the meeting house & make report to this meeting. This meeting was Ajourned unto Fryday the 29th day of January, currant at two of the clock in the afternoon at the meeting house in s^d precinct.

Att a meeting of the inhabitants of the most elderly precinct for the ministry in the Town of Springfield begun & held on Munday January Twenty fifth 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ & continued by a Jourment till Fryday next being the 29th Day of January currant and then meett at Two of the Clock afternoon it was voted to raise for Ephraim Stills the sum that the committee agreed to give him for ringing the bell & sweeping the meeting house The men that were chossen to vew the ministry house made their report to this meeting then it was put to vote whether the inhabitants of the precinct would reconsider their former vote about repairing the ministry house it was voted on the affirmative viz to reconsider s^d vote Then it was again putt to vote whether they would repair the ministry house it was pased on the negative.

Mr. Brewer presided over the Springfield Church for nearly forty years, and he sank into his grave leaving, to all appearances, a prosperous community. He was an earnest, sympathetic, and courtly

man, who, it may be inferred, was loved more for his parish work than his sermonizing. The congregation was bound to him by strong ties of personal regard. In December, 1733, these two votes were passed : —

Granted a hundred and forty pounds for the sallary of Revn^d M^r Daneill Brewer, deced this year, to be paid to the administrators of his estate.

Voted and granted to the ffamily of the Late Revn^d M^r Daneill Brewer, deced, the sum of sixty pounds in consideration of the Late extraordinary charg in their sickness, and that the same be paid to the widow, Katharine Brewer, for that end.

Mrs. Brewer's name is mentioned in a curious order made nearly ten years before : —

Voted y^e precincts committee take care that M^{rs} Brewers pew be brought out even with M^r. Pynchon's pew.

Nine new men were selected to seat the meeting-house in 1726, headed by Deacon Munn ; but “ three or four of the men saying they would not meddle with it, it was voted that five or six of the s^d committee may seat the meeting house.”

We have said that to all appearances the “ elder parish ” was in a prosperous condition at the death of Rev. Daniel Brewer. There were deep elements of discord, however, which needed but little provocation to rise to the surface. This remark refers to the whole commonwealth. The first half of the eighteenth century is often looked upon as uneventful in comparison with the fiery days of the Revolutionary period. But it was an age of transitions that is of intense interest to the student. Whether for good or evil, there was in progress a tremendous revolution, — political, social, and religious. “ New England has been at the best always too faulty in that very character, — a province very talkative and ingenious for the vilifying of its publick servants,” complained Cotton Mather, whose quick eye

detected the landslide. But it was more than a neglect to bow to the dictum of the ministers. In this town the fashion was early set to choose laymen rather than ministers as leaders, and yet the change was quite as marked here as elsewhere.

This is no treatise on theology, but the history of the Springfield people cannot be written and its theology ignored. The Puritan fathers held that the churches should be made up of "visible saints" only. Baptized persons were at first, at least, subject to reprimands and discipline even before entering into full fellowship. The church-membership of persons who grew up, married, and presented their children for baptism without themselves going to the communion caused disquietude. To illustrate: Brother A. is a member in full communion, and presents his son B. for baptism. B., when grown up, neglects to make a public declaration of repentance, and thus is never admitted to the Lord's supper, but he in turn presents his son C. for baptism. The question was whether the Abrahamic covenant would be potent with the infant C. if baptized, by virtue of the church membership of Grandfather A. The New England divines disagreed, and there were eventually enough non-professing church-members and enough infant C.'s presented for baptism to disturb the deepest faith. A ministerial assembly called by the New England Legislatures met at Boston in 1657, decided that the sons B. could present their children C. for baptism provided the B.'s were not scandalous, and solemnly aver the covenant in their own persons. This was given, however; "with due reverence for any godly learned that may dissent."

These half-way covenanters were not allowed to come to the Lord's supper. The churches were thus made up of those in an intermediary or probationary state and of those in full communion. The ranks of the former class were fast growing, and quite possibly led some of the ministers to review and restate their belief as to church-membership. Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, was the first, or at least the most prominent, minister who felt compelled to break

down the wall that was splitting the churches. He saw no more reason why prayerful and earnest-minded persons, who had been baptized, should be deprived of the benefit of the sacraments than of reading the Bible. Mr. Stoddard therefore proclaimed himself a believer in the Lord's supper as a converting ordinance. The moment Stoddard's pamphlet reached Boston, Increase Mather prepared another in reply, and he shot it like a bomb-shell into the Connecticut valley. Stoddard returned the fire (1709), and some handsome artillery practice followed in various parts of New England. There was thunder all round the sky. Many churches in this valley accepted the Northampton theory and practised it. It interests us only as it admitted into full communion men who had only been baptized, and it had a tendency at least to increase the influence of those who were constructive rather than experimental Christians. Stoddard was followed at Northampton by the young theological giant, Jonathan Edwards, who began to develop doubts as to the soundness of Mr. Stoddard's views, and to look with distrust upon such "visible saints." He began eventually that terrible battle for the repossession of the still, cold heights of Puritanism which has made his name famous in the polemical world.

But what was the spiritual condition of the churches of this valley at this period? We believe that even back of the filtration of the half-way covenanters was working the natural law of reaction, of which the half-way covenant was a straw flying in the wind. Why should so many have refused to disclose their conviction of sin and enter into full communion? Scientifically speaking, it was a case of exhausted nature. In the early days the unbending armor of Puritanism was fitted to man, woman, and child alike. In time came an enervation of will and spirit. The poor children were the greatest sufferers. Men had subjected themselves to fearful fasts and self-abnegations; that was their privilege; they then put their young in training for like solemnities of daily living. "Children," said Cotton Mather, after the promulgation of almost monastic rules, "don't

you forget every day to go alone and pray as I have directed you." Cotton Mather had fifteen children, and only two survived him. This fearful mortality in children was no accident. Abraham himself could not have rescued children enough to become a respectable patriarch if a Cotton Mather had been given the training of his family. Men who crossed the Atlantic, fairly inviting a howling wilderness to press down with its terrors, in order to worship the living God according to their consciences, saw their grandchildren growing up with no desire to make use of the privileges of the gospel, brought to their very cradles. The third and fourth generations were not disposed to consider every odd character in the village a witch. Ministers were not so implicitly listened to; scepticism, frivolity, loose manners, and, alas! looser morals, followed. The reaction was serious. The attempt to carry human nature up by main force threatened to end in hurling it into the depths. There is abundant evidence that tavern-haunting, Sabbath-breaking, loose and vicious conversation and immoralities between the sexes were distressingly common.

In order to make complete comparisons, it will be necessary, on account of defective records, to select the year 1738. But what was true of 1738 had been measurably true for a score of years. We find that the Springfield selectmen in January, 1738, consisting of William Pynchon, John Day, and Samuel Cooley, made out a valuation and assessment roll in four parts, and gave them to the four town constables. The list intrusted to Constable John Munn, of property apparently upon the east side of the river, contained the following names of tax-payers:—

John Hancock, Increase Sikes, Jr., Widow Hannah Sikes, Ebenezer Lombard, *Simon Smith*, Jonathan Stevenson, Israel Warner, *Benjamin Knowlton*, Benjamin Warriner, Joseph Burt, *Samuel Warner*, Estate of Ebenezer Warriner, Daniel Cadwell, Moses Bartlet, Obadiah Cooley, Benjamin Sikes, Samuel Warner, Jr., Lt. John Burt, *John Burt, Jr.*, *Increase Sikes*, estate of Samuel Sikes, Thomas Stiles, *Jonathan Bartlet*, Ebenezer Stebbins, Jr., John Munn, Dea. *Henry Burt*, Robert Ashley, Robert Harris, Moses Burt, James Burt.

Timothy Bliss, Abel Bliss, Edward Bliss, Abner Ely, Jedediah Bliss, John Harmon, Lieut. *John Ferre*, John Ferre, Jr., Ebenezer Warner, Jonathan Day, Widow Elizur Sikes, Joseph Sikes, Samuel Bliss, John Morgan, *Gersham Ferre*, *David Warriner*, Ephraim Bartlet, Samuel Bartlet, James Warriner, William Bliss, Jr., *Widow Hannah White*, Pelatiah Hitchcock, *Joseph Warriner*, *Widow Ruth Ingersoll*, Samuel Marshfield, Capt. John Mirrick, Thomas Mirrick, Jr., Thomas Mirrick, David Mirrick, Moses Mirrick, Lieut. Pelatiah Bliss, Luke Bliss, Jonathan Church, William Pynchon, Jeremiah Horton, Thomas Horton, Benjamin Horton, Benjamin Horton, Jr., Timothy Horton, John Horton, Daniel Warner, Benjamin Brooks, Samuel Brooks, Noah Brooks, *Widow Hannah Beaman*, *Jonathan Bartlet*, Samuel Huggins, John Miller, 3d, Noah Alvard, George Mather, *Nathaniel Brewer*, Katherine Brewer, Jonathan Bliss, Benjamin Wait, Jonathan Warriner, Cornelius Jones, Benjamin Dorchester, Edmond Newman, Elijah Stetson, William Bliss.

The largest tax-payers in the above list are Obadiah Cooley, Lieut. John Burt, Thomas Horton, William Pynchon, and Jedediah Bliss.

Constable John Hitchcock, Jr., was intrusted with the following list, which seems to be for property in the Chicopee part of the town : —

Ebenezer Hitchcock, John Wyse, *Thomas Ferre*, *Samuel Ferre*, Jonathan Old, B. Vanhorn, *Henry Chapin*, *Ensign Benjamin Chapin*, Benjamin Chapin, Jr., Isaac Chapin, Henry Wright, *David Chapin*, *David Chapin, Jr.*, *Jonathan Chapin*, John Chapin, *Thomas Chapin*, *Japhet Chapin*, *Elisha Chapin*, Samuel Chapin, Caleb Chapin, *Abel Chapin*, *Josiah Chapin*, John Chapin, Jr., Robert Old, Nathaniel Chapin, *Cornelius Webb*, Samuel Stebbins, Jr., Aaron Stebbins, Col. John Pynchon, William Pynchon, Jr., Thomas Warriner, *William Warriner*, Nathaniel Warriner, Ephraim Stiles, *Luke Hitchcock*, Luke Hitchcock, 3d, Sergeant Daniel Parsons, *Aaron Hitchcock*, Daniel Parsons, Jr., *Aaron Parsons*, *Lieut. John Worthington*, Benjamin Colton, estate of Pelatiah Glover, Pelatiah Glover, Thomas Glover, Samuel Glover, Jonathan Morgan, John Lamb, Daniel Lamb, Widow Hannah Kelly, Noah Parsons, Joseph Dorchester, James Williston, James Williston, Jr., *Luke Hitchcock, Jr.*, *Thomas Stebbins*, Caleb Stebbins, *John Stebbins, Jr.*, John Stebbins, *Ebenezer Stebbins*, *Joseph Stebbins*, Wm. Sanderson, Samuel Jones, *David Jones*, *Ensign John Hitchcock*, *Nathaniel Hitchcock*, *Dea. Nathaniel Munn*, *Nathaniel Munn, Jr.*, Samuel Munn, Ebenezer

Morgan, John Hitchcock, Jr., Gideon Pratt, Henry Wright, Jr., *Jonathan Chapin, Jr.*, *Isaac Breicer*, Nathaniel Stonks.

The largest tax-payers above are John Worthington, James Williston, John Pynchon, John Chapin, John Lamb, and Henry Wright.

The list committed to Constable Day for West Springfield property was as follows : —

Joseph Ely, 2d, John Day, Jr., Benjamin Jones, Timo. M. Krancy, Benjamin Ashley, Ebenezer Parsons, Jr., Nathaniel Ely, Dea. Joseph Ely, Ebenezer Ashley, Ebenezer Morgan, Jr., Samuel Morgan, Samuel Barker, Pet: Morgan, Jr., John Bagg, Jr., Ens. John Bagg, James Bagg, Nathaniel Morgan, Miles Morgan, Joseph Morgan, James Morgan, Isaac Morgan, Jonathan Bagg, David Bagg, Ichabod Miller, Josiah Miller, James Taylor, John Carew, Ebenezer Taylor, Ashael Taylor, Pelatiah Morgan, Thomas Miller, 2d, Nathaniel Sikes, Benjamin Stebbins, Jr., Jonathan Taylor, Francis Ball, Thomas Miller, Nathaniel Atchinson, Jas. Mirrick, Jr. (Estate), Jonathan White, Samuel Ball, Nathaniel Williston, John Williston, Dea. Ebenezer Parsons, Caleb Parsons, Christopher Vanhorn, Josiah Day, Dea. John Ely, Reuben Ely, Caleb Ely, Joseph Mirrick, Samuel Ely, Benjamin Pike, Samuel Taylor, Jr., Ebenezer Day, Ebenezer Day, Jr., Benjamin Stebbins, Francis Stebbins, Amos Taylor, Samuel Day, Widow Maria Day, Thomas Day, Nathaniel Ely, 2d, Thomas Killum, Samuel Lamb, John Rogers, Charles Ferre, Sen. (Dec^l estate), Ebenezer Miller, Jr., Jonathan Miller, Samuel Taylor, Jonathan Smith, Benjamin Smith, Job Smith, William Smith, Benj. Smith, Jr., Jos. Huggins, John Combs, Benoni Jones, Dr. Joseph Ely, John Miller, Ebenezer Miller, Sen.

The highest tax-payers above were Jonathan Bagg, Dea. John Ely, Benjamin Stebbins, Ensign John Bagg, and Pelatiah Morgan.

Constable Cooper's list, also West Springfield property : —

Benjamin Ball, John Ely, 3d, Joseph Miller, Henry Rogers, Nath^l Dumbleton's estate, John Dumbleton, Samuel Dumbleton, Capt. John Day, Wid. Sarah Leonard, Lt. James Mirrick, Capt. Nath^l Downing, John Downing, John Barber, John Miller, 2d, Moses Miller, Timothy Cooper, Wm. M'Intire, Jr., Ebenezer Leonard, Dr. John Leonard, Abel Leonard, John Remington, *John Worthington*, Joseph Ball, Joseph Leonard, Lt. Jos. Leonard, Sen. (Dec^d estate), Moses

Leonard, Samuel Leonard, Josiah Leonard, Josiah Leonard, Jr., Joseph Bodurtha, W^m. M'Intire, Lamberton Cooper, Tilly Mirrick (Dec^d estate), Ebenezer Cook, Nathaniel Bancroft, Samuel Bancroft, Ens. Jos. Colton, John Barber, Jr., Jonathan Ball, Jr., John Stevenson, John White, Samuel Mirick, Eliakim Cooley, Isaac Frost, John Frost, Abraham Frost, Benj. Bodurtha, Jonathan Bodurtha, Daniel Cooley, Daniel Cooley, Jr., Benajah Stevenson, John Fowler, Christopher Fowler, John Fowler, Jr., John Pengilly, David Smith, Capt. Jos. Winchell, James Phillips, Thomas Smith. Luke Day, Joseph Sheldon, Abel Leonard, Jr., Benj. Sheldon, John Miner, Nathan Phillips, John Dorchester, Benj. Leonard, Thomas Bancroft, Rebecca Evans, Abel Marley, Abraham Adams, Daniel Ashley, Eldad Barker, George Miner, Jonathan Purchase.

The highest tax-payers were Col. John Day, Ebenezer Leonard, Dr. John Leonard, and Lieut. James Mirrick.

Constable Colton's list for Longmeadow property : —

Capt. Isaac Colton, Isaac Colton, Sen., Ebenezer Colton, William Colton, Samuel Keep, Jr., Lt. John Colton, Ens. Samuel Keep, Ens. Thos. Colton, Samuel Colton. Lt. Eph. Colton, Thomas Hail, Jonathan Hail, Thomas Hail, Jr., Noah Hail, Capt. George Colton, Wid. Hannah Burt, David Burt, Sen., Samuel Crowfoot, *John Burt*, 2nd, Joshua Field, John Bliss, Thos. Bliss, 2d, Eben^r Bliss, 2d, Nathaniel Bliss, Nathaniel Bliss, Jr., Eph: Colton, Jr., Simon Colton, Dea. Jonathⁿ Ely, Dea. Nathaniel Burt, David Burt, 2d, Eben^r Bliss, Sen., Thos. Bliss, Sen., Sam^l Stebbins, Stephen Stebbins, Wid. Ab: Stebbins, Jonathⁿ Stebbins, Aaron Stebbins, Timothy Nash, Ens. W^m Stebbins, Joseph Cooley, Dr. Jos. Pynchon, John Steel, Eliakim Cooley, Josiah Cooley, Corp. Sam^l Cooley, Israel Cooley, John Cooley, Thomas Field, Jonathⁿ Cooley, Henry Wolcott, Amos Stiles, Wid. Ab. Cooley, Joshua Atchinson, Ed: Pynchon, Joshua Mosewell, John Hail, Jr.

The largest tax-payers were Capt. George Colton, Samuel Colton, Ensign Samuel Keep, Lieut. John Colton, Thomas Field, Dea. Nathaniel Burt, Simon Colton, and Ensign Thomas Colton.

We have printed the members of the Springfield church in the above lists in italics, so that it will be seen at a glance how large a proportion had kept out of the fold. Among the slave-holders of that

day were several members of the Pynchon family, as well as Samuel and Ephraim Colton, of Longmeadow, and Capt. John Day, Lieut. James Mirrick. John Ely, and Benjamin Ball, of West Springfield.

From the first parish records it appears that there were upon the rolls between 1736 and 1738 only the following in full communion. Quite a number in the list had withdrawn from the Springfield church in 1638, a majority of them going to Springfield Mountains, which eventually became Wilbraham.

Alvord. Mrs. Noah.	Chapin. Jonathan. wife and daughter.
Ashley. Joseph.	.. Jonathan. Jr..
Bartlet, Hannah.	.. Jonathan and wife (of King-
.. Jonathan and wife,	ston)
.. Miriam.	.. Josiah,
Bliss. Mrs. Pelatiah.	.. Thomas, wife and three daugh-
.. Widow.	ters,
.. ..	Crowfoot, Mrs. John.
.. Mrs. William and daughter.	.. John. Jr..
Brewer. Charles.	.. Thomas,
.. Isaac.	Dorchester. Mrs. Benjamin,
.. Nathaniel.	Ferre, Gersham,
Burt. Dea. Henry. wife and daughter.	.. John,
.. James.	.. Samuel and wife,
.. Mrs. James.	.. Thomas,
.. James. Jr.. and wife.	Foot. Mrs. Thomas,
.. John. Jr.. and wife.	Hancock, Mrs. John,
.. Joseph's daughter.	Harmon. Mrs. John.
Chapin. Abel and wife,	Hitchcock, Aaron.
.. Benjamin and wife.	.. Ann,
.. David, wife and daughter,	.. Mrs. Ebenezer,
.. David, Jr..	.. John and wife.
.. Elisha.	.. Luke and wife,
.. Esther.	.. Luke. Jr.. and wife,
.. Hannah, (widow)	.. Nathaniel.
.. Henry,	.. Widow.
.. Mrs. Isaac.	Horton, Benjamin, Jr., and wife.
.. Japhet and wife.	.. Thomas's daughter.

Ingersoll, Mrs. (widow),	Stebbins, Ebenezer,
Jones, David and wife,	“ John, Jr.,
Kellogg, Widow K.'s daughter,	“ Joseph,
Knowlton, Benjamin and wife,	“ Mrs. Joseph,
“ Miriam,	“ Thomas,
Lamb, Hulda,	Stevinson, Mrs. Jonathan,
Lombard, Mrs. Ebenezer and daughter,	Taylor, Elizabeth,
Marshfield's negro servant Dinah,	Thomas, Sarah,
Miller, Mrs. John,	Vanhorn, Elizabeth,
“ John, Jr.,	Warner, Mary,
Mirrick, Mrs. Capt.,	“ Samuel, wife and daughter,
Morgan, Ebenezer,	“ Sarah,
Munn, Nathaniel and two daughters,	Warriner, Mrs. Benjamin,
“ Nathaniel, Jr.,	“ David,
Parsons, Aaron,	“ Mrs. Ebenezer,
“ Widow Abigail,	“ Elizabeth,
“ Mrs. Daniel,	“ Joseph and daughter,
“ Mrs. Daniel, Jr.,	“ Martha,
Pierce, Jonathan,	“ Mary,
Pynchon, Mrs. Col. William and daughter,	“ William and wife,
Sanderson, William,	Webb, Cornelius and wife,
Sikes, Mrs. Benjamin,	White, Mrs. (widow) and daughter,
“ Increase,	Williston, Joseph and wife,
“ Mrs. Increase, Jr.,	Williston, Joseph, Jr.,
“ Samuel, Jr.,	Worthington, John and wife,
“ Widow Thankful,	Wright, Mrs. Henry,
Smith, Simon,	“ Mrs. Henry, Jr.

Waiving the names of the dead, and of those who had withdrawn from the church, less than sixty were church-members. Thus, much less than half the land-owners on the east side were in full communion, and they, too, not including the most important names in the community. Men held office here who were not church-members in full communion, and these long lists we will be justified in transcribing, if it illustrates more fully the change that had come over the spirit of Springfield's dreams. The Pynchons and the Glovers were not rep-

resented on the male side, and even the wife of the minister, Eunice Breck, daughter of the previous minister, as well as her mother, were not members. Some of the best people in the community neglected to take the covenant.

But how had the status of the freeman changed during these years? In the beginning, as has been said, no one in Massachusetts could be made a freeman but church-members. It was ordered (1634) that the General Court, only, should have power to admit freemen. This was followed up the next year by a vote prohibiting any but freemen voting in any town on questions of "authority or necessity," such as receiving inhabitants, and laying out lots, etc. There would seem to be an implied right or privilege of voting on lesser matters. Thus a member of a training-band could vote for the officers, although not a freeman, provided he had taken the resident's oath, and balloted for freemen only. The churches were warned to deal with those who were not inclined to become freemen, and this not producing the desired effect, the General Court came to the conclusion (1647) that it was best to allow inhabitants who had taken the oath of fidelity to be eligible to town offices, even though not freemen, provided the freemen on the board, as selectmen or townsmen, should still constitute a majority. The object of this was to put a stop to the practice among church-members of escaping duty as jurymen, constables, surveyors of highways, and the like, by refusing to become freemen. And to give point to the above order these men were visited with fines if they refused to serve when elected. In 1658 it was ordered that regular inhabitants above twenty-four years of age, with an estate of £20, who had taken the oath of fidelity (not freeman's oath), were eligible as jurymen and constables, and could vote for selectmen, a majority of the latter to be freemen. Church-membership, as to the qualification of freemen, was reaffirmed two years later. Now, the question is, could an inhabitant, not freeman, refrain from being a full communicant, and still vote in the prudential affairs of the town, under the above law? He undoubtedly could. All inhabi-

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tants were compelled, after remaining two months, to take the short oath of fidelity to the Massachusetts government, and there was no church-membership requirement in this oath.

But the King of England's attention to his obdurate New England dependency forced the march of events as to religious qualification. Charles II. wrote a letter to the General Court in June, 1662, directing that "all the freeholders of competent estates, not vicious in conversacon, & orthodoxe in religion (though of different persuasions concerning church government) may have their votes in the election of all officers both civil and military." This forced the General Court to repeal the law prohibiting all persons but church-members from becoming freemen; but the court at once decreed that "all Englishmen" presenting a certificate from a minister that they were orthodox in religion, and could show that they were freeholders, paid a country rate of ten shillings, "or that they are in full communion with some church amongst us," and are twenty-four years of age, might be admitted freemen by the General Court upon a majority vote. This was evidently a case where repeal did not necessarily repeal. The majority-vote clause was considered a reflection upon the king and the Church of England.

In 1664 men who were freemen were allowed to take the freeman's oath before the County Courts. King Charles was very explicit in his demands that no British subject using the Book of Common Prayer should be debarred thereby from full political privileges under the charter of his royal father. This was the beginning of a terrible struggle. The king, in his wrath, sent a war vessel, which reached Boston harbor in 1664, the first ever seen in those waters, and the royal commissioners were instructed to see to it, that "such who desire to use the Booke of Comon Prayer, may be permitted to do soe without incurring any poenalty, reproach, or disadvantage in his interest, it being very scandalous that any persons should be debarred the exercise of his religion according to the lawes & custome of England, by those who, by the indulgence, have liberty left to be what profes-

sion in religion they please. In a word, that persons of good and honest conversations, who have lived long there, may enjoy all the privileges, ecclesiastical & civil, which are due to them, & which are enjoyed by others, as to choose & be chosen in places of government, & the like, & that differences in opinion doe not lesson their charity to each other, since charity is a fundamentall in religion." It was a dark day for Massachusetts. The court lost no time in responding that "The all-knowing God, he knows our greatest ambition is to live a poor and a quiet life in a corner of the world, without offence to God or man. We came not to this wilderness to seek great things to ourself. . . . We keep ourselves within our line, and meddle not with matters abroad." But what odds? The royal commissioners had brought a Church of England chaplain, and in the summer of 1664 the Episcopal service was first read in Boston. The battle against a religious qualification had been won, and we find this order made October, 1673: "That henceforth the names of such as desire to be admitted to the freedome of this comon-wealth, not being members of churches in full communion, shall be entered wth the secretary, from time to time, at the Court of Election, and read over before the whole court some time that session, and shall not be put to vote in the Court till the Court of Election next followg." This provision was subsequently repealed, but by the time of the burning of Springfield the whole structure of a political corporation founded upon Puritan, Non-conformist, Calvinistic interpretations of the Bible had been shaken. There was still no chance for a Baptist or Quaker to become freemen: but the Church of England was on the roll of qualifications implied in true orthodoxy which admitted inhabitants to freemen, even though not in full communion with any New England church. Therefore, between the natural reaction from the New England discipline among the "living saints" and their progeny, and the cruder infelicities of mind in the common walks of life, where elaborate schemes of religion breed scepticism and open revolt, the churches in the early part of the eighteenth century were

great sufferers. The period is the low ebb of Congregationalism, and while our church records before the Breck ministry are meagre, the traces of the moral transitions and distractions are not wanting.

Rev. Stephen Williams, a very remarkable man, was already preaching in Longmeadow, where a part of the Springfield congregation had gathered; and Mr. Williams had a peculiar way of recording his thoughts, — a kind of a sentimental journal of a minister, one might call his literary remains. He gives definite evidence and form to the traditions of those times. The low condition of morals led to many conferences among the brethren, and at a meeting of the local churches at Chicopee, Williams was uncompromising; the moral landscape that he saw was dismally and unpicturesquely dark. Here are his notes of what he said upon that occasion: —

Facts: Vices abound — visible and manifest evils among us — decay of y^e power of godliness — divine institutions neglected by many — some unbaptised — great multitudes never join themselves to the churches of Christ — low esteem of ordinances — strifes and contentions — extravagant dress beyond our estates and degree — family gov^t and instruction neglected — how many children ignorant of the first rudiments of religion and without civility — yea and without instruction in reading and writing — intemperance, much drunkenness, tavern haunting and cheating one another; breaches of the 7th commandt and not to insist on the abounding of adultery, how amazing does y^e sin of fornication abound, sinful company keeping, and wanton managements which possibly may be meant by the apostle when he speaks in Romans, 13; 13, of chambering and wantonness.

Mr. Williams drew up a “covenant of reformation” for his Longmeadow people, but there is nothing to indicate at this time (1728) that Mr. Brewer did the same for the first parish.

There is no need to soil this page by transcripts from the court records of these days in support of the charges made by the ministers as to the general demoralization, but we will hasten to narrate the outcome. Rev. Daniel Brewer died in 1733, and the event threw wide the door to the uneasy elements that were already moving on

the waters. A "pall or scarff creditable to couver coffins," which was procured the same year at an expense of £9 15s., was probably used at Mr. Brewer's funeral.

The spring of 1735 opened unpropitiously for Springfield. The town was closing its first century, and eighty-five years had elapsed since the burning of William Pynchon's theological book in the Boston market-place. Theology had again become a burning issue. If the Pynchon affair had ended with almost the breaking up of the plantation, the controversies in 1734-36 nearly cleft the first precinct in two. William Pynchon's doctrine of the meritorious price of man's redemption was an attempt of a philosopher to perfect an intellectual scheme. The theory of redemption that contributed to the controversies of 1734-36 was occasioned by a charitable sentiment as a possible elaboration of prevailing interpretations of the Bible. Both the controversies, we have reason to believe, were a material part of the religious chronicles of the two eras, they being the pegs, as it were, upon which were hung those garments of substantial religious faith which no people cast away.

The people of Springfield awoke on the 8th of April, 1735, with feelings of the most intense excitement. The Hampshire association of ministers had been called to assemble at Springfield that day to consider the theological views of Rev. Robert Breck, whom the First Church desired to place in the pulpit of Brewer, Glover, and Moxon. The Hampshire divines were a remarkable set of men. The patriarch was the venerable William Williams, of Hatfield; while their youngest preacher was Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton, but thirty-two years of age, and yet even then making his giant arm felt amid the broken columns of the Puritan polity. There was also the famous Stephen Williams, of Longmeadow, who had the spirit of a Paul in danger, and whose boyhood was made the sport of Indian warfare. There were also Isaac Chauncey, of Hadley; Samuel Hopkins, of West Springfield; Peter Reynolds, of Enfield; Ebenezer Devotion, of Suffield; William Rand, of Sunderland; and others.

The Springfield church was so divided over Mr. Breck that even families were in danger of rupture. Mr. Breck was on the ground at the meeting of the association ready to defend himself, and there was evidence in abundance prepared by way of attack.

In order to understand the situation at the April session it will be necessary to go back a year and more. Mr. Breck was the son of Rev. Robert Breck, of Marlborough. Breck took the first honors of his class at Harvard, in 1730, at the age of seventeen. He had been taken out for a time by his father, probably because he had fallen into evil company. Physically we have the tradition of the Breck family that Robert was of sturdy proportion, and mentally we know from his literary remains that he was a deep thinker and a fearless controversialist who did not hesitate to read any book, orthodox or otherwise, that would clear up a subject. He was as good an example of genuine intuitions as could be found in this valley before the Revolution. The two rising young men of this valley — Breck and Edwards — set at work at about the same time to examine the portals of the orthodox faith, — one with doubt and the other with a herculean faith. One held up the shield of the love of God, and the other brandished the sword of the glory of God; one had the heart and the other the intellect of theology, and both felt the demoralization of Christian society in New England. They and their respective partisans — for that is the word to use — met in open combat, and the results were as dramatic as the immediate conflict was terrible. Breck brought the religion of Springfield into the revolutionary period, and opened the way to modern ideas; while poor Mr. Edwards, after establishing his metaphysical scheme, was forced to retire to the Stockbridge Indians under a cloud. Scholars have since bowed to the genius of Edwards, but the people live the principles of Breck.

The parish first extended a unanimous call to Rev. Daniel Hubbard, of New London. Two ineffectual attempts were made to secure Mr. Hubbard, William Pynchon and John Burt going down first, and then Lieut. John Worthington and Thomas Stebbins. Meantime Deacons

Munn and Burt conducted religious services from time to time. The precinct then tried to secure Rev. Samuel Whittelsy, or Writtelsy, of Wallingford, Conn., and, again failing, sent Luke Hitchcock, Jr., to Boston in 1734.

It was in May, 1734, that the first parish invited the youthful minister, Robert Breck, to preach with a view of settlement; and his impetuous oratory and strong periods made a deep impression upon the sleepy, cold, worldly-minded congregation. Breck had previously preached for a short time at Scotland (Windham, Conn.,) and soon rumors were afloat that his Connecticut sermons were not in all things according to the New England creed. Breck had a young man's penchant for debate and speculation, and in his sermons he continually wandered out of the beaten path of exhortation and commentary. A letter was received in Springfield from Rev. Eleazor Williams, of Mansfield, Conn., dated August 12, stating that the Rev. Thomas Clap, of Windham, and Daniel Kirtland, of Norwich, could furnish full particulars of Mr. Breck's unsound opinions. The church gave Mr. Breck a call, however, on the 15th, and on the 26th, Mr. Breck, being informed that Mr. Clap was industriously circulating reports about him, wrote a very spirited letter from Cambridge, in which he felt justified in saying: —

Sr. I took you always to be a Gentleman, and not only so, but a Christian and therefore would if Possible Disbelieve any such story (arianism). But it has come so often and so well confirmed that I cant Help Giving my Assent to it. And now what Could provoke you to tell such a falsehood I cant Imagine. I am sure I never gave you nor any other occasion to say this for me as God (and I can't think but) your Conscience very well knows. God be my witness. that to the best of my knowledge I never Lisped one single word in favor of arianism during the whole of the time I was at Wendham. (Spring of 1734.) And now How Intolerable is this. Is this the part of a Christian Gentleman — is this the Part of a Gentleman and a Christian? If this is the part of a Friend I Pray to be Deliver'd. Sr, I Hope you will think of the Barbarious treatment you have givn to me and Unspeakable and Irreparable Injury you have done me, and that God will Grant you Repentance and Reformation that so Gentlemen may meet with

Civil treatment who will hereafter come among you. Sr, Excuse anything of warmth and Passion in this Letter and Consider that a Persons Character is dearer to him than it is to anybody else.

Mr. Breck soon after this visited Springfield, and Mr. Hopkins, of West Springfield, detailed to him, at the request of the Hampshire ministers, the impression caused by Mr. Clap's charges, and added, that it was expected of him to bring a certificate of orthodox character from both Kirtland and Clap. This was September 7, and about three weeks later Mr. Breck made the journey to Windham and met his accuser. The meeting may be described as stormy, and the young man returned without an endorsement. This put a very serious aspect on the affair, and a majority of the parish were much disappointed. The Hampshire ministers seeing that the church was bent upon settling Breck, secured from Messrs. Clap, Kirtland, and others written statements as to what Breck had said in his sermons and conversations while in Connecticut. The main points of the charges are: First, his denial of the authenticity of sundry passages of Scripture, like 1 John v. 7, "the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost," and John viii., concerning the woman taken in adultery; second, that he "denied the necessity of Christ's Satisfaction to Divine Justice for Sin;" third, he preached "That the Heathen that liv'd up to the Light of Nature should be Saved;" that Christ might be immediately revealed to them, or they might be saved some other way; that the "contrary was a harsh Doctrine;" fourth, sundry misdemeanors, like "stealing Books while he was at College;" and, finally, that he had never read the New England Confession of Faith. When confronted by the documents, Mr. Breck told the Hampshire ministers that he would accept the call if the people stood by him, and as for the refusal of the ministers to ordain him, he produced the greatest consternation by promptly remarking to Mr. Hopkins, who represented the association, "I don't care for that; if one will not, another will." The ministers then circulated the documentary evidence against Breck

among the congregation, and the result was that the young man returned to the Bay, having concluded to withdraw from the contest. But there soon came a reaction, and on November, 1734, the first precinct voted to appoint Jonathan Chapin, Luke Hitchcock, Jr., and Thomas Stebbins, a committee to find out as to "Mr. Breck's Removal from us, it being commonly Reported that some Persons of Note have indeavoured to obstruct his settlement here by Wrightings Lodged in the hands of some of the Neighbouring ministers." This committee examined the Connecticut documents, and upon application to the association for advice, William Williams, Isaac Chauncey, Jonathan Edwards, Stephen Williams, Samuel Hopkins, and Peter Reynolds signed a paper recommending the people of Springfield to make no further application to Breck. The renewal of the fight brought Breck on the scene again. He did not mince matters when he wrote to William Pynchon that Mr. Clap had lied, and that the word of Huntington (selectman of Windham) could not be taken for a groat by his neighbors. The church was now thoroughly convinced that they ought to settle Breck, as the following record shows : —

At a meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants assembled according to Law Continued by several adjournments from December 9th, 1734 To January 1st, 1734-5.

- 1 voted to ask Breck to preach with view of settlement.
- 2 voted to send John Burt and Benj. Morgan to Cambridge to consult as to a minister.

These two votes represented the sentiments of the Breck and anti-Breck factions. In an account of these troubles, prepared a year or two later, the ministers said that "There were reports handed about Town that Mr. Kirtland was not to be minded ; that Mr. Clap lied in what he wrote ; that he was liable to a severe Prosecution for what he had done ; that he dare as well eat his fingers as to come to Springfield to defend it ; that Mr. Huntington was a Man of a very ill Char-

acter ; And a great many other such reports. . . . When one Story of this Nature was worn out, another of the same Kind was set on Foot, as that Mr. Clap wrote Mr. Huntington's Evidence for him ; that he wrote what he pleased, and that Mr. Huntington knew not what was in it, and so on. And there is too much Reason to think that Mr. Breck was the Author of those ill Reports."

No more need be quoted to show the animus of all parties. If men like Mr. Edwards and Stephen Williams would put themselves on record as above, the feeling must have been deep indeed. The next step of the Hampshire ministers was to secure evidence as to Mr. Huntington's reliability and Mr. Clap's impartiality ; for Clap, who it will be remembered afterward became president of Yale College, was noted for his intense denunciations of theological error. To show how Clap fortified himself we give this long extract from the affidavit of Samuel Manning, dated Windham, March 12, 1735 : —

Sam^l Manning testifieth and Saith that on ye Sabath day ensuing after ye Rev^d Mr Clap preached at Scotland it being ye Sabath before our people here gave your Mr. Breck a call. Joshua Eazel and Sam^l Cook and I desired Mr. Clap to goe into Jacob Libbes litle room to ask his judgment about Mr. Brecks principles and accordingly we did ask him. And Mr. Clap sat silent some time & said nothing and upon our asking him to speak Mr. Clap said that Mr. Breck was a stranger to him and he could not readily make a judgment about him ; then he was asked whether he had talked with him aboute his denying some part of ye scripture. he said yes. then he was asked what Mr. Breck said : Mr. Clap answered that he did not think it convenient at present to declare espetially since they had not talked so much as to enable him to make a clear judgment. Some of us urged Mr. Clap several times but he said very little, and after some time one of us said that he thought that Mr. Clap had had time long enough to talk with Mr. Breck and wondered he could not know what his principals were yet. Mr. Clap said it was not always so easie a thing to know what a mans principals are as some might imagine.

After a little pause some of us proposed to call ye committee of the association together to examine Mr. Breck about his principals before the meeting : Mr Clap said it was an unusual thing to call the committee of the association to examine a man so upon a sudden. and we might depend upon it that the associa-

tion would know his principals before they ordained him. This was the substance of ye discourse aboute Mr. Brecks principals according to the best of my remembrance, and i know i took it to ye same effect: and though Mr. Clap seemed very loth to say anything about Mr. Brecks Principal and did not give any certain judgment upon them, yet i was then fully of opinion that Mr. Clap did suspect that Mr. Breck was something erronious, and as I went home w' my neighbour Silsby to the best of my remembrance i told him i did believe Mr. Clap was suspicious of him and i think he answered he did not know but he might. The next day i was at Joshua Lazel and he asked me what i thought of these storys. i told him i did not know. they might be true and they might not: i was more consarned about his principals than about those storys: he answered so was he more consarned aboute his principals, and for my own part i was so much consarned aboute his principals that i doubted whether i should be in my way to voate for him but on this consideration that he would be examined by the ministers: accordingly i did voate for him; and whereas i have heard that the above sd Lazel and Cook have said that on the conferance aforesd Mr. Clap said he did not know but yt Mr. Brecks principals were as bright as any mans i do hereby declare y^t i did not hear any such words or anything that tended that way. . . . I know when Mr. Breck preached here in Scotland severial of our people were consarned aboute his principals boath by his preaching and in his private converse.

Mr. Breck, in the face of all this hostility, wrote Clap a very considerate letter referring to his habit of free discussion, acknowledging that he was too "inconsiderate and incautious in speaking" and asking "Christian forgiveness." This letter Clap used to increase the prejudice against Breck, since he showed it to Breck's enemies, and prepared more documentary evidence against his character as a minister.

Thus matters stood when the Hampshire association met on the 8th of April, 1735, referred to earlier in this chapter. The first precinct had appointed William Pynchon, Joseph Williston, and Mr. Worthington, of the dissatisfied party, a committee to wait on the association and to get what information they could about the Breck controversy, and Pynchon appeared in person before the meeting. The excitement was intense. Mr. Breck himself was on hand, and as both the association and Mr. Breck had asked Mr. Clap and Mr.

Kirtland to be present, there was every prospect that all the parties to the controversy would meet face to face. But Connecticut sent documentary evidence only. This was a sore disappointment, and it was only through the importuning of the young minister himself that the association made any investigation at all at that time. The action of Mr. Clap sending up papers testifying to his desire not to harm Breck, and at the same time refusing to accept Breck's explanations, confirmed the admiration and sympathy which the majority of the parish had for the young man. Mr. Breck was ready with his defence, which he submitted in writing. After referring to the charges sent by Mr. Clap to Mr. Hopkins and communicated to the association, and explaining that he was a young student in divinity while at Windham, he said: —

I tho't it not an unprofitable way of spending time in discoursing upon some of the controverted points in divinity . . . The first thing wh Mr. Clap mentions is my Denying some part of the Sacred Scriptures to be of Divine authority. To which I answer that while I lived at Windham I Read Jones upon the Canon of the Scripture, who seems to Disbelieve the Divine authority of those texts which Mr. Clap mentions . . . But this I can truly say, that it never was my settled opinion that those texts were not of Divine origine . . . I was saying to Mr. Clap (conversation as to divine authority of the texts mentioned by Mr. Breck) that I thought that there was just cause of doubt whether these texts were given by Divine Inspiration or not. Mr. Clap replied that the case was not doubtfull, for (says he) God is obliged in his Providence to keep the Scripture Pure & uncorrupt, except that he gives us sufficient Proof of the Corruption of it. To which I Replied that that argument would never convince an Infidel. for (says I) no man would disbelieve the Divine Authority of any particular Part of the Scriptures if he did not think he had sufficient evidence that it was an interpolation. Upon which Mr. Clap made some stop, as if he did not understand me. Whereupon I said that God had in his Providence given us sufficient Reason to think that these places are Interpolations and not of Divine Inspiration. Now, gentlemen you may see that these words were used in order to show Mr. Clap that the argument which he made use of was insufficient to prove that the Divine authority of these texts were not Doubtfull . . . The second thing which Mr. Clap objects is my Denying the necessity of Christ's

satisfaction to Divine Justice. To which I Reply that I always did believe that God could not consistent with his own Glory, have forgiven sin without satisfaction. When I said that I believed that he was not obliged in Justice to Require satisfaction for sin, I meant nothing more than that God would not have done any Injustice to his Creatures if he had forgiven sin without any satisfaction. This I told Mr. Clap diverse Times when we were disputing upon this Head . . . The next thing Mr. Clap mentions is my Preaching once that the Heathen that liv'd up to the Light of nature should be saved, and that Christ should either be Immediately Revealed to them, or they should be saved some other way. The words which Mr. Clap refers to are as follows. After I had expressed my hopes that the Heathen would not all of them be damned, I said I Rather chose to think that if any of the Heathen used their best endeavours to get Light & Knowledge, and lived up to the Light & Knowledge which they have, that God will either Immediately Reveal Christ to them or save them some other way. Now, Gentlemen I never had a thought that the Heathens doing what they could would Intitle them to salvation. Far be it from me to Imagine any such thing. But I thought it more likely that sich an one would be saved than a Heathen who lived a vicious Life, & therefore I mentioned those who used their best endeavours to gett Light & liv'd up to the Light & Knowledge which they had. And as to that other way which I spoke of, wherein the Heathen might be sav'd than by Immediate Revelation of Christ to them, I did not mean (as Mr. Clap would have it) that any of them would be sav'd without Faith In Christ, but the way I thought of was that of God's spiriting some Christians to go amongst them, or else moving them to go into some Christian countries, where they might come to the Knowledge of Christ in another way than by Immediate Revelation. This Gentlemen I Imagine is the most easie way & natural construction that can possibly be put upon my words. And this I told Mr. Clap once & again was my meaning in the time of it . . . I acknowledge, indeed, that I was not so fully settled & established in this Faith, as also in some others, when I preached at Scotland, but this I can truly say that I never did Believe that Faith was not necessary to salvation.

The rest of the letter is taken up with a charge of stealing books, and his expulsion from college in consequence. He denies the expulsion, but says: "I said (to Mr. Clap) with tears in my eyes that I had nothing to say in Justification of my conduct, that I went to College very young, and fell into bad company & that my Conversa-

tion there was not such as it ought to have been and that I hoped that God had given me a Light and sense of my sins, and that I was Truly humble upon the account of them. But says I, there never did any such Crime as you have mentioned appear against me at College."

Mr. Breck read this defence himself, and was submitted to a sharp cross-examination by various members of the association, and they were unable to make him withdraw the charge that Clap had lied about him. While he was willing to ask forgiveness for over-heat in polemical discussions, he refused to yield an inch to Mr. Clap and his charge of alleged heresy. Mr. Breck then turned on the association, probably with the impetuosity of youth, and demanded that they examine him themselves, and find whether he was orthodox or not. A majority of the association refused so to do until Mr. Clap's charges had been disproved. Those who voted in favor of an examination were Rev. Messrs. Chauncey, Devotion, and Rand. The association informed the first parish that they were not able to obtain "full satisfaction" as to Mr. Breck's case, and appointed the following committee of investigation: William Williams, moderator; Mr. Chauncey, Mr. Devotion, Stephen Williams, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Bull, and Jonathan Edwards. Mr. Breck's enemies had a majority of the committee, and he refused to appear before it. A church and precinct meeting was called for the 24th of April, and in spite of several protestations from the ministers, they gave Mr. Breck a call, offering him £200 as a settlement, and promising to build him a house within four years. He did not accept until the latter part of July. In his letter he refers to the divisions in the church, and to the neighboring ministers, some of whom were, he thought, "industrious" against him. "Let it be our United Prayers and Endeavors," he adds, "that both you and I may be under the Divine Conduct and Direction, that my settlement may be made happy amongst you." On this very day the church made arrangements for the ordination, the ministers chosen for the council being Williams, of Hatfield, Mr.

Chauncey, Mr. Devotion, and Mr. Rand. John Burt was directed to go to Boston for other ministers to assist at the ordination. On the 4th day of August, also, Mr. Worthington, Henry Chapin, Joseph Ashley, and Simon Smith signed a paper protesting against the act of the church giving Mr. Breck a call, "contrary to the advice of y^e Ministers in y^e County." The paper was read at this meeting of the church, but the "church Refused a vote to Call or cancel" the engagement with Mr. Breck. Three days later William Williams, Stephen Williams, Samuel Hopkins, and Jonathan Edwards wrote a letter to Col. John Pynchon and the dissatisfied members of the church, in which they said that they were of the opinion that the first step should be the examination of the charges against Breck, by a committee of the association, which latter body, the writers maintained, was "y^e only proper Judge of the Case." "But," they continued, "if your Neighbours drive on an ordination speedily, we judge it to be your duty to enter your dissent, and give your reasons for so doing, and support them by all y^e evidence you can obtain in y^e case."



CHAPTER XII.

1735-1761.

The Breck Controversy continued. — Jonathan Edwards's Position. — The Ordination Council meets at Springfield. — Breck's Confession of Faith. — His Arrest and Acquittal. — An Appeal to the General Court. — Breck finally settled over the First Church. — Whitefield. — Great Revivals. — Changes in Church Rules. — Increased Church-Membership. — Springfield Mountains. — Chicopee. — The Third Meeting-House. — Schools. — Loss of Life at Louisburg. — The Hobbs Fight. — Crown Point. — Agawam. — Death of Col. William Pynchon and of Dea. Henry Burt.

AUGUST 14, 1735, is another important date in the history of the Breck controversy. The Hampshire county ministers, who were completely taken aback by the rebellious course of the Springfield church, gathered in formal meeting at Hatfield, and Stephen Williams wrote to the Springfield dissatisfied, advising that a prudent person be sent to Rev. Mr. Clap to secure all the evidence possible. The subjoined letter was also sent to the enemies of Breck at Springfield the same day : —

GENTLEMEN

We have recd yours and y^e enclose Copy of your declaration to Mr. Breck which we look upon to be very reasonable & Just and which in concern for y^e honour of God & y^e ministry ought to be done, and we account it preposterous for y^e Church of Springfield to call him or for him to accept a call to y^e ministry before y^e matters objected against him had been duly Inquired into & he had obtained a due vindication, and to proceed as the church & Mr. Breck have done & we hear are about to do, seems to be, after vows to make Inquiry, and we cannot but testify against it as an Irregular & disorderly proceeding & we cannot in Conscience concur in such an ordination and must say that Mr. Breck's conduct in this affair is very Surprising to us. We are free to declare before God & y^e World that according to our best Judgment in all the advice we have given

in the affair we have acted in faithfulness to Springfd & from no Prejudice against Mr. Breck and think we have reason to resent the reflections that have been cast upon us as persons prepossessed & prejudiced &c. but we are willing to bind it as a Crown to us knowing in whose cause we suffer it. We can hardly think any number of Ministers will be found to serve the Scheme of Springfd. & Mr. Breck and impose a Pastor upon our association without our consent, but if they desire some other Ministers to be joyned with us in hearing y^e Cause & Mr. Clap & others be duly notified Some Convenient time before an ordination be concluded on it is what we have been willing to Concur with.

We subscribe your loving friends wishing y^e Peace of your Parish & y^e Prosperity of religion among you.

WM. WILLIAMS

SAM^{LL} HOPKINS

JONATHAN EDWARDS

N. BULL

HATFIELD, Aug^t 14 1735.

Still a third letter was sent from Hatfield before they adjourned. It was a private communication, directed to "Capt. W^m Pyncheon Jun. att Springfeild." They express willingness to act, "But," they say, "if you expect y^t y^e Ministers of y^e County sho^d do anything for you we apprehend y^t it is proper & most likely to be serviceable, if your Company shod call the Association together to Springfield & send for Mr. Kirtland, Clap & such others as they shall think needfull to bring with 'em to be present at y^e meeting of y^e Association, some suitable time before y^e intended ordination comes on, & if you shod by letter subscribed by your whole number to y^e Moderator of y^e Association, call y^e Association together, care shall be taken to inform Mr. Breck & desire his appearance. — We think it proper y^t your party sho^d show y^e letter we send 'em to Mr. Breck & his adherents & let 'em know your design of calling y^e Association & if they please to Joyne two or three unexceptionable Gentlemen to y^e Association, we have nothing against it. Please to keep this letter wholly to yourself. Your hearty friends."

Encouraged by the messages from Hatfield, Mr. Breck's opponents

made another appeal to Messrs. Clap and Kirtland to come to Springfield. Mr. Williams, of Hatfield, meantime declined to assist at the ordination of Mr. Breck in a letter to Deacon Munn, in which he said :—

I cannot see it my way to comply with your desire or to Communicate it to our Chh, not being satisfied as to y^e regularity of your proceedings In your invitation of Mr. Breck or of his acceptance of a call from you ; it being contrary to y^e advice given you by y^e association of ministers at Springfield in April last, y^t there should be first a regular hearing of y^e matters objected against Mr. B. previous to it, which I then tho't y^e honour of Christ and of y^e ministry and y^e peace of your Chh required, and I continue still to think so, therefore apprehend it rather a duty to bare a testimony against it than to approve it.

On the 10th of September the dissatisfied wrote Mr. Williams that they were still desirous of having the Hampshire association meet at Springfield a week before the proposed ordination. But they were persuaded that a “council of Churches to hear the affair by Both Parties” could not be obtained ; “for, at the meeting of the Church when they application to Gentlⁿ to assist in ordaining Mr. Breck twas moved by the Dissatisfied Party that a Council might be had on y^e affair but Deny^d. So that we are fully Persuaded no other measures will at Present be Complyd with than what is of their own Devising. As to the Revd Mr. Clap's &c being here we shall take care to Desire their attendance at y^e association if convened.” A week later Mr. Williams replied in a letter to Col. John Pynchon, as follows :—

HONRD : SR.

Upon the Consideration of yrs of Sept^r 10th wherein you desird a meeting of y^e Association at Springfield y^e week after next, It hath seemed to me to be impracticable & also likely to be unprofitable, we not being desired by the Church & Mr. Breck. It's questionable whether they will referr the Case to those that shall convene or will regard our Judgment. I had tho't it would be best for the Association to meet at Deerfield according to appointment, only a week sooner,

which is y^e time you propose, and that Mr. Clap & others & as many of y^rselves as you think fit would meet the Association there. But having rec^d. last night a Letter subscribed by some Ministers of Boston, viz: Messrs. Cooper, Welstead, Gee & Mather, which are the p^{rs}ons your Church upon Mr. Brecks motion we hear, have sent to, wherein they thus express themselves to me —

SIR. the design of this Letter is to make this motion & Request, that y^e Association meeting which was to be at Deerfeild that Day (viz. y^e Day set for y^e ordination) may be ordered at Springfeild on Thursday y^e 2d of Oct. by which time we hope by the will of God to be up there.

I suppose the church are appraised of this purpose of theirs and if upon this motion of theirs they are willing to referr the whole affair to the Judgem^t of the Association together with the Rev^d Eldrs aforementioned, — I shall be willing to come & shall do what I can to obtain the presence of the other Associated Pastors. But if they refuse this and would allow us to come as Spectators only or barely to give Information of our proceedings in y^e Case, I cant think it best to come or to desire myself to come. I desire you would inform y^rselves whether they will comply with the above written and let me hear fro you as soon as may be convenient.

The Connecticut association of ministers, with which Mr. Clap was connected, was also preparing a battery to discharge at the doughty young minister, as appears from this letter sent by Clap to William Pynchon on the same day: —

SR.

I received a Letter Signed by you and Mr. Cooley Dated Aug. 22d 1735 asking me to send you a line whether I have Received a Letter from you and others &c. (which Letter I have Received) as also whether the Rev^d Mr. Kirtland and I would be willing to go to Springfeild when we were Desired. Mr. Kirtland was at my House yesterday, and if the cause and Interest Religion may be served by it, we are free to take the Trouble of a Journey at any time when we shall be notified and to bring some others with us who heard Mr. Breck say most or all of the same things which he said to us and some other things which he did not say to either of us. Our association have appointed a Committee to take the evidences of such as cannot conveniently go, or that can say but little, etc.

We have chosen to give this narrative as much as possible by quotation, since so many bitter things were said then and at a later day, and so many unpleasant personalities indulged in, that it is no easy task to generalize the facts inoffensively. The bitter feeling engendered by this extraordinary case lasted during the lives of many of the participants, and, indeed, to a much later date. Even Dwight's "Life of Jonathan Edwards" gives proof of the surviving prejudice, as is shown by his use of a dash in one or more instances when speaking of Mr. Breck. And even during the preparation of this History a college professor and doctor of divinity has cautioned the writer against going too deeply into this ancient feud.

The Springfield church had succeeded in pledging four ministers from Boston to assist at the ordination. They were Messrs. Cooper, Welstead, Gee, and Mather; and William Williams at once wrote a letter to Cooper protesting against their appearing at the ordination. The interference of the Boston brethren was more exasperating even than the obduracy of the Springfield church itself. The eastern ministers asked Williams to call the Hampshire association together on the 7th of October, when they themselves would arrive, and a preliminary conference could be held, the ordination day being the 8th. Williams declined to issue the call, after having further unsatisfactory correspondence upon the matter.

On the day previous to the ordination a letter from William Williams, the moderator of the Hampshire association, was presented to Rev. William Cooper, the moderator of the ordination council, protesting again against the proceedings of the council, upon the ground that but those of good repute and sound doctrine should be called to the ministry; that Mr. Breck had charged falsehood upon an orthodox minister; that the council morally share Breck's sins by supporting the Springfield church; that the dissatisfied party had reason to ask for an investigation before the ordination council was called; that Mr. Breck should not have been allowed to select the members of the council; that for a candidate to refer to the neighboring ministers as

“prejudiced Persons” was “intolerable Pride and Breach of Order,” giving “too much Grounds for fear what may be expected from such an one,” and, finally, that the journey of the Boston ministers tended “to make a Breach among our Association to the Prejudice and Scandal of our Churches.” Five other ministers endorsed this letter. Mr. Edwards was not in the county at that time, but he subsequently approved it, and desired that “the World may count him one concurring in it.” After this document was read, William Pynchon, Jr., appeared at the head of a committee, and was permitted to read a formidable document setting forth the causes of discord in the Springfield church. In the ten counts of the indictment there was little new to the reader, unless it is that Mr. Breck was charged with confounding historical and living faith, and doubting the doctrine of predestination. No evidence was introduced to support these charges, and no argument could induce them to produce witnesses at a public hearing.

The council renewed its requests for proof of charges on the following day, and were again put off. The town was in a feverish state of uncertainty, and it was thought best to give up the preparations for the big dinner or “entertainment” which attended ordinations in those days. The Boston ministers all stopped at a public tavern, and most of the Hampshire ministers had also arrived, but had neglected to call upon their eastern brethren. And that was not all. Mr. Clap had come up the river with Kirtland, Huntington, and many witnesses, as well as a bag full of affidavits and documentary evidence. There was still another group of men, who had come down from Northampton, — Justice John Stoddard and two associates. The two parties in the parish also maintained the strict lines of hostility. All business was suspended, and the whole community felt the extraordinary tension.

The second day (8th) of the council opened not with the ordination, as was planned, but with this vote: —

That this Council expect the Dissatisfied Brethren not only to produce their Objections against the ordination of Mr. Breck, but also the Proofs and evidences to support them; and that if the Dissatisfied Brethren refuse to do so, we shall think it our Duty to enquire into the principles of Mr. Breck, and, if we find him to be orthodox, shall proceed to comply with the Desire of the Church in this Place.

This vote did not mollify the dissatisfied who had put themselves in the hands of the Hampshire association; but after some negotiations it was stipulated that the evidence of the dissatisfied should be given with closed doors, and, accordingly, Mr. Clap and his witnesses were locked into a chamber in Widow Brewer's house with the council and the accused. It is believed that Mr. Breck was usually entertained by Mrs. Brewer when visiting Springfield, and by that means he became acquainted with her daughter Eunice, a young woman of more than ordinary gifts of mind.

The exact history of that secret session of the council is not known, but at some stage of the proceedings Mr. Breck was called upon to submit a confession of faith. He promptly responded with a paper, from which are taken the following extracts: —

MR. BRECK'S CONFESSION OF FAITH.

I believe that there is a God whose Eternal Power and Godhead are to be clearly seen from the things which he has made, but I believe the light of Nature is no way sufficient to lead us into the true knowledge of what God is. . . . I therefore acknowledge the necessity of a Divine Revelation and believe that is to be found in the Books of the Old and New Testam^t and in no other. . . . I believe that there is but one God who is over all blessed forever, yet that in the Unity of the Godhead there are three persons, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, who are the same in Substance and Equal in Power and Glory. And as this is a Doctrine of Pure Revelation, so I look upon it to be of the Highest Importance in Religion and on which the Greatest Truths of the Gospel do depend. I believe that this one God hath from all Eternity Decreed and foreordained in the Council of his own will whatsoever come to pass in time, yet so as not to take away the will of his Creatures or make himself be y^e author of Sin. . . . I also believe that Adam being the Covenant as well as Natural

head of all Mankind he by his first sin of his Devised both Guilt and Corruption to all his Posterity. . . . But God having from all Eternity a Designe to Glorifie the Riches of his Grace in the Recovery and Salvation of an Elect Number of the fallene Children of Adam Hath made a New Covenant wherein y^e Lord Jesus Christ stands as their Head and Surety. . . . I believe the Meritorious Union of y^e Divine and Human Nature in y^e Person of Christ. I believe that in order to Satisfie Divine Justice for y^e sins of y^e elect and Reconcile them to God he offer'd up himself a sacrifice upon y^e Cross as he was Dd for their offences. . . . I believe that fallen man has lost all power of what is sp^rtuallly good and is not able to Convert or turn himself to God. and therefore that effectual calling is y^e special and Almighty work of y^e Sp^t of God in and unto y^e Hearts of Sinⁿ whereby if unwilling they are made willing in y^e day of his Power to go to Christ for life. I believe that all who are effectually called are justified thro' y^e Righteousness of y^e active and Passive obedience of y^e Lord Jesus Christ Imputed to them and Rec'd by faith of Gods own operation. . . . After Death I believe that y^e souls of y^e Righteous are made Perfect in Holiness and do Pass into Glory and Happiness but y^e Sp^t of y^e wicked into Torm^t and Misery. I believe the Lord Jesus Christ will come a Second Time to Raise y^e Dead and Judge y^e World. Then shall y^e wicked in their Rais'd bodyes go into everlasting Punishm^t but y^e Righteous into Life Eternal.

This confession, which the council eventually pronounced orthodox, is full of expressions out of the ordinary, and demonstrates Breck's original bent; while giving what the Scriptures teach, his articles of faith were strung together with "and so" and "therefore," making thus his continued appeals to reason and the fitness of things. His reference to the wicked who "are made willing in y^e day of his Power to go to Christ for life" was a defence and a commentary in one breath as to his charitable hope about the heathen.

But the council had stirring business on hand. There sat the wigged divine from Connecticut, waiting his chance to attack the young theologian. Mr. Clap first submitted his documentary evidence, which the scribe read to the council, and then he began his address. Whatever it was, — whether sharp as Breck's lashing words to the Windham divine, or soft and insinuating, — no one at this late day can tell. Mr. Breck was soon on his feet with protestations, and the

moderator was compelled to protect Mr. Clap against interruptions. The latter had spoken for a long time, and there was evidence of commotion in the street below. At one time a minister attempted to enter the chamber, but he was refused, as it was contrary to the stipulations under which the dissatisfied were submitting their evidence. At another time a messenger rode up to Mrs. Brewer's in hot haste. He called for Mr. Clap, and the latter suspended his speech long enough to hold a private conversation. Then the messenger "rode away with convenient speed." In a few moments Mr. Clap's speech was once more interrupted by the entrance of a civil officer, sword at his belt, bearing a warrant for Mr. Breck's arrest. The cloud had burst. The mysterious movements of strangers and judges and ministers and yeomen were explained. The civil law had been invoked to prevent a congregational church ordination, and his Majesty's justices were asked to pass on the theology of a ministerial candidate. Great was the astonishment of the council when they were left with no minister to ordain, but greater the consternation of the people who ran through the streets as Breck was carried a prisoner to the town-house, where Justices Stoddard, Pomeroy, and Dwight sat in waiting. This was the hour of Mr. Clap's triumph. His face is said to have been radiant with satisfaction. The dissatisfied were there in great numbers, as well as the indignant members of the church and the precinct friends of Breck. Indeed, there was danger of an outbreak, but wiser and more dignified counsels prevailed. The petition upon which the warrant was issued had been hastily drawn up and signed that morning, and was as follows:—

*To the Hon^{ble} JOHN STODDARD, E. EBR POMEROY and TIMOTHY DWIGHT Esqrs.
his Majesties Justices of y^e County of Hampsh^r.*

The complaint of us the Subscribers some whereof are of the First Church and others of the First Precinct in Springfield in saide County, shows to your Honours

That are now in this Town assembled a Number of Gentlemen some whereof are known and other some are unknown to us to name. Some of the Principle

heads of those we know, viz: The Rev^d Ministers the Rev^d Wm Cooper, Wm Welstead and Sam^l Mather all of Boston in the County of Suffolk. Clerks. and Wm Cooke of Sudbury in the County of Suffolk. Clerk. Now we say that the said Number of men have set up and do assert the Power of an Ecclesiastical Council in this Town. And whereas Mr. Rob^t Breck has had a Call to the Pastoral office of the Church here, tho as we apprehend not according to Law, and we have Exhibited agt the said Breck Sundry articles of Charge for that in General he has broched and vented many articles of Faith wholly subversive of the most Holy Faith of our Christian Religion. as well as been guilty of moral Immoralities. Now the said number of men having asserted the Power aforesaid do also assert their Power to hear Judge and act upon the said articles. although we say they have no Juridicial Power therein for these Reasons namely for that this Church never at all applied to those churches from whom they Respectively Pretend to be Delegated, Neither secondly can their be any Pretence that those Churches were applied to send in their advice and Council in those articles. but in fact so it is that the sd Mr. Breck has apply'd Personally to them at his own election while this Church did not know that those Churches were apply'd to. So that in fact they are here as they say with a Proper Juridical Power in the Premises and do pretend to assert maintain and exercise the same. Now we say as much as they were applied to in no other manner but as above being Chosen Judges by Mr. Breck himself while we are Deny'd the Liberty of Choosing others to Joyn them therein, is an Invasion of our Natural Rights as men, and it is a Method of Judging which neither the Platform of these Churches nor the Law of this Province or Nation do in the Least Countenance and therefore their Pretences thereto and Exercise of the same is against the Law and Peace of our Sovereigne Lord the King his crown and Dignity. Your Complainants therefore Pray for Justice.

SPRINGFIELD Oct 8th 1735.

JOHN WORTHINGTON
EBR WARRINER
R. HARRIS
O. COOLEY
B. WAIT
D. CADWELL
JOHN CHAPIN
H. CHAPIN
S. BLISS
E. WARNER
JED BLISS
L. BLISS.

It is a curious fact that with the exception of John Worthington and H. Chapin not one of the above men was in full communion with the Springfield church.

A number of the ordination council appeared to defend the pris-



THE READING OF MR. BRECK'S CONFSSION OF FAITH.

oner before the judges, and Mr. Clap was at once put on the witness stand. He was followed by Kirtland and others. That night Breck slept in the custody of the law. The next morning (October 9) the ordination council assembled again in Mistress Brewer's house and attempted to continue its investigation, the whole town being at fever heat and many people being present from the surrounding country. Clap and Kirtland refused to obey the summons of the council, the

latter gentleman saying that his evidence could be obtained from the justices at the town-house.

A curious episode took place before Mistress Brewer's house that morning. A copy of Breck's confession had been secured, and a young man mounted a white horse and proceeded to read it to a large crowd, consisting of both friends and foes of the young minister. The crowd both applauded and showed signs of disapproval. One of the dissatisfied who witnessed the demonstration said afterward: "The old horse stood astonished at what was doing, and if he had had the tongue of Balaam's ass he would have reproved the madness of the prophet."

It may be here remarked that Stephen Williams, of Longmeadow, and Messrs. Hopkins, Reynolds, Bull, and Ashley, with "a person of distinction from Connecticut," had come to Springfield from Northampton with the justices a few days before, and that the first plan had been to arrest the council itself, but two of the justices refused to sign such a warrant. It is also known that on Monday, the 6th, Captain Pynchon, Jr., went to Northampton with the complaint, and the plan to arrest Breck seems to have been decided upon suddenly after the plan to arrest the council failed.

The closing scenes of this drama are soon told. Mr. Breck was ordered by the justices to be taken to Connecticut, where he had preached his heretical sermons, a friend being detailed to accompany him as a mark of distinction, and many of the sorrowing and indignant congregation following their young hero until well out of town. That was a dark and an exciting night for Springfield. Some rejoiced, some feared evil results, and some were bowed in anguish. The next day a public meeting of humiliation and prayer was held. The suspense was not long. The Connecticut judges had no notion of putting chains upon a Massachusetts congregational council. Breck was discharged, and he returned at once. It was the ordination party that now triumphed.

The action of these Hampshire justices was brought up in the

House of Representatives on the 9th of December following, and, after a long debate, the principal parties to the dispute were summoned to Boston on the 24th of the same month, in order that "this House may better Judge what may be proper for them to do in so Extraordinary affair, and for protecting and Defending the Churches in the free and peaceable exercise of those Libertys and priviledges which are secured to them by Law."

On the 26th of December the House declared the council regular, and resolved that "Altho the Justices had Right by Law to Enquire into the Extraordinary Facts charged upon Mr. Breck, yet they ought not by any means to have Interrupted that Church and Ecclesiastical Council while they were in the Exercise of their just Rights Enquiring into the Same." This is a very important decision, and is a stake in the great boundary line between the civil and religious jurisdiction which was subsequently more fully delineated.

We soon find the Springfield church setting January 27, 1736, as the day of Mr. Breck's ordination. Dr. Cooper came on from Boston and preached the ordination sermon. We cannot omit the fact that a few days later Mr. Breck was joined in marriage to Eunice Brewer, Rev. Stephen Williams graciously performing the ceremony. Their engagement probably took place during the dark days when the Hampshire association was trying to drive Breck out of the valley.

At the February meeting of the precinct twenty-three men recorded their protest against the support of Breck, upon the ground that he was not an orthodox minister. They were Wilham Pyncheon, Jr., Robert Harris, John Worthington, Ebenezer Warriner, Benjamin Wait, Ebenezer Warner, Daniel Cadwell, Jedediah Bliss, Samuel Bliss, Henry Chapin, Simon Smith, Increase Sikes, Jr., Abner Ely, Obadiah Cooley, Abel Bliss, Timothy Bliss, Pelatiah Bliss, John Chapin, Luke Bliss, Joseph Ashley, Thomas Horton, David Chapin, and John Chapin, Jr.

The dissatisfied were soon at it again, and subpoenas were sent

to all the Connecticut witnesses to appear at the May term in Springfield. But Mr. Clap and Kirtland had no taste for further fight, and in a joint letter to William Pynchon, Jr., in April, they query whether a second Springfield journey would "not look with the aspect of an unwearied pursuit of a personal controversie." This hint was taken, and we find the dissatisfied on the 18th of November, 1736, taking a receipt from the precinct committee for £6 18s., costs of court ordered at the August session.

The young minister and a congregational principle had received recognition, and Rev. Robert Breck began a ministry which extended through half a century.

It is an irony of events worth mention, that fourteen years later Jonathan Edwards found himself compelled to make a plea against a council of local ministers to investigate the issues between himself and his Northampton church. He was reminded that in the Breck controversy he had taken just the other view, objecting to the presence of foreign ministers: and his reply was that ordination councils and advisory councils were two different things. Mr. Edwards argued that churches were not obliged in every case to "submit to the neighboring ministers and them only." At the famous council of February, 1750, at Northampton, Mr. Edwards returned to the subject by saying, among other things, "Mr. Stoddard & Mr. Williams of Hatfield, formally went, when invited to a council at Norwich in Connecticut and, if I mistake not, to another Council at Lebanon: which surely they would not have done if they had thought the law of God and nature settled such an establishment in vicinities." And we may add, to complete the record of this struggle in church polity, that Mr. Edwards carried his point by securing invitations for ministers from the east to join the council. It sounds quite like fiction, moreover, when we record the fact that Mr. Breck sat in this council, and gave the casting vote which dismissed Edwards from his Northampton church.

Mr. Breck began his ministry under depressing circumstances.

Young as he was, however, he developed the very genius of diplomacy. In any new project of the advancement of the church he was quite inclined first to consult those most hostile to him. It is a great pity that the records are so silent upon the career of this remarkable man. He evidently had a broad, stalwart common sense which kept him from extremes.

Hardly was he under way in his new work when Whitefield appeared in this valley. While no bigot, Mr. Breck proved himself a firm champion of his creed. He had evidently little desire to see his people crying out in hysterical felicitations over an anticipated eternity of bliss. It was remarked along the valley that Mr. Breck rather snubbed young Mr. Whitefield, for the latter was yet under thirty. Mr. Whitefield's journeyings greatly stimulated the wonderful revivals in religion which were breaking over the valley. That Mr. Breck distrusted the effect of special religious revivals may be safely accepted as a fact. In later years one of his congregation openly said that Mr. Breck opposed the "late stir" in religion.

It is of passing interest to note that our contentious friend Rev. Thomas Clap rode with Jonathan Edwards to Boston in 1743, and that afterward Mr. Clap circulated the curious report that Edwards understood Whitefield to say that he had a design of "turning out of their places the greater part of the clergy of New England, and of supplying their pulpits with ministers from England, Scotland and Ireland." Mr. Edwards publicly denied making such a charge, but Mr. Clap reiterated it; and there the matter rests.

The discourtesy charged upon Mr. Breck toward the English Methodist is undoubtedly overdrawn. There is no sufficient reason to doubt the statement made in the accounts of Whitefield's first American journey, that he preached in Springfield in 1740 on his way with Jonathan Edwards from Northampton to East Windsor. If Mr. Breck had refused the use of the meeting-house, and Whitefield had really preached, say, at West Springfield, it seems that the circum-

stance would have been noted in the diary of the journey. Just as Whitefield was leaving the village, on horseback, the animal stumbled on a defective bridge, and threw the brilliant revivalist over the animal's head. Whitefield said afterwards, "My mouth was full of dust. I blew a little, but falling upon soft sand got not much damage. After I had recovered myself and mounted my horse, God so filled me with a sense of his sovereign, distinguishing love and my own unworthiness that my eyes gushed out with tears." His neglect to reflect upon the Springfield surveyors of highways did his forbearing spirit great credit.

We think that Mr. Breck's objection to Mr. Whitefield was of a later growth. Some years afterwards Whitefield returned to America, distinguished, portly, and richly dressed. The picture evidently did not please Mr. Breck. In a Connecticut minister's diary of 1764 is this: "Mr. Whitefield came along: People seemed very fond of gazing on him. He rode in his chariot with a gentleman — had a waiter to attend on him, and Sampson Occum, y^e Indian preacher, who rode on one of the horses, there being three to y^e chariot. Messrs. Breck and Whitney came and dined here. Mr. Breck said he did not know but I was right in asking Mr. Whitefield to preach: however, he believed he would not have done it." Ellen D. Larned, who wrote the History of Windham County, remarks after the above quotation, "If Mr. Breck of Springfield, always inclined to arminianism and heterodoxy, could thus scruple, it may be seen that the cautious pastor (Rev. James Cogswell) did indeed run some risk in extending civilities to the great pulpit orator."

It was about the time of the second visit of Whitefield that Joseph Ashley, a member of the Springfield church, charged Mr. Breck with a refusal to admit into his pulpit Whitefield, Wheelock, and Dewey. The church promptly voted that Ashley had "manifested a censorious and uncharitable Spt towards this Chh and the Pastor of it." This, however, does not prove that Whitefield was actually excluded at the time of his first visit.

These were trying times for the First Church. Mr. Breck went into the pulpit just at the turning of the tide in New England. The waters were broken by cross-currents, and noise and confusion were everywhere. Men's speech was changing. Old English words and phrases with New England meanings were in common use, while other words and phrases were falling into disuse; conversation was more deliberate and cold. The very costuming of the people was peculiar. The Puritan garb was originally of thorough Quaker caste, the difference being that the Puritans regulated it by law, and the Friends made it a matter of duty. The result was that the broad-brim and the Puritan cap were gradually put away, and the three-cornered hat and lace and ruffles were growing in favor. William Pynchon died with a Puritan skull-cap hanging by his bedside, but his son John left a wig, and garments covered with gold lace. John Pynchon's sons wore cocked hats.

The first and second generations of ministers were warm in their devotion to the principles of the Puritan. Whitefield found the third generation quite cold and undemonstrative. He even spoke of many of the New England divines as unconverted. He noticed in the Boston congregations that "jewels, patches, and gay apparel" were commonly worn by the women, while little boys and girls were "dressed up in the pride of life; and the little infants that were brought to baptism were wrapped in such fine things, and so much pains taken to dress them, that one would think that they were brought thither to be initiated into, rather than renounce the pomps and vanities of this wicked world."

There is enough in our records to show that in Springfield the same elements were at work. Arminianism and Calvinism were at logger-heads; poverty and riches were on indifferent terms, and even vice and error were abroad in the fields. The First Church practised the half-way covenant, so that men might be admitted to baptism on the virtues of their grandfathers. Mr. Breck had been ordained but a few weeks, when a peculiar case came before the society. Daniel Par-

sons, Jr., and wife, desired to "own y^e Cov^t in order to have their child baptised. It was objected by some y^t they had a child born w^hin about seven months after marriage w^c being consider'd by y^e chh, and after some time of consideration, It was on the 22nd of August put to vote whether y^e sd Daniel Parsons & wife should be admitted to the Priviledges y^t y^r sought for & pass'd in y^e neg." Daniel Parsons seems to have been a man of some local note. At any rate, in 1738, the town granted him liberty to build a grist-mill and a dam across the Chicopee river. But Mr. and Mrs. Parsons were not content to rest with the refusal of baptism to their child; and on the 18th of November, after much debate, the church, under pressure, laid down the rule: "That every p^rson having a child seven months after marriage w^hout any other proof or Demonstration of y^r guilt, shall be call'd upon and treated as Innocent p^rsons." This was simply a recognition of the old custom of "troth-plight" or "hand-fast," which was practised in England to the Puritan era. In the "Christian State of Matrimony," published in 1543, is this passage: "Every man lykewyse must esteme the parson to whom he is hand-fasted, none otherwyse than for his owne sponse, though as yet it be not done in the church ner in the streate. After the hand-fastynge and makynge of the contracte, the churchgoyng and weddyng should not be defferred too longe, lest the wyckedde sowe hys ungracious sede in the meane season."

The First Parish, in the early part of Mr. Breck's ministry, put a liberal construction upon the rule requiring a declaration of conviction of sin on the part of candidates for church-membership. It was formally voted that it "did not look upon y^e Making a Relation to be a necessary term of Comunion."

It appears that Widow Abigail Parsons, who wanted to join the church in full communion, was troubled in her mind about the usual way of making a "relation" of her religious experiences, and had desired to be excused from it. The Springfield church had certainly gone as far as the most liberal Congregationalist could have desired.

It had admitted to the half-way covenant persons who entered into the Abrahamic covenant by virtue of the "relation" of their grandfathers, and it had now admitted persons without any public "relation." We cannot see from any evidence extant that the visit of Whitefield, the wonderful revivals of religion at Northampton, Hatfield, Longmeadow, and so on down the valley, with its protracted meetings, its crying out of convicted souls, its falling in fits upon the floor, etc., had any effect upon the Springfield church. There is no evidence of a Springfield revival at this time. The most remarkable revival of the country, and one whose fame had penetrated England and Scotland, — the Northampton revival of 1735, — made no impression whatever upon Springfield. We do not see that Mr. Breck ever drew up a new covenant of reformation, as Stephen Williams, of Longmeadow, Jonathan Edwards, and others did. But we know that the church prospered and morals improved. When Breck took the church, there were less than seventy members in the church. During Breck's first year — and it should be remembered that half of this time the dissatisfied were still fighting him in court and precinct meetings — there were no less than twenty-five admissions to full communion, while twenty-five more "owned the covenant." This was a notable ingathering. These admissions, be it remembered, were recorded before the rule adopted by the church abolishing a relation of experiences. When we consider the history and principles of the Congregational church, it must be admitted that the throwing open the door of the communion to all honest persons, upon the belief that it was a converting ordinance, and the waiving of the relation of experiences, were perilous steps for the Springfield church to take.

In dealing with Springfield, we are, in a large sense, writing the history of a hundred plantations. Townships were growing out of the gardens planted by the churches, and in these townships was the spirit of democracy. The American Declaration of Independence was really written early in the eighteenth century, when out of a dismal religious reaction, and a healthy counter revival, and a hundred con-

fusing things, political and social, came a common faith in self-government. One can find ground high enough in Springfield during the first quarter of the eighteenth century to look straight into the revolutionary war.

But it would be uncandid to neglect to say that many in Springfield in Breck's time deplored the liberality he encouraged. It probably soon drove some from the parish. And we have at least one. Joseph Ashley, who absented himself permanently from divine service. When the church demanded his reasons, he replied that he "look'd upon the Chh as no chh of Christ, and the g'ter Part of the members of it to be carnal — Being ask'd the reasons of his entertaining such concerning the chh, He said that most of the Discourse of most of the members was upon worldly matters, and that he apprehended such Discourse was mostly delightfull to them. And further he objected against the manner of admission of members practic'd in this Chh, because they did not require a pticular acc^t of their Experiences, but accepted of a Profession of dedicating themselves to God, and a Life and Conversation corresponding thereto." The church lost no time in voting that Ashley had left its communion for reasons which had not been substantiated.

The increase of church-membership that attended Mr. Breck's ministry was remarkable beyond the fact that the church seems to have avoided special religious excitement. The congregation gathering on Springfield Mountains drew heavily from the First Parish, more being dismissed to Springfield Mountains than any place else for some years.

When we say that not a third of the Springfield inhabitants were full communicants, we do not say that the churches were empty on the Sabbath. Everybody went to church, as a rule, and the meetings on lecture days were largely attended, and at night, when the nine-o'clock bell sounded, the village-folk prepared for bed. The routine of their daily life was indeed correct, but the spirit of the pioneers had gone, and the new life dawning upon the people was destined to

be as pure, and at the same time unburdened by coercive political machinery.

Chicopee had nearly forty voters in 1749, and entered a petition for a separate minister in January. The petition was dismissed. In the autumn the Chicopee people again agitated the question, and the First Parish committee appointed for that purpose replied : —

Its very Evident by their (Chicopee's) Shewing that their Accommodations which they have obtained by being so farr off from the Center of the Parish is more than a Compensation for their Fateagues on the Sabbath. for it is a very plain case that if the rideing on Horse Back on a Plain six miles in half a Day is more than Equall to half a Day's labour, the Petitioners upon the whole Live with much more Ease & Less Fateague than those who live in the Center of the Parish; who besides the Fateague they have in managing their business at a Distance all the week, are obliged to build & maintain Three Large vessels to Transport the Produce of their Lands to y^r stores.

But Chicopee persisted, and a church was organized at the north end.

The First Parish began their third meeting-house in 1749, and completed it three years later. It was sixty feet by forty-six in size, and stood until the present edifice was erected.

We are inclined to think that the democratic bias of Mr. Breck's mind prepared the Springfield community for many of the changes attending the new era. It was noted during the second year of his ministry that "the age of Persons and their Estates as they stand upon the list (Negroes Excepted) are the Principal Rule that said Comete (seating committee) are to be governed by their proceedings and any other Dignity that any Parsons may be clothed or attended withall shall be Left DiscreSSIONARY with sd Committee." The men were still seated upon one side of the house, and the women on the other. But the new building inaugurated a commendable change; a vote being passed, before the meeting-house was finished, directing the seating committee to "seat men and women indiscriminately."

Neither the money for a new church nor for the support of Mr. Breck was voted in town-meeting, this business, as we have before indicated, being attended to by the inhabitants of each precinct. The moment that the town broke up into precincts and parishes, the town-meeting *en bloc* surrendered certain functions. At the precinct meetings the schools and sundry local matters were attended to, a part of the school money being appropriated to each precinct by the general town-meeting. At the parish meetings the members were admitted or disciplined, but at the meeting of the "inhabitants of the precinct and parish" the finance and other business of church was transacted.

There was a flourishing grammar school in the centre of the village, and there were schools also at West Springfield, Longmeadow, Upper Chicopee, Lower Chicopee, Agawam, Feeding Hills, Ireland, Skipmuck, the Mountain Parish (Wilbraham), Upper Causeway (Centre), Long Hill, Pawcatuck, and Taltum. The various parishes or precincts were from time to time directed by the town-meeting to do certain town work. This probably is the explanation why the First Parish continued to support a fire brigade until the beginning of the present century. It may have started very much as the school duties imposed by the town on the parishes. Witness this in May, 1741: "Voted that the committee of the first parish in Springfield be Desired to Provide School Master or Masters or School Dame or Dames for English Schooling in s^d Parish as shall be needful for that End Takeing the advice & approbation of the Selectmen therein at the Charge of the Town not Exceeding five months." We take it that the income from the school lands was received by the town, and certainly at this time the ministry lands were still managed by the town, but in a way that the precinct would agree to. Thus it was voted in town-meeting in 1749 that "David Chapin be a Committee to take care of the Ministry land in the outward commons in s^d Town, and consult the Several Ministers in s^d Town Respecting the same." A £70 brick school-house was ordered by the town in 1745, twenty-one by eighteen feet in size.

It is curious that at this time the vote for the poor was quite equal to the regular appropriation for schools, which may possibly be accounted for by the war then in progress with the French and Indians.

Here follows a list of members of the First Parish who lost their lives at Louisburg: Lieut. John Munn, Jonathan Warriner, Israel Warner, Abner Hancock, John Ashley, Pelatiah Jones, John Crowfoot, Gideon Warriner, Benjamin Knowlton, Jr., Samuel Chapin, Jr., Asabel Chapin, Ebenezer Warner, Ebenezer Thomas, Reuben Hitchcock, Joseph Mears, George Mygate, and Reuben Dorchester.

The capture of Fort Massachusetts (Adams, Berkshire county) by the French and Indians in 1746, and another bloody Indian attack upon Deerfield, renewed the fears of the people of the valley. Two years later a fight on the New Hampshire border is of more immediate interest to Springfield. In 1748 Capt. Humphrey Hobbs, of Springfield, and Lieutenant Alexander, of Northfield, left Fort Charlestown for the fort in Heath. They had many Springfield soldiers with them, and were attacked while at dinner by Sackett, a half-breed, descended of a Westfield captive, it is supposed, and three hundred savages. It was a four hours' sharp-shooting affray behind trees, during which Hobbs and Sackett, who were old acquaintances, interchanged dreadful threats and commands for surrender. Hobbs finally charged and won easily.

In 1755, when the Hampshire regiment under Col. Ephraim Williams accompanied the expedition to Crown Point, there was another season of anxiety. Lieut. Nathaniel Burt, who accompanied Williams, fell with that hero (the virtual founder of Williams College), September 8, 1755. Burt served in Capt. Luke Hitchcock's company. It may be interesting to give Burt's outfit at the time of his death: A great-coat, a camlet scarlet double-breasted jack-coat, a German serge waist-coat, a striped Holland shirt, a pair of leather breeches, a felt hat, brass shoe-buckles, a hatchet, etc.

The French and the Indians assaulted the northern settlements of the Connecticut valley in 1756. Fear of the victorious Montcalm drove

Governor Pownall in 1757 to mass a large force of cavalry and infantry at Springfield to check his advance from Lake George. But the move was unnecessary, and in 1760 Canada became a British province.

There are a multitude of smaller matters that one might linger over with curious but time-consuming interest. We find the town directing (1739) William Pynchon to oppose the Brookfield petition before the General Court for liberty to make a "Passageway through severall Barrs in Chiccuppi River for Shad to Pass;" we find orders for three or more "good Handsome Hew'd stones to be placed before the front door of the town-house;" for the selectmen to lease out (1737) all town lands "together with the Land and Burying yard at the Middle of the Town for the term of five years to the best advantage;" for a workhouse (1742) on the prison lot, and for the payment of all appropriations in "old Tener bills."

Agawam was granted its desire to be set off as a separate district in 1754. The Governor of Massachusetts had been warned by the king in 1753 against the multiplication of towns with representatives in General Court, and so the expedient of setting up districts unrepresented was resorted to. These districts became towns by an act passed in 1777. During the year 1753 a proposition to bridge the Agawam river by a lottery scheme had been voted down. The total town expenses in 1746 were £600, which showed how Springfield was growing, as the church expenses were not included in the general tax. In 1741 rewards were offered for the destruction of the following pests: Woodchucks or ground raccoons, 9*d.*; old blackbirds, 2*d.*; young blackbirds, 1*d.*; crows, 6*d.*; blackbirds' eggs, per doz., 4*d.*

The selectmen of 1737 were William Pynchon, Capt. John Day, John Burt, Luke Hitchcock, Jr., and Thomas Colton. Ten years later the officers were: Moderator, Capt. Thomas Stebbins; clerk and treasurer, Edward Pynchon; selectmen, James Warriner, Francis Ball, William Stebbins, Joseph Pynchon, Luke Hitchcock, Jr., Ebenezer Hitchcock, Jonathan Church. At the end of still another

decade (1757) we find Josiah Dwight being called to the moderatorship, and figuring as one of the foremost citizens.

We have to record the death, in 1741, of Col. William Pynchon, justice of the Court of Common Pleas. His wife was Katharine Brewer, daughter of Rev. Daniel Brewer and sister of Eunice Brewer, who had become the wife of Rev. Robert Breck. Other deaths were Col. John Pynchon, clerk of courts, in 1742; Dea. Henry Burt, in 1748; and of Dea. Nathaniel Church, in 1761. Colonel Pynchon's wife was the daughter of Rev. Mr. Taylor, of Westfield.

CHAPTER XIII.

1761-1783.

Col. John Worthington. — Josiah Dwight. — Benjamin Day. — Prominent Doctors. — The Small-pox. — Hanging of Shaw. — The Wait Monument. — Parish Matters. — Jedediah Bliss. — Springfield Mountains. — Stony Hill. — West Springfield attempts to rule the Town. — Is set off as a Separate Town. — John Worthington's Tory Sentiment. — Other Springfield Tories. — Town Officers for 1775. — Lexington. — Springfield Minute-Men. — Letter from a Springfield Soldier. — Revolutionary Soldiers from Springfield. — Moses Bliss. — The Pyncheon Family again. — Town Acts and Resolves. — The March to Ticonderoga. — More Revolutionary Soldiers. — The State Constitution. — John Worthington in Growing Favor. — Financial Distress. — Depreciation of Currency. — An Inter-State Convention at Springfield. — Fluctuations in Values. — Warrants of Distress.

THE period opens with John Worthington and Josiah Dwight in the General Court, and Worthington, Capt. Ebenezer Hitchcock. Maj. Benjamin Day, Aaron Colton, and Edward Pyncheon, selectmen of the town. Major Day was the most prominent man on the west side of the river.

Before the Revolution Phineas Lyman, of Suffield, was the brightest light of the Hampshire bar so long as he remained a practitioner here. But his name comes down to us as the law instructor of two notable men, — Joseph Hawley, of Northampton, the Otis of western Massachusetts, and Col. John Worthington, of Springfield. These two attorneys rose to be about equal sharers of the law practice of the county. One was conscientious, slow, profound; the other lighter in temperament and quicker in mental processes, but by no means equal to that kind of agility of thought that can surrender the traditions of the fathers when the opportunity for a righteous revolution offers itself. Worthington was a good deal of a social

light, withal, and tory to the core. Hawley was much better equipped to put his stalwart shoulder to the wheel of democracy that was destined to be rolled across the century.

Among Worthington's co-practitioners in Springfield was one Cornelius Jones, who had risen from a tailor's bench; also Moses Bliss and Jonathan Bliss. Colonel Worthington received his military title by his command of the western Hampshire regiment of militia. He figures on a committee of the Legislature which recommended a congress at New York in October, 1765, which promulgated the "Declaration of Rights and Grievances." It is pretty evident that he did not dominate the committee, for he declined to attend that congress as delegate. Colonel Worthington was not alone in this devotion to the law and the government of Great Britain; some of the best men in the village, socially considered, shrank from the ordeal of a conflict with the mother-country, even upon so vital a point as taxation without representation.

The medical profession, as well as the legal, was well represented at Springfield at this period, among the doctors being Charles Pynchon, Edward Chapin, John Vanhorn, and Timothy Cooper. The necessity of garrison soldiers, no doubt, was a means of spreading disease, and the records show that deaths from small-pox became frequent in 1758, and appropriations as high as £150, for stricken soldiers alone, were made by the town. The question of inoculation gave rise to spirited debates, and a motion for an inoculation hospital was voted down, and the practice prohibited "in any manner or shape whatever." To avoid misunderstanding the selectmen were expressly directed to desire "Doe Pynchon to Desist from Innoculating any Person or persons in this Town." A pest-house was, however, built, and Dr. John Dickinson, who had been summoned from Middletown, Conn., seems to have had the burden of the medical care; but his bill — over £100 — was contested, and he was compelled to collect it by due process of law.

Springfield witnessed a hanging in November, 1770, when Shaw

suffered death for the killing of Earl, a fellow-prisoner. People came from all parts of the county, and, before his taking off, Rev. Mr. Baldwin, of Palmer, preached a sermon, and Rev. Robert Breck offered a prayer.

The Wait monument, on Armory hill, one of Springfield's cherished landmarks, belongs to this early period. It now stands some twenty feet east of its original site, and was erected in 1763, by Joseph Wait, of Brookfield, to mark the road to Boston, he presumably having lost his way. Tradition says that he nearly lost his life in a snow-storm, having by mistake taken the Skipinuck road. Joseph Wait, it may be added, was a descendant of Richard Wayte, of Watertown, who was the ancestor of the late Chief Justice Waite of the United States Supreme Court.

The incorporation of the common lands was causing some trouble. In 1772 the outer commons committee reported in reference to the "several pretended Grants & Divisions" of land made since 1713 by those calling themselves proprietors, that they were "arbitrary, illegal & unjust & in Regard to their power of Disposing of e'm was altogether illegal." The town, however, in order to save trouble, confirmed all these grants except where roads were required, as well as stone quarries and river-banks containing stone. The same year John Worthington headed a committee to consider the "doings & proceedings of the proprietors of the Inward Commons." The same meeting refused to surrender to the proprietors the right to cut timber in the outward commons of Springfield and Wilbraham. The town annually appointed a special committee to protect the town's interests in the common lands.

In 1771 Thomas Stebbins headed a committee to build a new brick school-house in the first parish; cost, £117. That year, also, the selectmen, consisting of Col. John Worthington, Edward Pynchon, Maj. Benjamin Day, Nathaniel Ely, Jr., John Leonard, Moses Bliss, and Daniel Harris, stood up and "took the oath Respecting Bills of the neighbouring Governments."

The course of the First Parish was for many years unbroken by any theological combat, and the ministry, begun in unseemly contention, progressed in almost prosaic prosperity. The nearest approach to trouble was an episode of the year 1766. It was at the close of March. The congregation were joining in the usual hymn, when Jedediah Bliss, a tanner, began reading aloud, to the great scandal of the whole church. After the service Edward Pynchon held a long conference with Mr. Bliss, and attempted to disabuse his mind of sundry vicious and irreverend notions. Bliss was an eccentric man, and honest, but lacking in judgment, and rather coarse-fibred withal. He was familiarly known as "Jeddy Bliss." Any man or woman who was a "leetle queer" was locally characterized as "Jeddy." Edward Pynchon, a brother of Dr. Charles Pynchon, with all the prestige of family, official prominence, and Christian character, could make no lasting impression upon Jedediah Bliss; and two other members of the congregation were brought in, but with no better success. Accordingly Mr. Bliss was debarred from Christian privileges "till gospel satisfaction is made for s^d offense." Some months later (Sept., 1767), Mr. Bliss told the people gathered at lecture that he would like to make a confession of his offence of disturbing public worship by reading during the singing; but it was promptly voted to adhere "to the antient Practice of receiving confessions of Publick offences only before the Congregation." A year later Mr. Bliss carried his point so far as to secure an agreement that Mr. Breck should read his confession to the congregation, and so the wanderer was "restored to charity."

In 1762 the petition of the Fourth Parish for a township was first denied, then re-considered, and re-denied with some feeling. In less than a year Worthington and Dwight were commissioned to oppose the petition of Hardwick, Greenwich, and other towns for a new county out of eastern Hampshire. In this year, however, little Wilbraham obtained its incorporation in spite of the Centre; and it may be said, by way of bringing the thread of that history down to this

period, that the "Outward Commons" were settled about 1731, and were known also as "Springfield Mountains," which, in 1741, became the Fourth Parish, or precinct, and in June, 1763, joined the family of Massachusetts towns, although, technically, it was simply a district under Springfield's wing for some years. This was due, as we have explained, to the royal jealousy at the multiplication of townships. In 1767 Springfield and the district of Wilbraham met and chose John Worthington as their common representative to the General Court. In 1770 the Stony Hill people (Ludlow) applied for the privilege of a district; but Springfield, as usual, opposed this. A more favorable answer was received in 1771, and in 1774 Ludlow was duly incorporated by the Legislature, under circumstances soon to be related.

Then there was Longmeadow, which wanted more than precinct prerogatives, and on March 17, 1772, Springfield granted the request, and undertook in vain to reconsider the vote. A subsequent town-meeting reversed the action, and the date of its incorporation is 1783.

West Springfield was the favorite child of Springfield, and, as usual in such cases, the one that caused the most trouble in the family. It is evident that, even at that early day, there was in the breasts of the west-siders a feeling of paramount local importance, although they had secured a separate minister, by expressly disavowing any ambition for township. They gathered in town-meeting in 1770 in full force, and came within a few votes of carrying a motion to hold half of the town-meetings on the west side (except the annual May meeting), and the next year they tried to have the grammar school transferred there for one year. There was an untoward feeling afloat. The Centre was resolved to hold to its possessions, especially as the "great and general field" was on the west side; but the inhabitants of the "Twenty-rod Road" were equally resolved upon ruling the town. The inconvenience of crossing the great river for town-meetings, grammar school, etc., was of course a great drawback to the west side.

Matters had now (1773) come to such a pass that the west-siders were determined to have their own way, or go their own way. The usual course had been for the town-meeting to organize with Colonel Worthington as moderator, and to appoint Edward Pynchon clerk and treasurer, and then to put both on the board of selectmen. The March meeting of 1773 challenged all the elements of discord into activity. After Colonel Worthington had been made moderator, Benjamin Day, clerk, and Edward Pynchon, treasurer, great excitement prevailed, the election of Day showing that the revolt was formidable. The victory was made complete by a motion to adjourn for two days, and to reassemble at the meeting-house in West Springfield. There the town-meeting was actually held. Imagine the feelings of mortification and exasperation in the bosoms of the aristocratic Blisses, Worthingtons, Brewers, Stebbinses, and Pynchons, as they crossed the river to attend a Springfield town-meeting in the comparative wilderness of the west side! The old board of selectmen (1772) were: Col. John Worthington, Edward Pynchon, Dea. Nathaniel Ely, Dea. John Leonard, Dea. Daniel Harris, Dea. Jonathan White, and Moses Bliss. Moses Bliss, the son of our Jedediah Bliss, was at this time becoming a prominent person. He was destined to become the ancestor of three George Blisses, — son, grandson, and great-grandson, — whose careers are interwoven in our local annals.

The first move of what may be called the new party (because the revolt was not confined to West Springfield, but was favored by some at the Centre) was to make up a list of nine selectmen. Pynchon, Harris, and Bliss were stricken from the old board, and Col. Benjamin Day, Dr. Charles Pynchon, Lieut. Benjamin Leonard, Aaron Colton, and Benjamin Ely were chosen to fill out the list. Whereupon the astute moderator, Colonel Worthington, declined to serve as selectman, and John Hale was promptly put in his place. Thus was the flower of the Centre plucked and rudely dragged, so to speak, through the streets of West Springfield! The friends of Worthington at

once began to obstruct the proceedings and to call for the polling of the house upon every motion, and it was agreed to suspend the election of town officers for five days (March 30, 1773), pending a conference as to what should be done in the emergency. The next meeting was in the court-house on the east side; but that temple of justice had no better effect upon the spirits of men, and still again the meeting adjourned for one day in ill-temper to the West Springfield side. A remarkable scene followed. A prominent man, presumably Colonel Worthington, as he was chairman of a conference committee chosen to consider the deplorable state of the town, read the following report:—

That the said town is in a most Unhappy & Melancholy state that considering the situation & Circumstances of the town & the Inclinations and tempers of the Inhabitants there is no prospect they Can Longer Manage their public Affairs to Mutual & General advantage in one intire corporate Body but that it is quite necessary that there should be some Division thereof,

That no mode or terms of Division can be devised which the Generality of the Inhabitants in the several parts of the town would accede to and acquiesse in.

That it is Consequently Absolutely Necessary for the Peace and Happiness of the whole that the Mode & terms of their Divition should be referr'd and submitted to the Determination of Judicious & Disinterested persons from abroad.

The report contained other peace-fostering recommendations, and seems to have been unanimously adopted. A better feeling existed, as appears from the adjournment to the Springfield court-house two days later, when the work of electing town officers proceeded smoothly. The arbitrators contemplated in the report of the conference above quoted were William Williams, Erastus Wolcott, and Joseph Root. This committee made an elaborate report, which was submitted to a special town-meeting held in May. The board of arbitrators took occasion to say that they considered it "a Great Unhappiness that the most Antiant and Respectable town in the County of Hampshire, the wise and peaceable Conduct of whose

public affairs has ever to this Day Done much Honour to the Inhabitants and established a just Veneration for their leading men should by Means only of the supposed or Real Indiscretion and Mistakes of a few persons be Reduced to the necessity of a Division." The committee then proceeded to make a separation more difficult by deciding that while the Connecticut river should be the dividing line, the lands on the west side in the "Great and General Field" should be taxed in the town where the owners thereof live; that the public buildings should belong to the town in which they fell by the division; that no other division should be made, but if, on further consideration, the new arrangement did not prove satisfactory, that the Third and Fifth Parishes should be erected into districts.

This report was rejected with great alacrity, and the kettle simmered until November 2, when the west side made a vain attempt to get the grammar school transferred over the river for the winter. Motions to hold the town-meetings on the west side, and to set up Longmeadow as a district, were also voted down. At the January town-meeting (1774) the new party put through a motion giving the west parish a share of the town-meetings. A committee, headed by Benjamin Day, was chosen to explain to the General Court the nature of the several petitions praying for divisions of the town. The Third Parish was voted a district, and the meeting adjourned for three days to the west side. We will let the records tell the rest of the narrative: —

At a Lawfull town Meeting of the Inhabitance of the town of Springfield Jan^r the 20: 1774 holden by Adjournment from the 17 of sd Jan^r to Recive the Report of their Comittee —

Voted to Accept the Report of the Committee appointed to Draw up Instructions for the Agents and that they prefer to the General Court the answer of the town to the several petitions praying for a Division thereof which is as followeth —

We the Subscribers being appointed by the town of Springfeild a Committee to Draw up Instructions for the Agents to prefer to the General Court relating

to several Petitions for the Division of the town beg leave to Report as follows, viz —

To Cor^d Benj^a Day, Left Benj^a Leonard & Deaⁿ Nath^l Ely —

Gentlemen you being Chosen by the town as Agents to make answer in the General Court to several petitions now Depending there praying for a Devision of said town — we Do Desire you to Use your Influence with the Representatives of said town to prevent by all proper ways and means in their Power any General Devision thereof and that you make Use of Counsel to assist you therein as you shall think necessary and that you offer such Reasons against any General Division thereof as you shall think proper and Reasonable also that you prefer the following to the Great & General Court as an answer to the petitions now Depending therein praying for a Division of said town.

SPRINGFIELD. Jan^r 20 : 1774

JOHN HALE
JOHTH WHITE
BENJ^A ELY
JUSTIN ELY

Province of Massachusetts Bay

To his Excellency thomas Hutchinson Esq^r Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over his Majesty Province of Massachusetts Bay : the Honorable his Majesty Council and House of Representatives in General Court Assembled at Boston on the 26 Day of January, 1774 —

May it Please your Excellency & Honours — the town of Springfield have been Notified and cited to Shew Cause if Any they have why the Petitions of the first Parish and also the Petition of part of the 3d and 4 Parishes and also the Petition of a place called Stonny Hill in said Springfield now Depending in the General Court praying for a Division of Said town should not be Granted the town suppose no general Division thereof at Present either necessary or Eligable but that if any Particular part thereof are Dissatisfied with there connections with the Main Body it is but Reasonable they should Petition to be made a District Corporation but as the Petitioners have Alledged a Number of Facts in their Petition which we think have a tendency to give your Excellency & Hon^{rs} a Misunderstanding of the State of this town we Must beg leave to make some few Remarks thereon. The Difficulties that have Arisen in the town have been too notorious to be wholly Concealed and we hartily wish we Could say that any Particular Parish had not been the Occasion thereof. A Particular Detail of facts might be made but we Choose a Veil of Oblivion should be drawn over them

Excepting so far as may be necessary to set the Conduct of the Rest of the town in a faire Light.

A Number of Circumstances Concurred Last March to bring the town Generally together at their annual town meeting for the Choice of Town officers &c in which the Town Chose to make some alteration in their officers which was so Disagreeable to several Parsons in the first Parish that they endeavored in an Unpresented manner to Obstruct and hinder the Business of the Meeting by a sufficient Number appearing to Object to almost every Vote when it was indisputable to every Body present and this not onely in Matters of Importance but also in the Choice of the Most Inconsiderable officers whereby the List of the Voters was obliged to be called which Necessarily took up some Houres and this was Followed about three Days & a half with the Express and Avowed Design to git the town to send to the general Court for a Committee to Divide the same a Measure then and ever sence very Disagreeable to much the greatest part of sd town and this was continued untill the within a few Hours of Extent of time allowed by Law to Make Choice of Town officers whereby many considered themselves under a Necessity of Complying to have a Committee. The Petitioners are very much mistaken in their Representation of a Report made by a Committee of the town that an Application to the general Court for a Committee to Divide the same was the Only Expedient to Restore Peace and Prevent Discord and Confusion for we are Informed by a Number of said Committee that no such Report was made or agreed to by the Major part of them and we are Certain there is no such Article in their Report as Enter^d on the town Record, but their Report was to Choose a Committee in the Neighboring towns &c.

The town had always avoided applying to the General Court because they would be Left at Liberty about excepting a report of any Committee about a Division of the town as they should think eligable or not—and the charge of Insincerity is utterly groundless and without Foundation and only mentioned as we Conceive with the Designe of Representing the town in an Unfavourable Light to your Excellency and Honours. The Petitioners alledge a Vote of the town that a Division thereof was necessary &c but it should be Remembered that there had been Application before that time by Stony Hill so called and Long Meadow to be made seperate towns or Districts and they had obtained the towns Consent thereto these people might vote in that manner from their own particular Circumstances others from the Necessity they was then Under as before referred to. But when the Report was made the town Could not Consent to it, and the following with others not Mentioned might be their Reasons for Rejecting it (viz) no allowance was thereby made to the western town which was to be erected for any

Moneys they had Expended for Public Buildings in the first Parish, no Care was thereby taken of Money Particularly as to the £200 Voted for a bridge across Chicuepee River if not expended for that purposs — by said Report Connecticut River was to be the Dividing Line — and yit no Dividing Line was to be fixed: Stony Hill were to receive their Share of the Town Stock and have no Part of the Poor; the Jurisdiction of the Meadow Land, was to be left vague precarious and fluctiating which might be the Occasion of Great Disputes and Contentions and perhaps prove the Utter Ruin of the western Town these with others probably were the Reasons of the Towns Rejecting the Report. We think there will be no future Occasion of Discord or Confusion in this town if but a few Individuals in it can content themselves with a reasonable proportion of the towns Privileges &c.

As to the Petitions of part of the third and fourth Parishes we would observe that the Petitioners are but a very inconsiderable part of two Large Parishes and the much greatest part of Each of those Parishes are very far from being in Sentiment with them as to the Matter of their Petition — the Inhabitants of Stonny Hill have heretofore applied and received the Consent of this Town for being made a separate Town or District and we think there Local Circumstances are such that they can receive very little if any Benefit from their present Connections with us Either as to town or Parishial Privileges — but as the greatest Part of them have within a few years moved into this town from the neighboring towns we cannot think it Reasonable they should have their Proportion of the Town Stock of Money without being Chargeable with Part of the support of the Poor of the town.

We therefore pray your Excellency and Honours that the prayer of the Petitioners may be dismissed.

The General Court promptly incorporated West Springfield and “Stonny Hill,” or Ludlow, as separate towns. It has been wondered why a township was thrust upon West Springfield. The above account explains it. The west-siders, by the aid of a few from the outlying districts, began a movement to transfer the “seat of government” to their side of the river. The Centre tried obstruction for a time, and then appealed to the Legislature, which lopped off two limbs of the ancient town, and peace was restored.

We are now confronted with a matter that subdued all local rivalries, and filled the bosoms of the inhabitants and freeholders of this

town and all American towns with deep and conflicting emotions. The first evidence of the spirit of independence in this town came to the surface in 1774. Colonel Worthington took his old seat as moderator of the town-meeting in March. He, with Moses Bliss, John Hale, Ensign Phineas Chapin, Dea. Daniel Harris, were chosen selectmen. Worthington and John Bliss were in the General Court that year. Alarming letters from Boston were read in open town-meeting concerning public affairs and the aggressions of England. The citizens of Boston had a few days before passed its famous non-importation and non-consumption resolutions, and Massachusetts was thrown into a state of the wildest excitement. Springfield town-meeting, on the 12th of July, 1774, listened to the following resolves drawn up by a committee consisting of Dea. Nathaniel Brewer, Capt. George Pynchon, Dr. Charles Pynchon, Capt. Simon Colton, Moses Field, Jonathan Hale, Jr., Ensign Phineas Chapin, James Sykes, and Dea. Daniel Harris

This Town taking into Serious & Deliberate Consideration the present Dangerous Scituation of this Province came into the following Votes viz^t (1st) That by the Royal Charter of King William & Queen Mary; which we have Possessed for near a Century and which has from time to time been Recognized both by Kings & Parliament, we are Intitled to, and ought forever to Enjoy all the Liberties & Immunities of any of his Majesty's Subjects within any of his Dominions; Some of the most essential of which are that they Shall not be Taxed, but with their own Consent, given in Person or by their Representatives, not Disseized of their property, or Condemned to any Penalties, but by Judgement of good & Lawfull men of the Vicinage.

2ly. That the Charters of the Collonies ought to be held Sacred and every Infraction upon them, carefully avoided, as tending to Interrupt that Harmony between the Collonies and the Parent State, which is so essential to the Hapiness of both.

3dly. That Tho^h great Defference & Respect is due to the wisdom of the British Parliamept yet we can't Consider Our Selves as Enjoying the Liberties and Immunities of Natural freeborn Subjects of the King, if we are lyable to be Taxed without Representation or to be disseived of our property; or any way punished without the Judgement of our Peers. Nor do we apprehend that

we have so much as a Virtual representation in a Legislature, which is not itself Subject to those Laws which it imposes upon us.

4thly. That the late Boston port act which inflicts a most Severe Punishment upon that Town (and in its operation upon almost the whole Continent) for destruction made of the Property of some British Merchants, by persons unknown: and that before any demand of Compensation was made, or any Citation Sent to the Town to answer for itself: is a Step that ought to alarm us and fill us with deep Concern.

5thly. That the proposed new System of Government. Virtually annihilating our most Essential Charter Rights, added to the Boston Port act, gives us Such apprehensions of the designs of administration against our Liberties, as we have never before allowed ourselves to Entertain.

6ly. Impressed with Just Concern for our privileges and at the Same time Governed by Sentiments of Loyalty to our Sovereign and with warm affection for our Mother Country, we ardently wish that all the Collony's and every Individual in them, may unite in Some prudent peaceable Constitutional measures, for the Redress of our Grievances the Security of our Liberties, and the Restoration of union and mutual Confidence between Great Brittain and her Collonies.

7ly. That it is the unquestionable Right, so we esteem it the Indispensable duty of the several Collonies, in this day, to Correspond together, and act in Consert: and we wait with Patience for the result of the approaching Continental Congress. Hoping that Influenced by Wisdom from above they will Recommend those measures which Shall be both inoffensive in their Nature & Salutary in their Tendency. And as it appears to us that a discontinuance of Trade & Commerce with Great Brittain might Serve the Interest of the Country in divers Respects; So Should any well digested prudently regulated & practible plan for this end be proposed, we Shall readily accede to it & afford our aid for the Relief of those, who may thereby be deprived of y^r means of Substance, as well as Contribute to the Succour of our Bretheren already Suffering in their Countries Cause.

8ly. In the meantime we think it our duty to Express our Utter abhorrence of all Such Resolves & measures as are unnecessarily affrontive to the British parliament, and carry an air of Insult upon that Respectable Body, as well as of all Tumults and riots among ourselves, Insults upon mens persons & Invations of their properties. We are Unanimously resolved to discontinue every thing of this kind & to yield & promote due obedience to his majesty's Government in this Province, To treat his majestys Representative, with all due Respect, To aid

Inferior Magistrates in the Regular Constitutional Execution of the good Laws we are under and to Support as far as we are able their Just Influence in their Respective offices and we hope those Gentlemen Unbiased by personal Interest and greatly remembering that the favour of the People first raised them to View and Recommended them to the Honnors they Sustain; will readily unite with us in all reasonable and Constitutional means of Redress. And tho we will injure no man in his person or property for diversity of opinion, Yet we Shall not think our Selves bound to Continue our favours to any Gentleman, who lost to the Sentiments of Gratitude & Humanity can coolly Sacrifice his Countrys liberties to his own private Emolument.

The meeting was a full one, and the resolves were passed by a large majority and at once forwarded to Boston.

On the 20th of September a county congress was recommended, and the following gentlemen were chosen delegates in that event: Dr. Charles Pynchon, Luke Bliss, and Jonathan Hale, Jr. The committee of correspondence was directed to suggest to the towns that the congress meet at Northampton. Steps were also taken to aid in the relief of the poor in Boston. The committee of correspondence was: Dr. Charles Pynchon, William Pynchon, Jr., James Sikes, Dea. Nathaniel Brewer, and John Hale. There was further evidence of revolutionary spirit on September 29, when Dr. Charles Pynchon of this town and John Bliss of Wilbraham were selected as representatives of the General Court appointed to meet at Salem October 5, and Capt. George Pynchon and Jonathan Hale, Jr., were chosen delegates to the Provincial Congress October 2.

It may be well asked what had become of the famous John Worthington? Was he making the town-house vocal with his appeals for the American colonies, as was his brother in the law, Joseph Hawley, of Northampton? Did he lend his voice to the resolutions sent to Boston? Alas! John Worthington was at odds with the town and the commonwealth, and had resolved to step down and out. He believed in royalty, and he knew no public interests but those for which he had taken his solemn oath. "Adamses, where are you going?"

fiercely demanded the imperious colonel of John and Samuel Adams in Springfield, as they were on their way to the Continental Congress. "To Philadelphia, to declare these colonies free," was the reply. Worthington said, "Gentlemen, beware! Look out for your heads!" Worthington himself went to Philadelphia soon after, to save his own head. Finding that he had jumped from the frying-pan into the fire, he was on the point of sailing for Halifax, but was dissuaded by Moses Bliss. This was, indeed, a great change from the time when Capt. Joseph Ferre, the survivor of the successive funerals of five wives, had exclaimed, "John Worthington rules this town like a rod of iron." Worthington was eventually compelled to make a statement in town-meeting, which satisfied the people. We do not know how true it is, but the story has often been told beside Springfield firesides, that the whigs who dominated the town at this exciting time were so outraged at the refusal of John Worthington to join them, that they led him out in a field, formed a ring, and compelled him to kneel, and swear before God that he would renounce his tory views.

There was a John Worthington in every Massachusetts town, but the spirit of 1776, as we recognize it, did not stand on ceremony. There was rough work ahead, and personal dignity and private opinion were unceremoniously brushed aside. It is due to Colonel Worthington to record that he advanced money for arming soldiers. He was not reimbursed for these expenditures until after the surrender of Yorktown.

Toryism had taken a deep hold of several Springfield families of note. There are in the St. John (N.B.) Cemetery many tombstones bearing old Springfield family names, — a curious testimony to the tenacity of the tory spirit. Among those who finally went back to England was Jonathan Bliss, brother of Luke Bliss. He afterward went to New Brunswick, and became attorney-general of the province, as well as chief-justice. His wife was Mary, daughter of John Worthington.

The names of three Pynchons appear on the committee of corre-

spondence, and a fourth Pynchon was town treasurer. There was nothing tory about this. Jonathan Hale was a carpenter, and James Sikes, like all of the family of that name, was a part of the bone and sinew of the town.

The patriotism of the Springfield Pynchons during the Revolution is all the more worthy of note from the fact that in Connecticut and Eastern Massachusetts branches of the family were tory in sentiment. In fact, William Pynchon, of Salem, and Joseph Pynchon, of Guilford, Conn., were notorious tories, and were forced to leave the country in consequence. Joseph Pynchon might have been Governor of Connecticut if his political views had not led to his self-banishment to Nova Scotia. His great-grandson is Dr. Thomas R. Pynchon, of Trinity College, Hartford.

Merchant Jonathan Dwight, at the first echo of war, made his plans to leave Springfield. He even closed his store. Hearing a rumor that a decree had gone forth from Boston for the seizure of his goods, he directed his slave Andrew to drive his cattle across the Connecticut line. But it was due to the influence of his wife that he modified his political sentiments and reopened his store.

In January, 1775, the several special town-meetings must have been intensely interesting. Capt. George and Dr. Charles Pynchon and Jonathan Hale, Jr., had just returned from the Provincial Congress, and their reports of the doings at that body gave the yeomen of the community the first definite glimpse of the great struggle. Means were taken to aid the poor at Boston. The town stock of ammunition was materially increased, and George Pynchon headed a committee which recommended that the provincial tax be paid into the town treasurer and held "safe during this time of General Distress & Confusion." An association had been formed (1774) pledging the members not to wear or use any clothing or product imported from Great Britain, — a self-imposed embargo that was a severe test of patriotism. The subsequent exclusion of tea from the table was accepted in good part by the community, although we do have it by

tradition that some worthy dames of Springfield were not above steeping tea at the hour of midnight and drinking it in the seclusion of their closets.

At the spring town-meeting of the important year 1775 the following town officers were elected : —

Mod^r. — Mr. James Sikes was Chosen Moderator.

Clerk & Treas^r. — Edward Pynchon Esq^r was Chosen Clerk & Treas^r.

Selectmen. — Deacⁿ Daniel Harris, Ensⁿ Phinehas Chapin, Mr James Sikes, Mr William Pynchon Jun^r and Deacⁿ Aaron Colton were Chosen Selectmen.

Wardens. — Mr Daniel Lumhard, Mr Nathaniel Burt & Mr Eleasar Chapin were Chosen Wardens.

Assess^{rs}. — Mr Jon^s Burt Jun^r, Deacⁿ Edward Chapin & Mr William Pynchon Jun^r were Chosen Assessors.

Constab^{ls}. — Stephen Hitchcock, Moses Harris, William Stebbins Jun^r, Henry Colton & Stephen Wright were Chosen Constables.

Tythingmen. — Mr Timothy Bliss, Ebenezer Stebbins, George Colton 2d, & Jonathan Bement were Chosen Tythingmen.

Surv^{rs} of Highways. — Andrew Colton, Josiah Hitchcock, Aaron Cooley, Hezekiah Hale, Silas Hale, Benoni Chapin, George Chapin & Eliakim Cooley were Chosen Surveyors of Highways.

Fence Viewers. — Jacob Cooley, Joseph Stebbins Jun^r, Festus Colton, Samuel Keep, Ensⁿ Phin^r Chapin & William Chapin Jun^r were Chosen Fence Viewers.

Surv^{rs} of Ching^{ls} & Clapb^{rs}. — L^t Abner Smith, Phinehas Chapin Jun^r & David White were Chosen Surveyors of Shingles & Clapboards.

Hogg Rieves. — Matthew Keep, Edward Crandell, John Clark & Abijah Edson were Chosen Hogg Rieves.

Deer Rieves. — Nathaniel Alexander & Elijah Burt were Chosen Deer Rieves.

Sealers of Leather. — Samuel Gridley & Jonathan Stebbins were Chosen Sealers of Leather.

Com^{ee} to adjust ac^{ts} with ye Treas^r. — Mr Reuben Bliss, Mr. Luke Bliss and Mr Jonathan Dwight were Chosen a Committee to adjust acc^{ts} with the Town Treas^r.

Bull Com^{ee}. — Mr John Warner, Mr Thomas Stebbins, Mr Josiah Cooley, Mr Samuel Keep, Mr Silas Hale, Deacⁿ Edward Chapin, Mr Azariah Vanhorn & Mr John Horton. Were Chosen a Committee to Hire Bulls for the use of v^e Town.

The Boston alarm of September, 1774, had set over forty thousand soldiers all through New England on the march for the day as promptly as might have been the case in our days of telegraph. But even more marvellous was the speed with which the news of the battle of Lexington the next year got to the Connecticut river. The British soldiers left Boston before daybreak on the 19th of April, 1775, and on the 20th Capt. Elihu Kent, within an hour's notice, was at the head of a Suffield company of fifty-nine men and a provision wagon, rushing for Springfield, where they took supper and pressed on at once.

Each Springfield soldier was given one-half pound of powder. There were also delivered to the companies here assembled one hundred and eighty flints.

A Longmeadow company, commanded by Lieut. David Burt, started east on the 21st. When the Suffield company reached Springfield, on the 20th, they found the Springfield minute-men, under Maj. Andrew Colton, a West Springfield company commanded by Capt. Enoch Chapin, and a second West Springfield company under Colton, with Gideon Burt first lieutenant, and probably the Southwick contingent. The Springfield taverns and the streets were in a perfect uproar, and during the 20th and 21st soldiers were constantly forwarded. The British troops had left Boston to the tune of "Yankee Doodle." In twenty-four hours it was the other army that was playing that tune. Springfield had been busy for months collecting arms and drilling men. In March the selectmen had given an order on Treasurer Edward Pynchon to pay moneys as follows: Horace White for 25 gun barrels, £35; to Martin Ely for 25 gun locks, £25; Reuben Bliss for stocking 25 guns, chest for same, etc., £7-19-6. The town had under its care also sundry of the poor of Boston sent into the back country. Widow Davis, for example, "one of the Dispersed of Boston," was given aid, and the treasurer paid "To Moses Bliss Esq. for a Horse & Chaise to transport of the Dispersed of Boston to Wilbraham, 4s 4d." From the expense account are taken the following items:—

To Arriel Collins for 43 Cartouch Boxes,	1- 1-6
To Tho' Bates for a Gunn & Bayonett,	2-10-0
To Luke Bliss for a Gunn & Bayonett,	2- 8-0
To Widow Silence Bliss for a Gunn,	2- 5-0
To Capt ⁿ Tho. Stebbins for the use of a Gunn,	6-0
To Tim ^o Bliss for a Large Home spun Blankett,	15-0
To John Burt for a Blankett,	9-0
To Oliver Burt for a Gunn D ^d Silvanus Hale.	2- 0-0
To John Warner Jun. for Excers'ing as a minute man,	9-2
To Seth Storer Coburn for a horse to assist the minute men when they marched from this Town to Head quarters near Boston in April 1775,	12-0
To George Colton Jun. for a Blankett & knappsech Del ^d Benoni Bar- rister.	13-6
Drums for the companies,	8- 0-0

Springfield minute-men marched under Maj. Andrew Colton. The following company, which left Springfield April 20, 1775, was in service as a distinct company but one week and three days : —

Gideon Burt. 1st Lieut., Walter Pynchon, 2d Lieut., Aaron Steel, sergeant, William White, sergeant, Ambrose Collins, corporal, Luther Hitchcock, corporal, William Colton, 3d, fifer, David Justus Chapin, fifer, Lewis Chapin, Drummer, Jeduthan Sanderson, "centinel," Israel Chapin, Samuel Gridley, Alexander Bliss, Aaron Parsons, Jr., Aaron Ferry, Gad Horton, Samuel Bliss, James Nash, Abel Hancock, Geo. Wright, Jr., Matthew Lancton, Peter Colton, Jno. Stedman, Abner Russell, Asahel Cooley, Jno. Warner, Jr., Justin Smith, Samuel Edson, Patrick Nugent, Benjamin Parsons, Jonathan Ingersoll, Calvin Bliss, Henry Stiles, Luther Colton, Abner Cooley, Lemuel Parsons, Noah Bliss, Joseph King, Caleb Cooley, Zadock Bliss, Ebenezer Romerill, James Taylor, Spencer Merrick, Sylvanus Hale, Moses Bliss, and Joseph Parsons.

Here is the muster-roll of the minute-men under Lieut. David Burt, of Longmeadow, and Lieut. Jonathan Hale, who "marched in order to assist our Brethren at Lexington : " —

Ebenezer Colton, Samuel Keep, Nathaniel Ely, Josiah Cooley, Abner Colton, John Colton, Ebenezer Bliss, Jr., Aaron Bliss, Samuel Smith, David White, John Ashley, Elijah Burt, Richard Woolworth, Oliver King, Nehemiah Rumrill, Thomas Stebbins, Samuel Morgan, James Parker, Gad Lamb, Ebenezer Stebbins, and Samuel Burt.

Other men from this region who marched east on April 20 were Solomon Brewer, Jonathan Colton, Thomas Bates, Matthew Keep, Benjamin Colton, Jr., Abijah Edson, Jno. Burt, Jr., Jacob Kellogg, Moses Harris, Josh. Kellogg, Jr., Oliver Burt, Robert Stevens, Jacob Chapin, Oliver Field, Eleazer Chapin, Jr., Medad Stebbins, Jonah Cooley, Simon Moore, Thos. Hale, Jr., Seth Storer Coburn.

Jeduthan Sanderson, father of the venerable Harvey Sanderson, still living, wrote his father, Medad Sanderson, the following letter, which is now in the possession of Maj. C. P. Nichols of this city : —

ROXBURY, June 29th, 1775

HONORID FATHER ater my regards to you i take this opertunity to let you no that i am Well as i hope that these lines will find you and all my Brothers and Sisters i have Some news to rite in the fust place their was a [word omitted] between Charlstown and Cambridg and the Kings troops drove our men out of their intrenchment Becaus they had no powder and they have burnt Charlstown and have intrenched on Buncors hill and our men Have intrencht on winter hill wheir the regulers retreeted to when the fust battle Was at Concoct which was June 16th they fired the same day att roxbury and threw Bums And Carkeses in order to Set the street on fire but by the goodness of god they did not for Our men as Soon as they had Set it a fire would go and put it out and they fired No more untill last Saterdag then thay fired again and tried to Set it on fire But they would go and put it out one of our men tuk one of the Carkises and Brot it up to the general before it went out and they set 2 or 3 houses afire But they ware as Ferce as a bludhown to put them out then the Rodeilanders went down on the neck with 2 or 3 feild peses and fired att them and made their Sentries run to the brestwork and then they fired upon our Sentry and kiled two of them We are Building a fort in Roxbury and diging a trench a Crost the neck No mfore att present So i remane your obdiant son

JEDUTHAN SANDERSON.

In June, 1775, Dr. Benjamin Church, Jr., of Boston, and Moses Gill, of Princeton, met Washington and Lee in this town, at the old tavern on Elm street, in their progress to Boston, where the father of his country was to take command. A company of horse accompanied the party to Brookfield, where local soldiery did escort duty to Worcester.

Later in the year 1775 many enlistments of Springfield men are recorded. They scattered about in various regiments. In October Capt. Isaac Colton was encamped at Roxbury (Col. David Brewer's regiment) with the following: Lieut. Nathaniel Alexander, Corporal David Murphey, Corporal Mose Wait, Drummer Benjamin Colton, Ely Barrister, Stephen Hunt, James Ives, William Hancock, Abel Hancock, Thomas Ferre, Elijah Hancock, Joseph Parsons, James Parker, Ebenezer Eddy, and Moses Wait. David Lancton had become a drummer in the 8th Massachusetts, and with Captain Longley (Colonel Whitcomb) were David Powers, Solon Stephens, Asahel Stebbins, and Samuel Remington.

In Capt. Gideon Burt's company (Col. Timothy Danielson's regiment) were the following Springfield men, who enlisted April 24, 1775, for three and a half months: —

Gideon Burt, captain; Walter Pynchon, first lieutenant; Aaron Steel, second lieutenant; William White, Samuel Gridley, Ambros Collins, and Aaron Parsons, sergeants; Luther Hitchcock, corporal; Simon Moore, Samuel Bliss, Samuel Edson, Luis Chapin, William Colton, Spencer Mirick, Nathan Bliss, Caleb Cooley, Lemuel Parsons, Justin Smith, Aaron Ferry, Beriah Jennings, Benjamin Parsons, Jeduthan Sanderson, Matthias Lankton, Noah Bliss, Able Hancock, James Taylor, Jabez Cooley, Stephen Russell, Theodore Smith, Frederick Colton, Ebenezer Rumrill, Abner Cooley, Justis Moore, Abner Russell, Benjamin Howard, Elihu Colton, Jacob Ward, Henry Stiles, Silvanus Hale, Moses Bedeunah, Luther Colton, Joseph King, Calvin Bliss, Benoni Banister, Joseph Chapin, John Hendrick, Robert Stephens, David Chapin, Zadock Bliss, Patrick Nugent, George Wright, James Nash, Arthur Hitchcock, Jonas Christian, Luther Colton, Moses Bliss, Jonathan Ingersoll, John Stedman, Peter Coutson, and Ebenezer Martin.

Many of these men were fitted out by well-to-do citizens, such as Abner Cooley, Ebenezer Colton, Israel Chapin, John Worthington, Richard Woolworth, Aaron Colton, Josiah Chapin, Charles Pynchon, James Sikes, Daniel Chandler, David Burt, Stephen Colton, Phineas



PARSONS TAVERN, 1776.

Stedman, Jedediah Bliss, George Colton, George Chapin, Zachariah Hale, Samuel Bliss, Aaron Warrner, Joseph Stebbins, Justice Steel, and Luke Bliss.

John Hale and William Pynchon, Jr., were chosen representatives to the General Court in July, and in November Thomas Stebbins, Jonathan Hale, Jr., Reuben Bliss, William Pynchon, Jr., and Dea. Edward Chapin were chosen to "take into Consideration the charge of Providing for the Souldiers and the pay of the minitmen." A com-

pany of Highlanders was billeted in Springfield from June, 1776, to the March following, and in July, 1777, Colonel Cheever had charge of the transfer of army supplies to Springfield, where it had been decided to establish an arsenal and supply depot. From the town accounts it appears that he made large use of the local horses and wagons in this business.

We have the voice of tradition that the news of the Declaration of Independence set the village aglow with enthusiasm. Moses Bliss, it is related, was coming from West Springfield with a load of hay when the good tidings met him, and he at once touched a light to the hay as the most ready way of expressing his delight. It is a thankless task to combat a pleasing tradition, and it would, indeed, be a misfortune to unnecessarily put out this little torch of patriotism that has so long flickered before our local firesides. There are doubts, however. Moses Bliss was not a man to be driving a team with a load of hay, in the first place; and a very fair chain of circumstantial evidence could be constructed to nail such a denial to the wall. John Worthington's toryism is beyond dispute; up to the Revolution both he and Moses Bliss were active in town, and even state, affairs; but when Worthington's disapproval of a revolt from the authority of King George found expression in a retirement to private life, Moses Bliss followed his example, and aside from furnishing an occasional vehicle or blanket or brass kettle for the soldiers, his war energies slept profoundly. His name almost disappears from the town-meeting records, and when it does rise to the surface it is but a reminder of a very noteworthy silence. In other words, if Moses Bliss had been a tory, he would have acted precisely as he did.

At the annual March election of 1776 Edward Pynchon declined reelection as town clerk, a position he had held for so many years, and this office was passed down to William Pynchon, Jr. The town did a very unusual thing in spreading upon the records a vote of thanks to Edward Pynchon for his services as town clerk. The selectmen in this eventful year were: Dea. Aaron Colton, James

Sikes, Dr. Edward Chapin, Daniel Harris, and William Pynchon, Jr. The committee of safety consisted of Ephraim Chapin, Ensign Phineas Chapin, Moses Field, Daniel Burt, 3d, Moses Church, Capt. Thomas Stebbins, Joseph Stebbins, Thomas Stebbins, Jr., John Pynchon, and Joseph Ferre.

The town-meetings in those trying days were held in the court-house. The names prominent in the doings at that time were not the best-known Springfield names, unless we except the Pynchons. This latter name came well to the front in the hour of peril. Take the year 1777. We find Edward Pynchon moderator; Maj. William Pynchon was chosen representative that year; William Pynchon, Jr., was town clerk; Edward Pynchon was treasurer; William Pynchon, Jr., was on the select board; William Pynchon, Jr., was an assessor; and John Pynchon a constable, as well as a member of the committee of safety. Here are seven prominent positions held by four Pynchons.

In February, 1777, town committees of safety met at Northampton, Robert Breck, clerk. Arrangements were made for sending supplies to the army. The convention (Northampton, 1777) called attention to the "conduct of inimicable persons" of the county who were "daily increasing," and declaring that the selectmen of the various towns "dare as well be damned as to draught them for the army, and that if they were draughted, they would rather fight against our own men than against our enemies."

The town had also not forgotten the general concerns of the country, and at the close of the year 1777 Dea. Nathaniel Brewer headed the committee on the proposed articles of confederation among the States. A committee dealing with such a weighty matter of statesmanship, headed by a deacon, with a captain and a physician, making a quorum, felt a becoming embarrassment as long as two of the best lawyers of the State were in Springfield. It is, therefore, not surprising that they were applicants for some legal assistance. The town added the names of Worthington and Bliss to the committee, but both immediately declined to serve, and so another deacon was

selected. We cannot see why this does not throw a cloud over the politics of Moses Bliss, at least at this early day.

But want of a professionally legal hand to indict the document did not stay the arm of the town. That layman's committee had the spirit that broke through the embarrassments of a leaderless community and led it to spread its judgment and devotion before the world. It was in February, 1778, when the town representatives received their instructions.

They were told that the subject was the "most interesting matter that was ever, or perhaps ever will be referred to your Deliberation," — the proposed "perpetual union of the thirteen United States of America." They were reminded that "the plan of Union laid before you is not to be Temporary but perpetual, and is so framed that being once satisfied it is no more to be altered without universal Consent." "An inquiry," continues this remarkable report, "by what unhappy defect or error in the Inherent Constitution of most of the nations of Europe (not excepting those who have Bled for the defense of Liberty) are now fallen under so Despotie and Arbitrary government, might aid you in forming a Judgment of the Good or Ill tendency of the proposed Confederation. . . . It cannot be expected that we the Inhabitants of this Town, many of whom have little leisure for Politicall speculation should be so capable of Judgeing in a matter of this intricate nature as you are whom we have chosen to represent us. We must confide much in you and your associates . . . The representation in Congress appears to us too unequal. Why may it not be proportioned to the taxation? To the unequal representation in parliament have been imputed more of our late oppressions. . . . A Constitution Gentlemen should be formed upon a supposition that it may in some future period be administered by Designing men. What has happened in Europe may happen in America. How easy it is for those who have the forces and money of the people in their own hands to Subvert a Constitution and establish themselves in Power. We rather choose that the

Congress should only ascertain and proportion the sums necessary for the Publick service & Lay the estimate before the several Legislatures & that the Legislatures make grants for the supply of the Continental Treasury."

In April, 1777, two battalions from Hampshire county were ordered to Ticonderoga. Soldiers were forwarded from Springfield in short order, their families being placed under the special care of the town. Capt. Gideon Burt with Lieut. Ebenezer Colton (Col. David Seward's regiment) made the forced march from Springfield to Ticonderoga. The Springfield men accompanying them were Samuel Gridley, Jonathan Burt, Ambrose Collins, Ebenezer Morgan, Ephraim Brown, Thomas Colton, Ebenezer Rumrill, George Cooley, Festus Colton, Simeon Colton, Samuel Keep, Henry Colton, Ezra Stebbins, William Hunt, O. Hitchcock, Jeduthan Sanderson, Daniel Bliss, Luther Vanhorn, Ephraim Chapin, and Japhet Chapin.

The nine-months' men drafted and sent from Springfield to Fishkill in 1778 were : —

William Hitchcock, Justin Smith, Austin Brooks, David Bonner, James Mills, Israel Bond, Martin Smith, Ezekiel Chapin, Leba Belman, Abel Coburn, Jabez Crosby, Abner Russell, and Daniel Hancock. In Captain Rowle's company (Col. John Jacob's regiment) were the following Springfield men in 1778 : Capt. Nathan Rowle, Lieut. Enoch Leonard, Ebenezer Bliss, Ebenezer Pumery, Simeon Colton, Oliver Hitchcock, A. Stephenson, Jonathan Stephenson, William Pepper, Gad Warriner, Timothy Hopkins, George Blake, Russel Allin, and James Howard. In 1778, in Capt. Phineas Stebbins's company (Col. N. Sparhawk's regiment) were these Springfield men : Nathan Chapin, sergeant ; Rubin Ferre, John Ferre, William White, Moses Barber, and Moses Stebbins.

During the summer and autumn of 1780 there were gathered at Springfield forty-three divisions of six-months' men, who marched from here as fast as they were ready for service. This was in accordance with a resolution of the General Court passed in June. In the

list was Capt. Daniel Shays, who commanded the tenth division. General Grover was the officer in command.

Here are Springfield's six-months' men who joined the army in 1780 : —

William Hitchcock, Elias Hitchcock, Amaziah Sanderson, Noah Frost, Aaron Parsons, Alexander Ely, Gad Bliss, Moses Bliss, Jr., David Bannon, John Morgan, Thaddeus Ferre, George Smith, Oliver Field, Zachariah Hancock, Oliver Hancock, Jonathan Stephenson, Solomon Loomis, Gideon Cooley, Joshua Brooks, I. Chandler, William Hancock, David Hubbard, Joseph McGrenney.

Springfield had, in 1780, three-months' men in Capt. Joseph Browning's company (Colonel Murry's regiment), as follows : Isaac Stebbins, Lieut. John Colton, A. Brooks, Corp. Nenoni Chapin, Marsh Bissell, Consider Bement, Luther Smith, Moses Parsons, Jonathan Felt, Moses Hancock, Beriah Howard, Justin Bliss, Zenas Bliss, Samuel Sikes, Isaac Bliss.

We find that there were, in June, 1781, seventeen Springfield men in the Continental army who had enlisted for three years, or during the war, as follows : —

	When Enlisted.	Regiment.
David Day.	Jan.. '80.	3d Mass.
John Stevenson.	April. '79.	..
John Pease.	April. '79.	..
Samuel Edson.	Dec.. '76.	..
Joseph Chapin.	Nov. '76.	..
James Warner.	April. '79.	..
Zachariah Warner.	March. '79.	..
Corporal Gideon Jones,	Nov.. '79.	4th Mass.
Simon Johnson.	Dec.. '76.	..
Daniel Stephenson,	'77.	..
James Mills.	June. '78.	5th Mass.
Joseph Maxfield,	Jan.. '79.	6th Mass.
Loyal Sanderson.	Nov.. '79.	..
Asabel Mighel.	March. '77.	7th Mass.

	When Enlisted.	Regiment.
Theodore Smith,	May, '79,	7th Mass.
Samuel Stebbins,	Dec., '76,	"
Henry Stiles,	April, '79,	

Other three-years' soldiers during 1781 appear upon the records, as follows: ——— Wait, farmer; ——— Sutton, weaver; ——— Pooly, farmer; Alpheus Hancock, farmer; Jonathan Cooley, farmer; Caleb Williston, farmer; Hanon Colton, farmer; Alpheus Colton, farmer; Jacob Hills, wheelwright; Joshua Brooks, farmer; James Reed, farmer; Joseph Dunham, farmer; Titus Welch, farmer; Daniel Murphy, blacksmith; James Eaton, blacksmith; John Fox, farmer; George Smith, shoemaker; Micah Grant, farmer.

It cost the town £750, in 1778, to raise and forward thirteen men to the seat of war; but somehow the persons intrusted with the care of soldiers' families failed to do their duty, and the selectmen were given charge of this matter. This board consisted of William Pynchon, Jr., Dr. Edward Chapin, Capt. David Burt, Capt. Thomas Stebbins, Ensign Phineas Chapin. It took £21,600 of depreciated paper money to fill the town's quota of men in 1780. In March of that year Capt. James Sikes headed a committee to inquire into the state of the town's militia, and to inquire "how and by what means the s^d Town have incurred the fine set upon them in the last Tax Acts and also to Inquire whether the money received by the Militia officers in Consequence of Drafts or by Subscriptions has been appropriated for the purposes for which designed." There are stray reports in the old packages of documents preserved which seem to be the outcome of this resolution. Thus we have payments to soldiers dated three months later, as follows: —

To David Bonner, \$660; Wm. Hitchcock, \$200; Alexander Ely, \$100; Jonathan Stevenson, \$60; Z. Hancock, \$60; Aaron Parsons, 3d, \$1,000; Moses Bliss, Jr., \$1,000; Amaziah Sanderson, \$850; Aaron Parsons, 3d, \$200; Z. Hancock, \$358; Thaddeus Ferre, \$100; Noah Frost, \$120; George Smith, \$100; G. Bliss, \$536; Noah Frost, \$100; Oliver Field, \$2; Moses Bliss, \$120; Oliver Hancock,

\$1,400; J. Stephenson, \$62; Noah Frost, \$590; Samuel Sikes, \$80; Moses Parsons, \$150; Marsh Bissel, \$1,280; Consider Bement, \$1,280; Benoni Chapin, Jr., \$1,280; Luther Smith, \$1,280; Moses Hancock, \$1,280; John Baxter, \$200; Beriah Howard, \$370; Jonathan Felt, \$350; H. Brooks, \$360; Noah Warner, \$1,280; Zenas Bliss, \$1,280; Justin Bliss, \$1,280.

Here is a short list, endorsed: "Return of the Mens Names & the Sums of hire Each Man has Received in the Continental Service in the fourth Company of foot in Springfield Com^d by Cap^t Ephram Chapin: — John Frink, £6; Thomas Frink, £12; George Chapin, £6; Joseph Chapin, £3; Paul Chapin, £3; Justus Moore, £12; Simon Moore, £12." In 1781 there seems to have been some contention about the beef quota, and after several adjournments it was agreed (February 5) that the appropriation be raised. A month later the poll-tax of those in the army was remitted.

In May, 1777, the General Court recommended the towns to authorize the next Legislature to frame a constitution for popular adoption. The towns agreed. Accordingly, in February, 1778, the General Court, sitting as such a convention, drew up a constitution: but it was rejected by a large majority, both on account of the instrument itself and the body framing it, — assuming, as it did, both legislative and constitutional functions. After due formalities the Legislature provided (June, 1779) for the assembling of another convention which latter adopted both a constitution and a bill of rights in March, 1780, and this was ratified by the people. This constitution was declared the fundamental law in June 16, 1780.

The representatives of 1776 were Dea. Edward Chapin, Moses Field, and Maj. William Pynchon, Jr., as we have seen. The following year Maj. William Pynchon, Mr. Hale, and Dea. Edward Chapin went down to the Bay. Luke Bliss and William Pynchon, Jr., were there in 1778, and Col. Jonathan Hale, Jr., was substituted for Bliss in 1779. There was trouble the next year, probably on account of differences of opinion as to the State constitution. Pynchon

and Hale had been reëlected : Pyncheon declined ; Luke Bliss was then chosen, but declined, and finally Thomas Williston was pitched upon, and stood, though not until he too had tried to avoid the service. In the autumn Dr. Chauncey Brewer was chosen representative, and after he had declined, the town in November refused to fill his place. The year 1781 found Williston and Gideon Burt in the General Court. By this time was observable a distinct reaction, as ancient Springfield seemed almost bent upon a reminiscence, by calling once more upon John Worthington to go down to Boston. He refused to obey the summons ; so did Dr. Chauncey Brewer ; and Col. Gideon Burt and Moses Church were chosen by a vote of 128 to 2. William Pyncheon was chosen to carry the objections to the Bay.

But it was too late. The convention had been adopted, and the election, under the new constitution, resulted in Springfield as follows : “ The votes for a Governor were brought in at s’d meeting & it appeared that the Hon^{ble} John Hancock Esq^r had 102 out of 113 Votes : The Hon^{ble} James Bowdoin Esq^r 10 out of 113 ; Mr. Reuben Bliss one out of the same number.”

We cannot but think that Mr. Worthington at this time was gaining a new hold upon his fellow-townsmen. The return to a law-respecting or even a law-constructing spirit would commend itself to his legal judgment. He acted as moderator of the town-meeting in March, 1782 ; both he and Moses Bliss received stray votes for State senator ; and in 1783 Springfield’s vote for Governor stood : John Hancock, 50 ; John Worthington, 32 ; James Bowdoin, 7.

But, before detailing the outcome of the financial distress and the political uncertainty that attended this period, let us add a word about purely local matters. In 1777 an alarming spread of small-pox led to measures to build a “ Cleansing House ” near the pest-house, and for the complete isolation of these buildings. There is evidence of a cautious but wholesome sober second thought in the provision that the “ Physicians of the Town be Desired not to inoculate any persons for the Small-Pox or give them any preparatory medicine therefor

without the Allowance of the major Part of the Select men." But the inoculation party again captured the town, and that remedy was recommended. The First Parish was the greatest sufferer, but the proposition to set apart several houses for inoculation was not agreed to. However, during the following year the sentiment had gradually changed, and we find the town appointing a committee to draw up regulations for inoculation. This committee, which included Jonathan Dwight and Colonel Worthington, recommended that inoculation committees be chosen from each parish, which should have power to license doctors, establish hospitals, etc. Jonathan Dwight headed a board to see these regulations duly executed. Several deaths from inoculation among soldiers had increased the popular distrust of that remedy. At the close of the year 1777 Edward Pynchon died at the age of sixty-five, and Jedediah Bliss at the age of sixty-nine.

It is well to note that as early as 1778 John Worthington again consented to act as moderator of the annual town-meeting in the spring, and to continue in this service through the war. He also did not refuse to perform strictly local services. He examined the records of the "outward commons" to settle disputes raised by the settling up of affairs with Wilbraham: he made the "proper proportion of the stocks" between West Springfield and Ludlow and the parent town: and he was active in the business complications attending the building of a bridge over the Chicopee river. This bridge, by the way, was in part the product of a lottery. Three men of means — Worthington, Moses Bliss, and Jonathan Dwight — secured leave to run a lottery for this purpose in about 1782, and the town ordered the bridge built at once. The building committee was headed by Lieut. Josiah Hitchcock, and the financial committee were John Worthington, Moses Bliss, and Jonathan Dwight. The town appropriation was £200. This was in addition to the proceeds from the lottery, the limit of which was £500. The tickets did not sell rapidly, and the town agreed to take all unsold tickets and to be responsible for the payment of all prizes. In March, 1783, when the Chicopee bridge

was nearly completed, the building committee complained that while they had anticipated the earnings of the lottery, most of the tickets were unsold, and the town reaffirmed its agreement to take the unsold tickets. Meantime the selectmen were authorized to sell the bar in the Chicopee river.

In 1779 the proprietors of the iron-works on Mill river were granted lands and water privileges near by for a paper-mill; but this was soon cancelled. These iron-works were the first symptoms of our famous Water Shops; and it may be here noted that the first appearance of the name "United States" on our town record is in August, 1779, when a committee, headed by Capt. Thomas Stebbins, was ordered to lease, at the request of Col. Thomas Dame, a piece of land to "the Treasurer of this State in trust to the United States." Five years later the selectmen were authorized to lease ground on the training-field for a magazine. Capt. Joseph Stebbins ran a battery on the east side of North Main street all through the Revolution. He was a man of influence, and much respected.

During the war market prices were carefully regulated, the list of prices of the necessities of life being submitted for the approval of a special committee. The town stock of salt was distributed at times by the selectmen. We do not think that the select board at this time was as important a branch of government as it had been seventy-five or one hundred years before. The trying times when the monarchy ended and republicanism under constitutions began had restored the town-meeting to its ancient glory. This sovereign body met in the old court-house, was opened by prayer, and, we believe, still dismissed with a blessing. It was sad to find in these gatherings men notably rich and notably poor. A deep gulf yawned between the two classes of men, and while the course of public business went on, now tinkering a State constitution, now authorizing yoked swine to run at large, and now building a school or a poor-house, men looked into the future with deep concern. There was a cloud over the Commonwealth during the Revolution that not even the glories

of a struggle for liberty could dissipate. This cloud was the great confusion about property and finance. The community of land and the community of interest in market values, religious prerogatives, and so on, had fostered rather than hindered petty monopolies, that sprang up like poisonous dogwood in the shadow of the Puritan structure. The land theory of the Henry Georges of the nineteenth century, which was the practice of the seventeenth century in Massachusetts, was the consternation of the eighteenth century, and we can find here in Springfield how it ended. The common ownership in land, whether by the unconscious native or the followers of a speculative theory, is a step through which natives may advance; but after a certain point this land communism is reactionary and mediæval.

We have seen how the parent plantation, with communistic motives, soon by local gravitations divided up the land into common fields, the proprietors of which becoming regular incorporators empowered to hold meetings, transact business, sue, and be sued. These "common fields" ripened into parishes and precincts, while these in turn became "districts" and independent towns.

The province first issued indented bills of credit in 1690. They passed at a discount of about thirty per cent., but as they were redeemed in part they rose to their par value. They were accepted for "country rates," though for many years, as we have seen, the river towns paid their taxes in produce. A want of a circulating medium had forced Massachusetts in 1702 to emit "province bills," which were continually redeemed and reissued or burned until 1749. The duties of impost and excise added to the public rates did not equal the amount of the "province bills" set in circulation. Property, labor, and produce advanced in value; or, to state it more accurately, paper money depreciated. In 1736 the bills issued were to be equal to coined silver at 6s. 8d. per ounce. This was called "new tenor," and £1 new tenor was equal to £3 in "old tenor." The new tenor bills were called "middle tenor" after 1741, when another emission (£1 equal to £4 of old tenor) was ordered. These

issues were occasioned by military expeditions, and the reimbursements from England made hard money free enough to secure in 1750, — a practical resumption of specie payment. All debts payable in old tenor were paid in silver at \$1 (Spanish pieces-of-eight) for forty-five shillings. Debts in middle and new tenor were settled at the rate of \$1 for 11s. 3d. Specie currency continued until the Revolution. The Continental Congress issued paper money in 1775. Massachusetts made this money legal tender here in 1776; and this emergency currency continued to depreciate until 1780, when it was redeemed in specie at a depreciation of 40 to 1.

An important convention gathered in Springfield in the summer of 1777. It will be remembered that at this time Massachusetts was in doubt what course to take about a new constitution, and the convention, or rather committee from the five States represented here, went over some of the very subjects. We quote from the official journal, which is still preserved in manuscript in the city. The first session was on July 30.

At a meeting of Committees from the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay Connecticut Rhoad Island and New York holden at Springfield in the County of Hampshire the 30th of July Anno Domini 1777 for the purpose of holding a Conference Respecting the State of the Paper Currency of the said Governments of the expediency of Calling in y^e Same by Taxes or otherwise of the most Effectual Expeditions and Equal method of Doing it and to consult upon the Best means for preventing the Depreciation & Counterfeiting of the same, And also to consider what is proper to be done with the acts Lately made to prevent monopoly and Oppression and to Confer upon the Late Acts for preventing the Transportation by Land of Certain Articles from one State to another and to consider such other matters as perticularly Concern the Immediate Welfare of said States, And are not repugnant to, or Interfering with the Powers & authorities of the Continental Congress, and to Report the Result of their Conference to the General Courts in their Respective States; Sundry Gentlemen not being arrived adjourned till thursday: Then met according to adjournm^t. Present for New hampshire Col^o Josiah Bartlett Col^o Nath^l Peabody

for Massachusetts Bay Hon^o Tho^s Cushing Esq^r Hon^o Rob^t T. Paine Esq^r
 for Connecticut Hon^o Roger Sherman Sam^l Huntington and Titus Hosmer Esq^r
 for Rhoad Island Hon^o Wm Bradford Esq^r Hon^o Stephen Hopkins Esq^r & Paul
 Mumford Esq^r
 for New York John Moss Hobart Esq^r

The Hon^o Stephen Hopkins Esq^r was appointed President and Wm Pyncheon Jun^r Esq^r Clerk.

The first act of this interstate committee was to recommend to the several Legislatures to make provision for the "drawing in & sinking the Bills of Credit which are not upon interest," denominations less than a dollar excepted, "either by Taxes or by exchanging them for Treasurers notes for sums not Less than Ten Pounds on Interest at 6 p. c. p. Annum or for Continentall Bills of Credit, and to prohibit the Currency of their respective Bills of Credit." The committee recommended that the future war expenses be secured by taxation on the various towns without a resort to more bills of credit. This was proposed in order "more effectually to establish the credit of the Continental Currency." The committee complained also of the habit of fixing by law the market price of the necessities of life. Soldiers were to be protected from loss by any disturbance of values resulting from such a course, and the Legislatures were warned against any attempt to "accumulate profits" among speculators by making a corner in staple articles. A free commercial intercourse between the States was strongly urged.

We can follow the fluctuations in value very readily by the town expenses. The school appropriations of Springfield in 1777 amounted to £372. John Worthington had not been paid for his services as representative in 1773 and 1774, and the bill when cancelled in 1777 amounted nominally to £343 15s.; and in 1779 Moses Church was paid £125 for transporting two hogsheads of salt from the Bay in 1777. Thirty yards of linen furnished by Capt. Nathaniel Alexander in 1775 cost the town £5 two years later, when the bill was paid. And how was it in 1780? Think of appropriating £16,800 for schools,

—\$84,000! And the appropriations for 1780 mounted up to £26,-190 7s. 6d. — over \$100,000! The town this year (1780) had to appropriate £18,000 to pay its quota of beef to the State. The number of men required was twenty-four, and the town, for some unhappy motives, was all winter getting to work. Meeting after meeting was held, and not until April, 1781, did the opposition give way. An extra allowance was granted the constables “for their extraordinary Trouble in collecting the moneys that may be assessed upon the Town for the Current year.” Further requisitions for men and provisions late in the year were promptly responded to.

An idea of true values is gained by this order, passed in September, 1780: “Voted, that the Treasurer be directed to receive into the Treasury the new money emitted, at the discount of forty to one.” The town had to pay £100 in specie the year following, to meet the loss “from the late depreciation of the Continental money;” but the accounts look much better with £160 for schools in place of the £16,-800 in 1780. There was a long list of delinquent tax-payers upon whom were assessments in old Continental money. These delinquents were dealt with at the January meeting of 1782. Reuben Bliss was moderator. This town-meeting demonstrated that the blood-bought privileges and honors of self-government were not to be put on like a garland of roses. To meet the unpaid State taxes assessed in old Continental money, it was directed that Treasurer William Pynchon, Jr., issue “his warrants of distress upon the Constables that had the old Continental money Committed to them,” and Pynchon was also directed to dispose of both the new money and the old Continental bills in his hands as best he could.

And another financial matter of far-reaching import began to affect the inhabitants. This was the excise act. The town-meeting dismissed this subject in short order by directing its representatives to “endeavour a repeal of it.” In the autumn there was a feeling of despair about back taxes, and a special committee, which had been chosen to examine the securities of the town in order to raise funds for Chicopee

bridge, was also empowered to collect their taxes as best they could. It had been estimated that the overdue taxes would meet the £200 appropriated for the bridge. In November the constables were again threatened with "warrants of distress" if they do not pay taxes assessed in paper money; and things went on from bad to worse until 1783, when the twenty per cent. added to delinquents for taxes for the soldiers in the Continental army brought complications that will be detailed in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XIV.

1783-1787.

The Debtor Class in Massachusetts. — Rev. Samuel Ely. — Springfield Jail broken open. — A Mob at Northampton. — Hatfield Convention. — Commotion in other States. — Views of Washington and other Americans on the Situation. — Unsuccessful Attempt to prevent the holding of the Courts in Springfield. — Town Officers. — Warrants of Distress. — Prominent Money-Lenders. — The Town-Meeting on the Situation. — Daniel Shays. — The Court Calendar loaded with Suits against Debtors. — Courts interfered with at Northampton. — The Elections of 1786. — Trouble at Worcester. — Mobs at Northampton. — Extra Session of the Legislature. — Shays makes a Demonstration at Springfield. — The Town-Meeting again. — General Lincoln. — Lincoln's March to the Connecticut Valley. — General Shepard's Defence of the Springfield Armory. — Shays defeated. — The Towns send in Petitions praying for Peace and Pardon. — The Triumph of Law.

THE return of peace brought grave responsibilities upon the shoulders of the American leaders. The Continental soldiers were poor, and the money was largely in the hands of civilians. The men who, by their valor, put property in New England beyond the reach of England found themselves burdened with personal obligations, and the fiercest conflict was precipitated between debtors who had borne arms and creditors who had not. This is the general statement, but there were other complications. A worthless paper medium, a shambling and ill-defined union of the States, a jealousy of military power, and wild visions of what the new American democracy could do, combined to still further torture the commonwealth. If 1776 was the time which tried all men's souls, 1786 was the time which tried the poor man's soul, for fully one-half of the citizens in the State were in debt. The multiplication of judgments, and the excursions of sheriffs in search of property to levy upon, embittered the people against the courts of law.

Even before the close of the Revolution the spirit of discord rose to the surface. Rev. Samuel Ely, of Somers, Conn., with uncertain denominational connections and an unsavory character, interfered with the courts at Northampton in 1782. He was convicted and thrown into the Springfield jail, from which he was released by a mob. It was the 12th of June; Springfield was in great commotion. About one hundred and fifty men, mostly strangers from up the river and from the Berkshire hills, with swords, guns, and bayonets, demanded the keys of the common jail. Being refused, they broke open the doors, and released Ely, McKnoll, a debtor, as well as a negro. A majority of the people of the parish, including Rev. Robert Breck, were at Longmeadow, attending the funeral of Dr. Stephen Williams. Returning citizens pursued the party, and caught and locked up three men as hostages for the return of Ely. Northampton and other towns joined in the chase, and no less than one thousand armed men figured in this episode. On Sunday word was spread abroad that the hostages at Northampton were to be liberated by a mob, and two hundred armed men marched in short order from Springfield to the rescue. General Porter, of Hadley, called out the militia. The alleged release of the three prisoners on parole, upon assurance that Ely would be surrendered, has been called "contemptibly pusillanimous" on the part of General Porter; but a competent authority (George Sheldon) says: "It was by the firmness of General Porter that the law was sustained, and by his prudence that a disastrous scene of bloodshed was averted, when six hundred determined men confronted the five hundred and fifty who guarded the Northampton jail, — men equal in courage and social position. The mob had been misled by false reports, and it is a fact that the hostages, while still in prison, made such representations to Captain Dickinson and others, that this well-organized, well-led, and well-armed body of men, whom that distinguished patriot, Joseph Hawley, dignified by calling 'insurgents,' were induced to disband and disperse without firing a shot."

Ely claimed that he had acted upon the authority of a convention

of several towns which had met at Hatfield in April. Springfield, on the 19th of March, had chosen as delegates to such a convention Capt. John Morgan and Dr. Chauncey Brewer. They were to receive their instructions from William Pynchon, Jr., John Hale, and Capt. James Sikes.

In August delegates were chosen to another Hatfield convention. These were part of a series of county conventions in this and other portions of the State. The usual course was to first declare that the conventions were legal bodies, then counsel peaceful modes of agitation; but, as was the case in Northampton, the counsel was a mere form. We will not follow the example of some writers on the Shays insurrection, and enter into bitter denunciations of the insurgents. There was not an exceptionally unruly spirit among the Massachusetts people of that day. They had simply become poverty stricken and distressed. Poverty knows no law. Self-government was new, imperfect, and, in fine, ill-understood, and the great mass of the rebels never thought of shouldering a musket for the purpose of securing from others what did not belong to them.

During the years between the departure of British soldiers in 1783 and the meeting of the Philadelphia convention of 1787, which drafted the United States Constitution, the thought of the New World was largely centred upon Massachusetts and New England, and even public men on the other side of the Atlantic were beginning to predict the immediate collapse of the experiment of self-government. The tory element in the States, which the stress of war had forced into sullen silence, had come to the surface, and in Massachusetts and in portions of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, to say nothing of Pennsylvania and Virginia, the common people seemed bent upon plunging into a democracy that was but one remove from communism in both property and politics. "An abolition of debts, both public and private," writes Mr. Madison in 1786 of the Shays movement, "and a new division of property are

strongly suspected to be in contemplation." While the monarchy is the refuge and prayer of the tory wherever found, communism in some form is the untutored aim of democratic mobs.

Congress in 1786 heard of the doings of the Massachusetts insurgents, and was asked by the Governor of Massachusetts to loan sixty field-pieces; but that body refused the request. The majority felt that Congress had no right to send arms or move to subdue a rebellion in any State. The spirit of 1776 was the pulsation of a democratic sentiment; the spirit of 1786 was a contention about constitutional forms.

"We are certainly in a delicate situation," George Washington wrote to John Jay in the spring of 1786, "but my fear is that the people are not sufficiently misled to retract from error. To be plain, I think there is more wickedness than ignorance mixed in our counsels. Under this impression I scarcely know what opinion to entertain of a general convention."

The development of this feeling in Washington's mind was gradual, but the condition of unhappy Massachusetts soon determined his course, and the statesmanship at the bottom of it was finally elaborated by Hamilton, Jay, and Madison in "The Federalist," where the Shays rebellion figures as the most conspicuous argument against the shambling league of sovereign States. One of the strongest papers, contributed by Alexander Hamilton to the "Federalist," turned upon this very tendency among neighboring States to distressing contentions. "To look for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent, unconnected sovereignties in the same neighborhood," said Mr. Hamilton, "would be to disregard the uniform course of human events." He goes on to dispute that commercial interests will not prevent rivalry, and adds: "Perhaps, however, a reference tending to illustrate the general principle may with propriety be made to a case which has lately happened among ourselves. If Shays had not been a desperate debtor, it is much to be doubted whether Massachusetts would have been plunged into a

civil war." He then answers his own question as to whether it is time to "wake from the deceitful dream of a golden age:" —

"Let the points of extreme depression to which our national dignity and credit have sunk; let the inconveniences felt everywhere from a lax and ill administration of government; let the revolt of a part of the State of North Carolina, the late menacing disturbances in Pennsylvania, and the actual insurrections and rebellions in Massachusetts declare!"

Mr. Hamilton, in another part of the "Federalist," asks with much feeling: "Who can determine what might have been the issue of her (Massachusetts) late convulsions, if the malcontents had been headed by a Cæsar or by a Cromwell? Who can predict what effect a despotism, established in Massachusetts, would have upon the liberties of New Hampshire or Rhode Island, of Connecticut or New York?"

Four months after the defeat of Daniel Shays, General Washington was presiding over the convention that drew up the Constitution of the United States. When General Washington heard of the repeated stopping of courts of justice in Massachusetts, he made no attempt to conceal his consternation. "For God's sake, tell me," he wrote to Col. David Humphreys, "what is the cause of all these commotions? Do they proceed from licentiousness, British influence disseminated by the tories, or real grievances which admit of redress?" It is distressing to follow his agitation. "There are combustibles in every State," he writes to General Knox, "to which a spark might set fire. In bewailing — which I have often done with the keenest sorrow — the death of our much lamented friend, General Greene, I have accompanied my regrets of late with a query whether he would not have preferred such an exit to the scenes which it is more than probable many of his compatriots may live to bemoan. You talk, my dear sir, of employing influence to appease the present tumults in Massachusetts. I know not where that influence is to be found; nor, if attainable, that it would be a proper remedy for these disorders. Influence! is not government. Let us have a government by which our lives,

liberties, and properties will be secured: or let us know the worst at once." When General Washington heard that the Massachusetts insurgents had rejected the pardon extended by the General Court, and the governor had called out the militia, the great Virginian wrote: "What, gracious God, is man, that there should be such inconsistency and perfidiousness?"

General Lincoln wrote Washington a long letter at the close of the exciting year 1786 in answer to the question of the latter: "Are we to have the goody fabric, that eight years were spent in raising, pulled down over our heads?" A long quotation is here made, because Lincoln was made a prominent figure in the Shays rebellion, and because his letter has never been read by the general public: —

There is great danger that it will be so, I think, unless the tottering system shall be supported by arms: and even then a government, which has no other basis than the point of the bayonet, should one be supported thereon, is so totally different from the one established, at least in idea, by the different States, that if we must have resource to the sad experiment of arms, it can be hardly said that we have supported "the goody fabric,"—in this view of the matter it may be "pulled over our heads." This probably will be the case, for there doth not appear to be virtue enough among the people to preserve a perfect republican government. "What is the cause of all these commotions?" The causes are too many, and too various for me to pretend to trace and point them out. I shall therefore only mention some of those which appear to be the principal ones. Among those I may rank the ease with which property was acquired, with which credit was obtained, and debts were discharged in the time of the war. Hence people were diverted from their usual industry and economy: a luxurious mode of living crept into vogue: and soon that income by which the expense of all should, as much as possible, be limited, was no longer considered as having anything to do with the question—at what expense families ought to live, or rather which they ought not to exceed. The moment the day arrived when all discovered that things were fast returning back into their original channels: that the industrious were to reap the fruits of their industry: and that the indolent and improvident would soon experience the evils of their idleness and sloth, very many started at the idea, and, instead of attempting to subject themselves to such a line of conduct, as duty to the public and a regard to their own happiness evi-

dently pointed out, they contemplated how they should evade the necessity of reforming their systems and changing their present mode of life. They first complained of commutation; of the weight of public taxes; of the unsupportable debt of the Union; of the scarcity of money; of the cruelty of suffering private creditors to call for their just dues. This catalogue of complaints was listened to by many; county conventions were formed; and the cry for paper money, subject to depreciation, as was declared by some of their public resolves, was the clamor of the day. But, notwithstanding instructions to members of the General Court, and petitions from different quarters, the majority of that body were opposed to the measure. Failing of their point, the disaffected in the first place attempted, and in many instances succeeded, to stop courts of law, and to suspend the operations of government: this they hoped to do until they could by force sap the foundations of our constitution, and bring into the Legislature creatures of their own, by whom they could mold a government at pleasure and make it subservient to all their purposes: and when an end should thereby be put to public and private debts, the agrarian law might follow with ease.

A citizen of western Massachusetts asks soberly in a Springfield paper: "If any or all the States in the Union should pay no attention to the resolves and recommendations of Congress, of what consequence is Congress to them?" And adds: "I seldom converse with a judicious, well-disposed man, but supposes there is a dreadful storm gathering."

The obligations of Massachusetts at the close of the Revolution were in round numbers as follows:—

Regular or private debt	£1,300,000
Due to soldiers	250,000
Share of federal debt	1,500,000
		<hr/>
		£3,050,000

One-third of the amount was to be paid by ratable polls, which did not reach one hundred thousand. Exports were reduced to comparatively nothing, and agriculture was at a distressingly low ebb. Writs of creditors almost confounded the courts and made the legal profes-

sion and the sheriffs a by-word and a hissing. The passing of the tender act of 1782, by which neat cattle and other specified property could be offered to satisfy executions for debt, opened the door for greater irregularities. A war between rich and poor was precipitated, and the judgment debtor and the judgment creditor crossed swords. More people were in debt than out of debt, and a good authority says that from 1784 to 1786 every fourth, if not every third, man was a defendant in writs of execution in Massachusetts.

The great object of the insurgents was, at first, to stop the courts, in order to prevent the entering of judgments. In May, 1783, a mob of debtors attempted, with clubs, to prevent the judges, headed by the sheriff, from entering the Springfield court-house, but were repulsed and several arrested. Many were clubbed, and it is said that one offensive insurgent was thrown into the town brook. Conventions were held at Deerfield in September, 1783, and at Hatfield the following October, but no violent measures were recommended. As lawyers were considered instruments of oppression to the debt-ridden people, a general agitation against the profession followed. At the Deerfield convention the town committees of Hampshire county voted: "It appears to us absolutely impossible that the people should be able to grapple with the burdens lying on them, and that nothing but a general bankruptcy must soon inevitably be our portion."

★ The Springfield representatives to the General Court for 1783, Thomas Williston and Gideon Burt, were given sundry instructions in view of the popular commotions. These instructions are lost, but certain it is that they both declined to serve, and Thomas Stebbins and Nathaniel Ely went in their stead. We would infer that the latter were more in sympathy with the debtor class than the former. On October 17 the town-meeting was presided over by James Sikes, and the delegates to the Hatfield convention of October 20 were Luke Bliss and Thomas Williston, for which service they received £3, showing that these conventions were recognized by the towns. It was claimed

that the conventions of these days were not legal; but it would seem that a convention composed of delegates chosen by the various towns, and supported by the town treasury, was quite as legal as a constitutional convention assembled at the invitation of the Massachusetts committee of safety to the various town committees of safety.

The town of Springfield maintained an even course during these troublous times, so far as overt acts go. The debtor class was more numerous up the river and on the hills. Springfield had several money-lenders who were widely known, and, of course, not a little unpopular in the rural districts. Here are the principal officers elected in March, 1784: Moderator, John Worthington; clerk and treasurer, William Pynchon; selectmen, William Pynchon, Moses Bliss, E. Chapin, Thomas Williston, and Reuben Bliss. Here is also the result of the elections of 1784, so far as Springfield is concerned: Governor — total, 65; James Bowdoin, 51; John Hancock, 7; John Worthington, 7. Lieutenant-Governor — total, 68; Thomas Cushing, 13; John Worthington, 46; James Bowdoin, 4. Senator — total, 49; John Worthington, 3; Caleb Strong, 47; Moses Bliss, 38; John Bliss, 6; Timothy Danielson, 40; John Hastings, 3; Noah Goodman, 1; Luke Bliss, 1; John Ingersoll, 1; A. Burbank, 18; Samuel Mathew, 1; Simeon Strong, 37. Thomas Dwight was representative, and was reelected in 1785. In the March meeting of 1784, above referred to, over which Colonel Worthington presided, it was proposed to create the office of collector of taxes; but the motion failed.

The old rule was that the constables should collect the town rates. It was difficult to get men to serve in that capacity. Those elected that year at an adjourned meeting included Luther Van Horn and Rufus Sikes, who accepted; but Judah Chapin and Gerald Warner seem to have declined the honor, as did also Dr. Joel Marble at a still later meeting. The town records during these weeks are as defective as the popular feeling was disturbed. Warrants of dis-

tress were ordered against some of the constables in April, and in May stray bits of town lands were looked to for financial relief. In November, 1784, £213 19s. 6d. was voted for town expenses. At the spring meeting (1785) the constables selected were William Cooley, Charles Sheldon, Seth Chapin, Jr., Calvin Stebbins, Calvin Bliss, Justin Lombard, and William Smith; but only Sheldon, Chapin, and Lombard agreed to serve; but subsequently they declined, and Aaron Morgan and Lieut. John Colton substituted. Morgan was an experienced hand at the business, and Lieutenant Colton's name added dignity to what was ordinarily a perfunctory and ministerial service, but had now become solemn exploits in finance.

A committee, headed by Colonel Worthington, gave Representative Dwight the following instructions as to matters and things in general in November, 1785: —

Sir this Town placing great Trust & Confidence in your Integrity & abilities & which they trust will be sufficient to direct your General conduct as a member of the Representative branch of the Legislature, nevertheless have thought fit to Instruct you in some few matters that particularly respect this Town. We desire your particular attention to the General valuation, we suppose this County in General is taxed beyond their due proportion, with other Counties and that this Town in particular is taxed beyond their due proportion. Compared with the Towns in the Country

It is manifest the same Estates pay more in this Town than in any other Town we are acquainted with which has brought upon us great arrearages of past Taxes and if not remedied soon must effectually discourage all attempts & Efforts to discharge them and render the burthen quite Intolerable. we therefore Instruct you, to use your utmost Endeavor, in Union with other County members, in the first place, that a due proportion, be laid on the trading part of the Community, the want of which is one principal source, of the present Inequality, and then that only a due proportion be set on this Town, Compared with others in this County, and also that you Endeavour a Remedy, for the great Inequality of the past Taxes, another matter tho' indeed of a more General & public, concern to which we desire to recall your particular attention, is the act passed by the last General assembly granting certain duties upon Vellum Parchment &

Paper and commonly called the Stamp act. This we do Instruct you to use your utmost Endeavor to obtain a repeal of, if it be possible, and if that cannot be obtained, that you Endeavor to procure such alterations and amendments both in the articles dutied and in the mode of Collection as will render it less burthensome to Individuals as well as more beneficial to the Community the perticular dutied articles, which we would mention as most burthensome, are notes of Hand & publish News papers, the former is such an Intolerable burthen as has never been attempted, even in great Brittain. And the other being about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the value which is indeed a very high duty, must greatly discourage the Circulation of those Useful vehicles of public knowledge, if not cause them wholly to be laid aside, or perhaps throw the business of printers, into the neighbouring States.

As to the mode of Collection, if the act were to Continue, most of the duties might be collected and paid by the several publick Officers, Issuing the dutied articles so as to prevent the burthen Expenses of Stamps & Stamp officers, as for Instance, the Clerks of Courts may receive the duties upon writs & Executions &c. Registers of deeds the Duty on deeds, the Naval Officers such duties as are appointed on ye Papers, used in their respective Offices, by which means there would of Consequence be a great saving of Expence, and we believe, more money, neated to the Treasury as well as great Trouble and Inconvenience prevented.

Warrants of distress were once more ordered that month (November, 1785) against tax delinquents prior to 1783. In March, 1786, we find Colonel Worthington moderator and Moses Bliss on the select board. There was more difficulty about constables; a list was finally made out, but Charles Sheldon had had his share of trouble, and retired, in spite of the general desire to have him serve. Evidence of the popular distress in money matters is seen in the fact that over ninety per cent. of the Springfield inhabitants for several years had worked out their highway tax instead of paying money. The constables were given two and a half per cent. specie for their commonwealth tax collections, but finally John Pynchon came to the rescue in May by acting as constable for the first parish for £20, and two and a half per cent. on the commonwealth tax. A little earlier the proposal to make Northampton the shire town had created some concern,

and John Worthington, backed by Moses Bliss and Thomas Dwight, were set at the gates of Springfield to oppose such a disastrous transfer.

The popular upheavals induced Springfield to send Thomas Dwight and Luke Bliss to the May convention at Hatfield, 1786. The selection of Dwight is proof positive that the majority felt that these conventions would serve an important public service. The unhappy town was frequently battling with poverty in legal meetings, but to little purpose. An important appeal for relief was sent to the General Court in June, 1786: Thomas Dwight refusing the offer of reelection to the Legislature in 1786, Samuel Lyman was chosen in his place. Moses Bliss was moderator in August, 1786, when William Pynchon and Capt. James Sikes were sent to the Hatfield convention that month, and at an adjourned meeting Bliss and Worthington refused to serve on an advisory committee on the state of affairs. William Pynchon was the moving spirit of this committee, and the following report, adopted September 25, 1786, is added as expressing an heroic faith and admirable self-control amid deplorable commotions, hungry men, swarming debtors, exacting creditors, obstructed courts, dismembered families, and the plots of sundry seditious spirits ready for adventure on general principles: —

To Sam^l Lyman Esq^r Sir as the approaching Session of the General Court, at which you are to attend as the Representative of this town will be peculiarly important, we think it our duty to Communicate to you our sentiments on sundry matters which may probably then be subjects of deliberation and debate.

While we disapprove the late violent proceedings which have obstructed the Course of public Justice in this & some other Countys, we are constrained to say, we feel in Common with others, the pressure of public burthens, and fully persuaded that some measures, perfectly consistent with Justice, and the honour of Government, might be adopted, which would afford sensible relief, and restore general tranquility.

The late appropriations of revenue, arising from liscences and Impost, and liscences from Inholder and retailers of Spiritous liquors to the payment of interest on our state securities has given us as well as others, great Uneasiness.

You will use your influence, that this revenue be in future applied to purchase this states share of the final settlement Certificates, which may now be obtained at a low rate, for this purpose Agents may be employed, nor do we see why the impost and excise may not be payable in the Certificates made themselves, or solid Coin at the option of the debtors, with such difference as obtains in private dealings. Thus we shall be able to answer the requisitions of Congress without a future tax, for probably this State which has all along distinguished not to say *distressed* herself by her forward exertions in the common Cause, will appear to have a ballance due to her from the United States whenever her accounts with them are adjusted. which we wish may be soon as possible.

Let the interest on our State securities no more be paid in Coin, which was not the original promise, nor expectation nor can Justice require it, as these securities have been generally transferred, and are now negotiated at a low rate, and the possessors have in various ways received peculiar advantages already; but let it be paid in new Certificates or in orders on the taxes that have been or shall be granted for the redemption of said securities, as is practised in other States.

When a tax is issued for the redemption of securities already due, let it fall a little below their full amount, as has been wisely practised heretofore, to prevent an appreciation; and, to facilitate the payment of the tax, we would advise, that the possessors of securities be notified to bring them to the treasurer and receive for as much as is due on them Certificates of smaller denominations, which may more conveniently circulate, and let them that have been or shall be granted for the redemption of said securities, as is practised in other States.

When a tax is issued for the redemption of securities already due, let it fall a little below their full amount, as has been wisely practised heretofore to prevent an appreciation, and to facilitate the payment of the tax we would advise, that the possessors of securities be notified to bring them to the treasurer and receive for as much as is due on them Certificates of smaller denominations, which may more Conveniently circulate, and let them be received in payment of the tax. Those which remain after the first collection is finished may be transferred to the succeeding tax, thus we apprehend, Justice may be done, and the people relieved and all the advantages of a paper Currency may be obtained, and the Common Mischief of it avoided.

If a motion should be made for a paper medium to be substituted in the place of solid Coin, as a tender in discharge of private debts, you will oppose it with all your influence, such a medium is insignificant in itself, pregnant of innumerable Evils, both political & moral, contrary to the Spirit of our Constitution, and

inconsistent with the rights of Mankind; whatever orders government may see fit to make with respect to future contracts, no government can possibly have a right to alter private contracts, already made under her patronage, and the protection and security of laws then existing. A U'surpation in such an instance might soon become a precedent for U'surpation still more dangerous, till the liberties of the people were Annihilated. not to add that the increase of our paper debt at a time when it is already a burthen, appears a preposterous and ridiculous remedy. You are not to favor any motion for a present revisal of our Constitution, we are far from thinking it too perfect to be amended, but as within a few years it is to be revised, of course if then found necessary, we cannot suppose, it would be prudent, to incur the extraordinary expense and peculiar danger of attempting an alteration, in so burthensome & so critical a time as this, there are matters of greater & more immediate consequence which require your attention, and on which present relief more Especially depends the general perturbation of peoples spirits at this instant, will scarcely admit that calm dispassionate deliberation which is necessary in laying the ground-work in government in so large and so commercial a state, and a state which has so many foreign as well as domestic connections, and probably would prevent a tolerable agreement in any amendments that could be proposed.

We would further observe that the tax granted in march last and the method proposed for the payment thereof, under our embarrissments we conceive cannot be complied with, nor does it appear to us that Justice requires it should, for if individuals are possessed of Certificates which the legislature has directed to be received in part of said tax, why should they be precluded from paying the same in discharge of? unless a certain sum be likewise paid in Coin; or rather why should we be obliged to pay any part which is to be applied to Congress, so long as the neighboring states are making no such provision? You will therefore consider this as an object of your attention and use your endeavour that such an alteration take place with regard to the collection thereof as will be consistent with the abilities of the people, or that it be suspended to some future period, or until our Sister states adopt similar measures.

If the legislature could devise a more expeditious and less expensive method of administering Justice in future, and for that end some alteration be made in the Courts of Common pleas and general Sessions of the peace, we would most heartily acquiesce therein. It may perhaps deserve a thought whether certain Justices specially appointed, may not be empowered to go into one two or three Countries and try causes, such as are now tryed by the Common pleas and General Sessions of the peace, and by that means prevent the needless expence of so

great a number of Justices giving their attendance at the general Sessions of the peace as before express^d but this you will consider as a mere suggestion not as a positive instruction.

A long list of delegates to the Hadley convention of November 7 declined to serve, except Joseph Ferre. On what class of men, it may be asked, did the burdens rest the heaviest? Let us take specimen cases. In 1783 Noah Copley, of Westfield, allows his note for £4 17s. 5d. to John Worthington to go to protest, and the latter secures judgment with £1 9s. 2d. in costs. That is to say, to use round numbers, a man owing \$24 had to pay \$7 for the privilege of having the sheriff sell \$24 worth of his goods. There were hundreds of such cases in the Court of Common Pleas. At the February (1784) session of that court, one Daniel Shays, of Pelham, "Gent^m," was defendant in a suit brought by John Johnson "yoeman," for the enforcement of a promissory note for £12. Shays did not appear, and judgment and costs were recorded against him.

Shays was a hired man at Brookfield at the opening of the Revolution. He entered the army as a sergeant, being under Washington near New York. He received one of the swords which Lafayette distributed to American officers. It is said, with what truth we know not, that he was for a time ostracized by his associate officers, because he sold this sword, and continued to use his old one. Shays eventually became captain in the 5th Massachusetts regiment, commanded by Rufus Putnam, and his record at Bunker Hill, Stony Point, and Saratoga was creditable. Being a judgment debtor, and naturally a reckless character, he did not allow the sales of property under judgments in Pelham to pass without protest. The sale of the bedding of a sick woman gave him a good text for tavern harangues. The Conkey tavern at Pelham was made vocal with these "results" to self-government: so was the Clapp tavern in East Amherst, as well as the West Springfield tavern, where Luke Day — legislator-at-large and captain in the 7th Massachusetts regiment — talked by the hour.

We find that in the winter term of the Court of Common Pleas in 1784, Moses Bliss, William Pynchon, Luke Chapin, Isaac Morgan, Zenas Parsons, Abel Chapin, Jonathan Dwight, and many more were crowding on each other's heels to secure judgments against debtors, and Colonel Worthington and others foreclosed mortgages against the same unfortunate class.

The February term of the Common Pleas, 1786, was held at Northampton, the justices present being Eleazer Porter, John Bliss, and Samuel Mather. No less than three hundred and thirty-three cases, mainly occasioned by the poverty of the unhappy debtors, were called up, and judgment obtained or action deferred. It is a monotonous record on the books, but was dramatic enough in results. There was a general wail of despair. Jonathan Dwight, "trader," secured, for example, a judgment of £8 3s. 9d. and £1 15s. 10d. in costs against Ebenezer Rumrill, of Longmeadow, and Elihu Murray, of Deerfield. Their note was £7 15s. Their property was at once levied upon. We find John Worthington, Ephraim Chapin, Phineas Chapin, Josel Day, Luke Bliss, Moses Bliss were plaintiffs in similar actions. The Mays term was equally full, and the enraged army of debtors from all parts of western Massachusetts, would not let the judges proceed with business on the first Tuesday in August. Robert Breck, of Northampton, clerk of the court, says: "Early in the Morning of this Day, there was collected a considerable number of Persons under Arms, who paraded near the Court-House, with a professed Design to prevent this Court from sitting; a Committee from whom presented a Petition requesting the Court would not proceed to do any Business. The Court being convinced thereof, thought proper to open the same at the House of Captain Samuel Clark, Innholder." An adjournment of the court was then made until November, but the insurgents interrupted all courts until May, 1787.

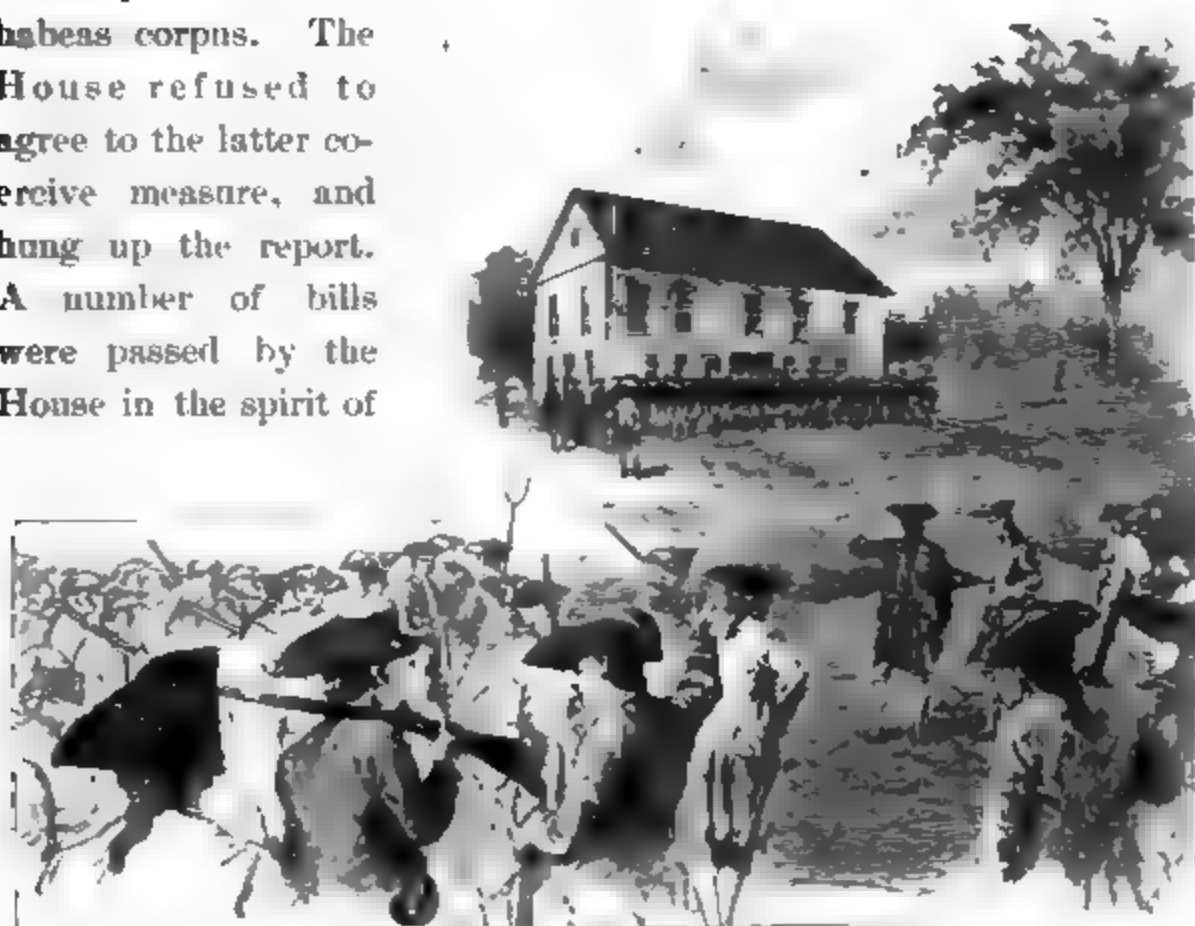
The elections of 1786 were hotly contested. Lawyers became special objects of contempt, on account of their agency in securing judgments, and the feeling was sufficient to exclude most of the pro-

fession from the House. That body was found to be completely in the hands of the debtor element. They filled the vacancies in the Senate with men after their own ilk ; they passed a bill admitting to the bar all persons of good moral character ; they limited the fees of attorneys ; they imposed an oath on lawyers, to be taken before pleading, to provide against the cheating of clients ; and they attempted to issue more paper money. But the Senate was proof against these vagaries, and the session ended in smoke.

An angry county convention met at Worcester August 15, and another at Hatfield on the 22d, the latter body continuing for three days. Their demands included the abolition of the Senate, the Court of Common Pleas, and General Sessions of the Peace, the lawyers' fee table, land grants to government officials, unequal taxation as between polls and estates and landed and mercantile interests, and the holding of sessions of the General Court at Boston. The convention also voted in favor of the election of civil officers by the General Court, the emission of paper money, and the calling of a State constitutional convention. Although this assembly recommended that the inhabitants of Hampshire county abstain from " mobs and unlawful assemblies, until a constitutional method of redress can be obtained," the judges at Northampton, four days later, were greeted with an ugly crowd armed with clubs and muskets. They surrounded the courthouse, and demanded an adjournment *sine die*. After an informal session at a tavern, the court yielded, and adjourned to Springfield on the second Tuesday of November. The Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace at Worcester had been interrupted in a similar way, that same month, and a most alarming state of things existed, not only in the counties of Hampshire, Worcester, and Berkshire, but also Bristol, Middlesex, and other eastern counties. Governor Bowdoin issued a proclamation calling upon all people to keep the peace. The Legislature was also assembled September 27.

At Concord, Great Barrington, and other places the same scenes were enacted, and the courts compelled to adjourn. General Shepard,

of Westfield, was ordered to take possession of the Springfield court-house, which he did two days before the meeting of the Legislature. The Senate passed a joint resolution denouncing the interruption of the courts, approving the act of the governor in calling out the militia, and providing for the suspension of the habeas corpus. The House refused to agree to the latter coercive measure, and hung up the report. A number of bills were passed by the House in the spirit of



DEFENDING THE COURT-HOUSE AGAINST SHAYS'S INSURGENTS

the insurgent conventions. The Legislature was flooded with petitions from suffering towns: and if it had not been for armed resistance in Hampshire the General Court would not have passed, as they did, a bill authorizing the governor and council to imprison disorderly persons without bail or mainprise. A bill offering pardon to all taking the oath of allegiance was likewise passed, but to no purpose.

Daniel Shays and Luke Day took a bold step at Springfield, Sep-

tember 26, by interfering with the session of the Supreme Judicial Court, Chief Justice Cushing presiding. General Shepard discreetly prevented a collision with the forces of Shays, as they marched and countermarched before the Springfield court-house, or rendezvoused at Stebbins's tavern, in North Main street; and after the court had adjourned, and had also abandoned the October term at Great Barrington, he withdrew his militia companies to the arsenal, and the Shays men returned to their homes, well pleased that no indictments had been found against them. Three weeks later Daniel Shays issued an order from Pelham requiring all his men to arm and furnish themselves with sixty rounds. He proceeded to Rutland, and superintended the interruption of the courts at Worcester and elsewhere in December. He turned up in Springfield on the 22d of that month, and found the judges of the Court of Common Pleas an easy prey to the clubs, drums, muskets, and threats of his men.

The legal profession continued to be the object of bitter attack. Demagogues and lampoonists plied their trade industriously. The following lines were dropped upon the floor of the Springfield court-house : —

“ If Sampson's foxes tail by tail
With firebrands were set running,
My God, what havock must prevail.
When Lawyers' tails are burning!

“ Quoth Jack, 'Tis true as any fact
Established in the nation,
Unless their tails were often wet
They'd cause the conflagration.”

While these sorry matters divided brother and brother in the village of Springfield, and set friend against friend, the Springfield town-meeting was not swamped by the debtor party. It voted that the increase of paper money at a time when it was already a burden was

“ a preposterous and ridiculous remedy ; ” it opposed a revision of the State constitution on account of the passions of the people so dangerously excited, but it called upon the Legislature for remedial measures that would remove the “ imaginary as well as the real grievances of the people.” These resolutions had been passed in September, when the Legislature met ; but, as has been seen, they produced no effect upon the people.

The insurgents found hearing in the papers, and loud-mouthed men declaimed in the taverns of Springfield and elsewhere against the riot act, the expensive mode of collecting debts, and the payment of moneys raised by impost and excise to discharge the interest of government securities, instead of the foreign debt. These agitators, who sported the hemlock twig, had a scheme of repudiation on hand concerning government securities, which speculators had bought up from 2s. to 6s. 8d. on the pound. They not only objected to applying the revenues from impost and excise to meet the interest, which in some cases amounted to more than the price paid for the securities, but they proposed to repudiate or refund upon the basis of the market value of the securities. Army officers who remained in the service were promised by Congress half-pay for life, but this was soon changed to pay for five years ; and this, considering the depreciation of paper money, made the fate of the officers doubly unhappy. This commutation added another harsh string to the orchestral discord that assaulted the unhappy air.

Boston itself was not untinged with the spirit of revolt, and the moneyed men of that city found that the time had come for them to put their hands in their pockets and furnish the sinews of war. After it had been decided to call out the troops the commissary-general reported that he could get no supplies without cash, and of this the treasury was empty. General Lincoln immediately visited a prominent Boston club, and laid the case before them. A subscription was started the following morning, the governor heading the list, and the money was raised before sunset. An army of four

thousand five hundred was collected in short order, and General Lincoln prepared for his long march.

To show how some of the towns felt the strain, it may be said that the remote town of Rowe, December 4, 1786, "being Repeatedly Requested to Join in the Dispute between the Court and those called the Regulating party," but not being able to get at the merits of the controversy, recommended that as many as "can conveniently march" should repair to Springfield, and after hearing the particulars "join that party as they shall Judge to be in the right of the cause, they acting entirely for themselves in that matter."

Governor Bowdoin in his letter of instructions to General Lincoln said, "You are to consider yourself in all your military offensive operations constantly as under the direction of the civil officer, saving where any armed force shall appear and oppose your marching to execute these orders." General Lincoln protested against these instructions, being placed as he was under the orders of the local civil authorities wherever he might be; and the governor, after consulting the council, wrote: "As you are accompanied by Gentlemen of the Law, who are also Justices of the Peace, and as you can have a number of Deputy Sheriffs to attend you by applying to the High Sheriff to depute some of your own Corps or others as you shall judge proper, the Council apprehend there is scarcely a supposable case, to which your powers, as expressed in my orders, do not extend."

Lincoln turned up with his battalions at Worcester, January 22, and protected the courts with little difficulty; Daniel Shays, after sending to the governor a pacific message intending to mislead the authorities, essayed the difficult feat of capturing the federal arsenal at Springfield. He made a dash from Rutland with over one thousand men, indifferently armed with guns, but thoroughly equipped with an incendiary vocabulary. He reached Wilbraham on the 24th, and the women and children of that terrified community were transferred to Longmeadow for safety. General Lincoln was two days' march in

the rear of Shays, and the plan was to overpower General Shepard before the eastern troops came up. Eli Parsons, with four hundred Berkshire insurgents, was at Chicopee ; while Luke Day was the only man among the rebels who made any pretence at military discipline. He was resting under arms at West Springfield with a company of four hundred, whom he kept in good temper by occasional orations of the oppressions of the government. Shepard was thus confronted by about two thousand rebels, twice his number ; but there was divided counsel in the ranks of the enemy. Shays ordered Day to attack on the 25th, but the latter said he would not be ready to move until the 26th. This answer miscarried, and thus Shays advanced on the eventful 25th. Day meantime demanded that the militia lay down their arms, not knowing that Shays was already on the march.

General Shepard was doing his best to hold an ugly people in hand. Public sentiment was against him, although in this immediate vicinity the majority of those who spoke their mind were in favor of the government. He did not really take in the situation, however, until about a fortnight before the Armory Hill fight. As late as January 12, General Shepard wrote Lincoln from Northampton that two hundred or three hundred men would be ample to defend the stores at Springfield, and that he himself would be ready to march to Worcester to defend the courts there. He adds : " I can apprehend no danger of so desperate and senseless a measure as burning towns or an attack on unembodied inhabitants ; and Springfield, besides containing stores of exceeding great consequence, is in the line of intelligence and perhaps of march, and has buildings to accommodate a considerable part of the men, which are to be found nowhere else in this county." In speaking of supplies he says the rum and spirituous liquors must be forwarded from Boston, as there was little to be had in Hampshire county ; and he added that " the men cannot be kept together especially in this season without a daily allowance of spirituous liquors."

General Shepard, who had taken possession of Springfield on the

18th, found that all the insurgents in the southern part of the county had received orders to assemble at Palmer, and that the Berkshire and the Northern Hampshire men were directed to march to Pelham, Greenwich, and Hardwick. There was a pressing need of money at Springfield for the support of the soldiers, not a cent subscribed at Boston having been forwarded here. No man in Springfield felt disposed to loan Shepard money to any amount. He asked for at least £2,000, and he remarked: "I do not think the men can be kept together long unless they are pretty well supplied with rum, etc., and a little money." Many of the militia in this county were prevented from assembling by their disaffected neighbors. As neither Congress nor General Knox had given permission to take arms from the arsenal, General Shepard's men were poorly equipped. With some bitterness Shepard writes to Lincoln the day after taking possession at the arsenal: "It will be very disagreeable for me to be defeated by such a wicked banditti when I am guarding the arms of the Union, and command for the purpose of supporting the dignity of the government when I had no arms to defend myself even from insult."

Shepard began to feel very much concerned on the 21st, and he sent to General Lincoln, at Worcester, for a flying column to follow in the rear of Shays. He was cut off from Berkshire by the vigilance of Luke Day, and his lack of communication with Northampton led Caleb Strong, of Northampton, to write Lincoln that insurgents had taken possession of Chicopee bridge, and had captured a provision train on its way to Springfield for the militia. This party was from Berkshire, and was commanded by Eli Parsons. Shepard himself did not hear of this until the 23d. The weather was bitterly cold, and Shepard called upon Lincoln for at least four hundred men to be forwarded in sleighs. Shepard's provisions were limited to a five days' stock, and the loss of his provision train was especially disturbing. He had ordered "two loads of rum," to be consigned to Jonathan Dwight. Money was also scarce. Not only

were his men unpaid, but he was compelled to be personally responsible for what fuel and forage he needed. It must have been distressing to Lincoln to be informed by Shepard that his force "could not continue in the field much longer" unless money was sent him. This was three days before the Shays encounter. Maj. Levi Shepard, of Northampton, was his commissary, and Col. William Smith, of Springfield, the quartermaster, — two men who must have been at their wits' end to meet the emergency, with a disturbed or a disaffected and hostile community about them. Shepard had learned that three hundred insurgents from Berkshire lodged at Northampton on the night of the 22d. He was not at all reassured by the silence of Lincoln, who had not answered the five messages sent east in quick succession. Shays, Day, and Parsons had completely cut Springfield off from all approaches, neither troops nor supplies being obtainable, and the insurgents were enjoying the contents of Shepard's provision train. He would have retired to a stronger position if it had not been for the arsenal. As it was he wrote Lincoln once more, saying, "If you cannot grant me any reinforcements or relief I shall try to work out my own salvation before it is too late. Shays's and Day's forces are about two thousand strong. Before to-morrow morning I expect the trial will be made to force me from this post. It is no time for delay; your operations must be quick and spirited, or they will answer no purpose. *That man's party is increasing fast.*"

Luke Day had scoured the country on the west side, and his sentries and reconnoitring parties were very annoying. He had even deployed a body in the Longmeadow direction and secured many prisoners. He captured General Parks and Dr. Whitney in sleighs, and had taken a loyal man in Longmeadow out of his bed and shut him up with other prisoners of war at West Springfield.

Shays was at Palmer on the 23d with eleven hundred noisy men. The insurgent officers held a council of war there, and a friend of the government overheard the proceedings. It was decided to join Day's forces and to attack the arsenal before Lincoln could come to

Shepard's relief. Lieut. Aaron Graves, of Palmer, hastened to inform Lincoln of these facts. Adam Wheeler did what he could to detain Lincoln, by asking for a "Conference" in order to "bring about a Settlement with the Government."

Deputy Sheriff King rode through the crusted snow across fields from Wilbraham to the Stony Hill road on the 25th, drawing blood from the legs of his horse, and warned General Shepard in less than an hour; but Shays did not appear on the Boston road, in view of the armory, until late in the afternoon. Shepard sent several messages of warning to Shays not to advance, but received only insolence and defiance for his pains. At a hundred yards a howitzer was discharged each side of the advancing forces; and, a few minutes later, a shot, at short range, was levelled directly at the column. Ezekiel Root and Ariel Webster, of Gill, and John Spicer, of Leyden, were killed, and John Hunter, of Shelburne, mortally wounded. A scene of ridiculous confusion followed. Not a return shot was fired at the militia, and about twelve hundred very-much-affrighted men raced for their dear lives toward Ludlow. The killed and wounded were taken to a house opposite the site of Olivet Church. The well near this house is still to be seen in the cellar of the arsenal.

General Lincoln reached Springfield on the 27th with the main body of his troops. At nine o'clock of the 25th the news of Shays's defeat had reached Palmer, and Colonel Baldwin had sent word to Lincoln that Captain Shaw reported that the insurgents made the attack about four o'clock, "on the plain, near the magazine."

General Lincoln gives the following account of the movements of his troops upon reaching Springfield:—

Part of them with the light horse I moved up the river on the ice, with the intention to prevent the junction of Shays & Day, & if that was not attempted, to cut off Day's retreat. With the other part of the troops I moved across the river, in front of his guard. They soon turned out, & retreated to his main body. They retreated before us about half a mile, then made some disposition to attack, but soon left that post & retreated to a high piece of ground in their rear, where

they were met by the Light horse: thence they fled in every direction, but most of them reached Northampton, about 20 miles distant. This left Shays' right uncovered, & induced him to move the same night to Amherst, twenty miles North of Springfield. At 3 o'clock in the morning of the 29th we moved toward Amherst, where Shays had been joined by Day. On our arrival in the borders of the town, the rear of Shays' force left it, some few fell into our hands: he then took post at Pelham, east from Amherst: we filed off to the left & took post in Hadley & Hatfield on the river.

Lincoln said at Pittsfield, after the scattering of the insurgents in western Massachusetts, that he found that "the people in general had been in arms, or had been abettors of those who were: and that their obstinacy was not exceeded by anything but their ignorance of their own situation." Governor Bowdoin in February offered £150 for the arrest of Shays, and £100 each for the arrest of Adam Wheeler, Luke Day, and Eli Parsons. Day was eventually brought to Springfield, a prisoner, but Shays made good his escape.

This region round about was for some weeks made lively with sundry martial episodes. Gen. John Peterson, at Stockbridge, with three hundred men, was so annoyed with insurgents hovering around and distressing loyal people, that he made a raid on the 29th of January, and succeeded in capturing eighty-four prisoners, and his couriers reported such an ugly feeling that he applied to Lincoln for more troops. He said the "deportment of the Faction in this county against government has induced a kind of frenzy." At Hadley, on February 1, seven soldiers were court-martialled for stealing property from private citizens, and were condemned to march before the army on parade with a paper pinned to their breasts, on which was written, in capital letters, "FOR PLUNDERING." Col. Gideon Burt, at Springfield, informed Lincoln on the 1st of February that it would be dangerous to withdraw the horse from the town, as both to the east and west hostility to the government continued. He had found that one hundred and twenty armed insurgents were seen at Southwick on the road to Westfield on the last day of March, and he added,

“ It is very difficult for me to obtain men who I can confide in to bring & carry Intelligence & horse who will parole Roads.” Colonel Burt was an energetic officer, however, and he inspired a wholesome fear of the militia in these parts, by scouring the country and bringing in prisoners. Col. Israel Chapin received at South Hadley ten of Shays’s men, captured near Ware river on the 2d of February, and upon reaching Springfield he took a much brighter view of things than Burt did. Chapin had sent his troopers as far north as Amherst and as far east as Palmer, so he reported to Lincoln on February 5. He made the expedition with four hundred men. There was much discontent at Springfield among the soldiers, as the prospect of peace increased their anxiety to return to their neglected families.

The last of February a band of insurgents plundered several houses at Stockbridge, taking several prisoners, and marched for Great Barrington, but were soon put to rout by the Lenox and Stockbridge militia after a slight brush, in which two or three on each side were killed. Gen. John Ashley, who was in command, was a descendant of John Pynchon, through his daughter Mary, wife of Joseph Whiting, whose daughter married Col. John Ashley, of Westfield, grandfather of Maj.-Gen. John Ashley. On March 31 sixty of Shays’s men attacked the house of Colonel Dwight, at Belchertown, and carried off a young man in charge of the family, but did not capture the colonel. The people at Belchertown were in constant communication with Shays at Pelham, and the loyal portion felt themselves much exposed. Rev. Justus Forward, informing Lincoln of the situation there, said that Shays’s spies were constantly in the place, and he added dryly, “ I am not so anxious for myself as for others ; for I don’t think Shays wants a Chaplain ! ”

The news of Shays’s defeat determined the course of many a wavering town. The little town of Granby, for example, had witnessed the passing of armed men in the direction of Springfield, and five days after that town saw the affrighted army of the insurgents sweep back over the mountains, suffering the discomforts and humiliations,

with none of the glory, of defeat ; a full town-meeting was held, and resolutions passed appealing to General Lincoln to spare his hand and “ prevent the awful destruction of Mankind.” Almost the moment that the Springfield fight reached Leverett, a petition to Shepard and Lincoln was drawn up to the same effect, lamenting that some by “ a misguided Zeal have fermented, and Kindled Coles of strife the flame of which has slain a Number,” and hoping for the “ interposition of Heaven,” and the smile of the “ God of Sabbaoth ” upon all efforts to restore peace. Shays, at Pelham, was meantime sending petitions for pardon to Lincoln, at Hadley, and to the General Court. What Governor Bowdoin thought is expressed in a letter to Lincoln, dated January 27 : “ I am not disappointed in your having applications for the compromision of affairs, by yielding up some part of the Dignity and spirit of Government, in exchange for a certain quantity of rebellion, obstinacy and insolence ; but my dependence on the good people of the commonwealth is so great that I cannot harbour a thought of making such dishonorable barter.”

The petition from Pelham to the General Court, dated January 30, and signed by the officers of Worcester, Middlesex, Hampshire, and Berkshire counties, who were in arms, was a meek affair. It “ humbly sheweth that your Petitionners being senciabile that we have been in error in having recourse to arms, and not seeking redress in a constitutional way ” etc.

The inhabitants of Colrain also appealed to Lincoln for “ clemency, — a most darling attribute when connected with Power and Legal authority,” in order to prevent the “ cutting off the members of the natural body.” The selectmen of Williamstown sent resolutions to both contending parties recognizing at once the “ Necessity and importance of supporting the government ” and the “ equal importance ” of paying attention to the “ Redress of all Grievances of the People.” The town of Conway, in its appeal to Lincoln, drew a lurid picture of civil war in western Massachusetts, throwing society “ into a State Little short of that where the offenders against the

Majesty of Heaven are Doomed to suffer according to their crimes." General Lincoln is then asked by the town to lift his "eyes up to him who in the Heavens beholding the Follies of men overlooks their Crimes and bestows his Favours on the most undeserving."

These quotations, as well as others in this chapter, are taken from manuscripts in the possession of General Lincoln's descendants which have never been in print before. The answer to these petitions came from Boston in the shape of a new levy of troops, and there followed a vigorous restoration of order in the stalwart spirit of Governor Bowdoin's proclamation of January 12, in which he asked the question: "Is then the goodly fabric of freedom which cost us so much blood and treasure so soon to be thrown into ruins?" All insurgents were forced to take the oath of allegiance. Those pardoned were not to hold office or vote for three years; neither could they legally be employed as schoolmasters or innkeepers. This act of the Legislature provoked a protest from General Lincoln. "In her right hand," said the general, "the government must hold out such terms of mercy in the hour of success with such evident marks of a disposition to forgive as shall apply to the feelings of the delinquents. . . . Although I think the proceedings of the Legislature and their conduct will make a rich page in history, yet I cannot but suppose that if the number of the disfranchised had been less the public peace would have been equally safe and the general happiness promoted. The act includes so great a description of persons that in its operation many towns will be disfranchised."

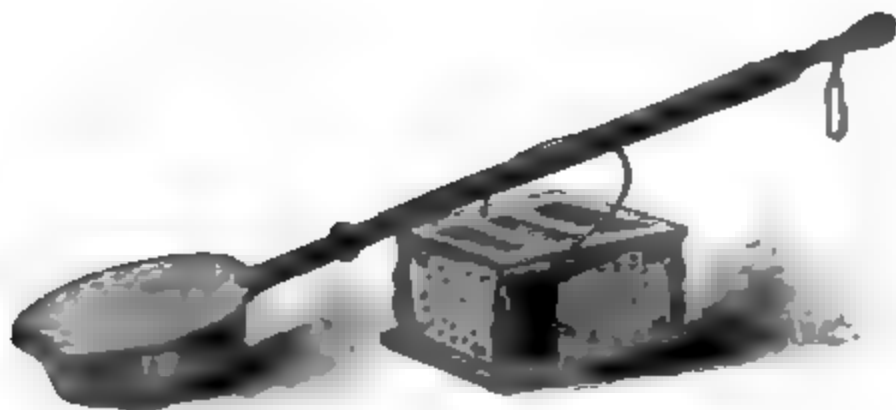
The sullen feeling in this part of the State survived for a time. Indeed it was at one time considered doubtful whether Massachusetts would cast her lot with the constitution framed by the convention that met in the following May at Philadelphia and presided over by George Washington. The sentiment in Hampshire county was about evenly divided. The vote in the convention was one hundred and eighty-seven yeas to one hundred and sixty-eight nays.

It was in the nineties when General Shepard complained that he had

not been repaid by the State for his services in defending Springfield, and he added: "As to private injuries and insults which I have received, some have been by the burning of my fences and injuring my woodlands by fire beyond recovery for many years: by most wantonly as well as cruelly destroying two of my horses by cutting off their ears and digging out their eyes before they were killed; by personally insulting me with the vile epithet of 'a murderer of brethren,' and through anonymous letters threatening me with the destruction of my dwelling-house and family by fire."

But the time did finally come when men learned to have enough faith in their personal convictions to be content to promulgate their views unattended by coercive weapons. Then it was that the ancient lampoon became history: —

"Politicians of all kinds
Who are not yet decided,
May see how Yankees speak their minds
And yet are not divided."



CHAPTER XV.

1783-1800.

Death of Rev. Robert Breck. — Pompey. — The Change in Dress. — Carriages. — Postmaster Moses Church. — Death of Charles Brewer. — Zebina Stebbins. — Capt. Luke Bliss. — The Dwights. — Merchant Jonathan Dwight. — The Old Red Store. — Other Merchants. — A Glimpse at Main Street. — Zenas Parsons. — Taverns. — Maj. Joseph Stebbins. — Early Newspapers. — Post Riders. — Samuel Lyman. — Springfield's College Presidents. — The Hitchcocks. — Col. Thomas Dwight. — Daniel Lombard. — Town Officers. — Fourth of July Celebration. — Timber Trade. — More Warrants of Distress. — Town Treasurer's Report. — Canals. — Deserting Soldiers and Lawlessness.

ONE would find an endless source of diversion in putting together the stray bits of information touching the appearance of the village between the Revolution and the present century. It was a common thing in those days to paint dwelling-houses bright red, or even yellow, which, with the eighteenth century costuming, must have given a graphic appearance to Main street. Before the Revolution Merchant Storer, of Boston, sent a bill of goods to George and Robert Breck. In an accompanying note Mr. Storer said, by way of business: "The crimson Snail & Bandanna handkfs I could not procure, tho' I tried at sundry places — nor could I get a scarlet Whitney which I thought suitable for a Great Coat." In the list sent were pieces of crimson broadcloth, green durant, blue serge, crimson bays, and black taffeta. This letter, curiously enough, was found floating down the Connecticut river in 1887 by a Springfield canoeist. The paper had been thrown upon the river-bank after the demolition of an old house, and the rising water had swept it away.

Rev. Mr. Breck died Friday forenoon of April 23, 1784, in his seventy-first year. The burial took place on Monday the 26th, the clergy

from surrounding towns and many outside of Springfield being present. The funeral of his predecessor, Mr. Brewer, was as different as possible. Little or no religious services attended the last rites previous to 1730. It was then considered Romish and vicious. The dress, too, was more the garb of the severely righteous. But the scene at Mr. Breck's funeral was one of comparative prismatic mourning. Silk stockings and silver buckles, and lace and powder, were bowed in grief; women, too, wore garments of silk, — faded and worn, to be sure, for the times were hard. The old first parish meeting-house was draped in black. Rev. Mr. Lathrop delivered the funeral sermon, and a solemn anthem was sung. The whole assembly followed the body to the grave. Mr. Breck had four children by his wife Eunice Brewer, who died in 1767. Two sons and a daughter — wife of Rev. Joseph Whitney, of Pomfret, — survived him. Mr. Breck had married for a second wife, in 1773, the widow of Dr. Edward Dorr, of Hartford, Conn., daughter of Governor Talcott. Breck was a hard student and a close reasoner. It has been said of him that "history was his study." He was an easy and entertaining conversationalist, and "affable without meanness." This is also said of him by one who knew him personally: "His religious sentiments were formed upon a careful examination of the sacred scriptures, without attachment to sects or systems. His turn of thinking was liberal, yet pious; exalted, yet humble. His sense of the deplorable weakness and corruption of human nature led him to admire the gracious provisions of the gospel."

Mr. Breck lived in the parsonage (Fallon's block), where his dignified carriage, tie-wig, shoe-buckles, silk stockings, and a slave attendant served to fill out the ancient notion of ministerial importance. The old Breck residence is now doing duty as a laundry (Hillman street). The Doctors Breck of the present day are descendants of a brother of Rev. Robert Breck.

Rev. Mr. Breck left at his death a negro slave named Pompey. He was not technically a slave, however, as the State constitution had, by

implication, abolished slavery. Pompey was probably the last Springfield slave to pass away, his death not taking place until 1813. Mrs. Breck returned to her home at Hartford after the death of her husband, and Pompey accompanied her, and served her faithfully until she died, in 1798. The old darkey was thus left alone, and he would occasionally pay a visit to this region and Northampton among "Massa George's folks and Massa Robert's folks."

Returning to the subject of dress, there is evidence that the new king, the populace, had a penchant for finery, even in that period of hardship and toil. There were reigning beauties in those days, of whom one local doggerilist wrote out a recipe : —

" Let her flaps fly behind for a yard at the least,
Let her curls meet just under her chin ;
Let these curls be supported to keep up the jest.
With an hundred instead of one pin.

" Let her gown be tucked up to the hip on each side,
Shoes too high, or to walk, or to jump ;
And to deck the sweet creature complete for a bride,
Let the cork-cutter make her a rump."

When the Revolution opened, scarlet cloaks were worn by women, also blue silk cloaks, richly flowered. There were also the furbelow scarf, camlet riding-hood, long silk hood, and white hoods trimmed with lace, and the calash. The girls of families of more moderate means had hoods of coarser material, and calico gowns. Woollen petticoats with calico borders were common. It was a rare daughter who could not ride horseback either single or on pillion. Tourists from abroad speak of these healthy-faced girls racing down a country road in white aprons and calico gowns.

Both men and women patronized the hair-dresser. William Doyle kept a fashionable place after the Revolution, opposite Zenas Parsons's tavern, and a little north of the court-house. He made wigs,

“attended the call of ladies,” and kept a stock of cushions and curls, “false clubbs” for gentlemen, full-bottomed wigs, periwigs, and “scratches.”

We would give much to see reproduced a Springfield scene of that age, either on Sunday morning, or during court week, or even on the arrival of the stage. On Fridays (1783) the Hartford “stage waggon” left David Bull’s inn for Parsons’s tavern (in Springfield), and returned Saturdays. A little later (1788) Reuben Sikes ran a line of stages from New York to Boston, through Springfield, — three times weekly in summer, — the fare being three 3s. per mile. It was an event of no small account, — the arrival and departure of such ladies and gentlemen as were equal to the expense of travel. It was not permitted every one to own a carriage. They were heavily taxed. In 1791 a fall-back chaise was taxed 10s., a stand-up chaise 6s., and a sulky or riding chair 4s. Those taxed as owners of fall-back chaises in 1791 were: Zebina Stebbins, Samuel Lyman, Capt. George Pynchon, John Worthington, Col. William Smith, William Pynchon, Lieut. Charles Sheldon, Jonathan Dwight, Jacob Sargeant, Col. Joseph Williams, Thomas Dwight, Alexander Bliss, Joseph Stebbins, Jr., Moses Church, Zenas Parsons, Moses Bliss, and Daniel Lombard, Jr. The “whisky,” or two-wheeled sulky, was owned by Zebina Stebbins and Colonel Smith. The three-wheeled sulky was owned by John Worthington, Col. Joseph Williams, and Moses Bliss; and common chairs were owned by Judah Chapin, John Pynchon, Capt. James Byers, Lieut. Jacob Bliss, and Gad Horton.

Moses Church’s place (Five-Cent Savings-bank) was north of the court-house. This well-known and honored individual sold hats on one side of his little shop, and officiated as postmaster on the other. Opposite his office (Tinkham’s) Church ran a tavern, and he filled, all in all, a large place in the community. Church inherited the hat business from his father, and passed it down to his son. Harvey S. Sanderson took the business from Jonas Coolidge, who took it from the Churches in 1796. Jeduthan Sanderson, father of Mr. Sanderson.

lived on the site of the Boston & Albany depot. He learned the cooper's trade in the shop of Captain Alexander (near the carriage-shop of David Smith). The captain, like all his calling, went about from house to house hooping barrels.

We have referred to Dr. Breck's notable funeral in 1784. The previous year Springfield was called to the solemn service of burying another notable man, Dr. Charles Pynchon, whose name figures often in the local annals. He lived on the south side of Ferry lane (Cypress street) near the corner of Main, and he owned the building on the corner, having there an office and an apothecary's shop. In former years Ferry lane promised to be the business centre of the town, and even at that late date it had its ambitions. Dr. Pynchon had a wide practice all through the valley. Opposite the doctor's office Zebina Stebbins had his residence as well as a dry-goods store. Mr. Stebbins was a good deal of a character, thrifty in business, and faithful to all trusts. He was overseer of the poor, and if he once proposed to make up a job-lot of coffins for a group of aged unfortunates under his charge, pending their demise, it was because he had an eye to finance, and not because he was lacking in qualities of heart. Zebina desired finally to get rid of the building on the south side of the lane. In 1785 this building was moved to the east side of Main street. It contained a printing establishment, and there also Gad Stebbins had his apothecary shop. Dr. Stebbins sold also tea, coffee, needles, and Bibles.

The death of Dr. Charles Pynchon had been preceded in January by the death of the venerable William Pynchon, aged eighty, who had spent his last days with William, his son (Haynes's hotel site), familiarly known as Major William. The major's brother John lived opposite, on the east side of the street, dying also at an advanced age (1826, aged eighty-four).

There are still living a few persons who will remember John Pynchon, as he appeared on the streets with cocked hat and small clothes. The boys were his friends, as they used to ride his horse

without molestation when turned out to pasture. Above John Pynchon's house on the east side there were standing probably the old Lloyd house (opposite the Lombard place), then the Stebbins house, and the chair-factory of Horace Lee, father of Postmaster Henry Lee.

Major William died in 1808. As we have seen by the records, he had been register of deeds, treasurer, town-clerk, magistrate, and selectman. His residence was finally moved back on Pynchon street, next to the old Methodist church. The old garrison-house of the Pynchons, built by the "worshipful Major" in 1660, was occupied by Edward Pynchon, magistrate, where he died in 1777. George Pynchon lived next house to the north. Walter Pynchon had become a merchant at Great Barrington.

Another important family, as we have learned, was the Bliss family. Luke Bliss lived on the south corner of Main and State. He was a son of Capt. Luke Bliss, and brother of the Jonathan Bliss who became chief-justice of the province of New Brunswick. Luke Bliss was a courtly gentleman, a solemn and impressive singer, and thus an ideal choir-leader. His daughter became the wife of Solomon Warriner, the famous choir-leader of the early part of this century. His brother, Jonathan Bliss, who had studied law with Colonel Worthington, was a "rescinder" in the Legislature of 1768. This was the beginning of the serious break with the town which ended in his retirement to England. Moses Bliss, the merchant, lived in South Main street (Main and Bliss).

The business rivalry among the merchants at this time interests us, as out of it came the establishment of a new family. The Dwights were planted on Springfield soil long before the Revolution. Col. Josiah Dwight, son of Capt. Henry Dwight, of Hatfield, and husband of Sarah Pynchon (daughter of Col. William Pynchon and Catharine Brewer), was a man of note, dying in Springfield in 1768. He was a militia officer, a Common Pleas judge, and merchant. He was interested in an iron foundry, and was a manufacturer of potash. He

died worth some \$50,000. His brother, Edmund Dwight, a Halifax merchant of moderate means, sent a ten years' old son (born at Boston) to the colonel at Springfield in 1753. The lad's name was Jonathan; he grew up in his uncle's store, succeeded to his business, managed his estate, and perfected the foundation on which the Dwight family in Springfield have since builded. Jonathan Dwight was of medium size, engaging in his manners, a great smoker, a fine business man, and thoroughly honorable, upright, and church-going in his habits. His first wife was Margaret Ashley, of Westfield, to whom, as with the case of many other successful men, was due an appreciable portion of his social and business progress.

We refrain from being led into a sketch of this interesting and capable family of the Dwights, so many representatives of which have risen to such substantial importance in New England. The biographies of Capt. Timothy Dwight, of Northampton, Capt. Henry Dwight, of Hatfield, Gen. Joseph Dwight, of Stockbridge, Edmund Dwight, of Boston, and President Timothy Dwight, of Yale College, have all been well written. When Merchant Jonathan Dwight resumed business during the Revolution, his dry goods, his rock salt, his cherry rum, and his imported stock were in a red dwelling-house fixed over as store on the north-east corner of the town street and the Boston road (State street). Thus there grew a rivalry between the two extremes of the town for commercial prestige. At this time the thirty-foot causeway still bridged the marsh; the rear of Dwight's and other buildings was confronted by a little wilderness of hassocks, bushes, springs, and stumps. This was the well-known "Hasseky marish." Mr. Dwight lived opposite his store on the west side of Main street in a conspicuous white house. This residence was moved up the street (Bridge) some years later, and finally burned.

The "Old Red House" of Jonathan Dwight lives in storied memory. Here used to gather for converse and to smoke and to trade people of all classes and conditions. This red building was

removed in 1799, and a more commodious one built. The old store was drawn by long lines of oxen up Main street to Mr. Dwight's meadow (Barnes's lot), an event which greatly impressed the school children of that day. When Jonathan's son, James Scutt Dwight, grew up (Master James they called him), he was taken in as a partner. This was about 1790. At the time of the building of 1799 the firm was Jonathan Dwight & Son. About 1804 Jonathan Dwight withdrew from the firm, the name of Henry, the youngest son, was added, and the firm was James & Henry Dwight. About 1809 Henry removed to Utica, N.Y., and the firm of J. & E. Dwight was formed, embracing James Scutt, Edmund and Jonathan Dwight, Jr., and this was dissolved by the death of James in 1822. The firm had distributing branches at Huntington, Greenfield, South Hadley Falls, Northampton, and Westfield. In November, 1813, they sent J. D. Whitney, of Northampton, to England during the war as their agent to purchase goods, to be ready to ship on a return of peace. In 1815 they opened a store in Boston (Broad street): goods to a large amount were stored and sold there and distributed to the branches, under the management of William H. and J. W. Dwight.

One cannot dismiss the Dwight corner without indulging in a little antiquarian dissipation. At that old corner resided the spirit of theology, politics, and business. If the ideas of trade were progressive and full of faith in the town, the religion and politics were both of a reactionary nature at times; and who will dispute us in saying that over the Dwight counter local toryism gradually died out and local Unitarianism was born?

The new Dwight building was of brick, two stories, but another story was added later. On the south side of the causeway, near Main street, a large watering-trough blocked up the street somewhat, especially on the days when the farmers drove to the Dwight corner to trade. The Luke Bliss residence, on the corner, near this watering-trough, was an ancient two-story brown house, and attached thereto



Jona^a Dwight



THE DWIGHT BRICK STORE, AS IT APPEARED ABOUT 1860.

was a wood-colored building facing Main street. Here Jonathan Bliss had his law office, and it may be added that here Oliver B. Morris followed his profession; still later it resounded to the shoemaker's hammer of Elijah Blake. In a room on the first story Ralph Snow, silversmith, had worked. Col. Thomas Dwight, Colonel Worthington, John Hooker, and Jonathan Dwight joined forces and started a gin distillery on Main street (near Cross street) in 1792, there being a malt-house in the meadow in the rear. This was subsequently removed south of the present West Central street. But these business matters belong more properly to the record of the nineteenth century.

The Dwight store, immediately after the Revolution, was by no means the leading mercantile establishment. Smith & Sheldon were doing a thriving business nearly opposite the court-house (about the site of the Chicopee bank). Their stock ranged from broadcloths to shoe buckles, and from crockery and firelocks to rum and French candy. They took flour, beef, pork, and country produce in pay. The Smith of this firm was Col. William Smith, his residence being farther up the street (Main and Bridge). Charles Sheldon, his partner, built the Henry Fuller house on Elm street. Colonel Smith was a revolutionary officer. His residence and barn were built by Thomas Hunt, of Stockbridge, Smith securing it in 1787. Sheldon seems to have taken the business finally, while Smith set up for himself on the east side of the street. There was another firm, J. M. Burt & Co., second door south of the court-house; and Harris & Hunt was still another firm during the Revolution, but in 1784 the partnership was dissolved, and Thomas Hunt set up for himself, first door north of the court-house. He was an importer of English goods, like all of his competitors; but probably none of them did a business larger than that of Justin Ely, of West Springfield, which at that time had a larger population than the parent town. Women often crossed over the river in order to shop at Ely's store. One of Ely's clerks, Jonathan Hunt, of California, who married one of Dr. Osgood's daughters, is still living.

Hartford merchants made bids for Springfield trade by advertising locally their goods, to be paid in "bills of exchange, loan office certificates, Massachusetts State notes, the Honorable Robert Morris's notes, bank notes, flour, pork, beef, and grain of all sorts;" and Smith & Sheldon answered this by advertising to accept for goods in addition to the above "consolidated and Depreciated notes." These certificates were the quartermaster's certificates, over which there was much trouble (1783).

Daniel Lombard ran a country store and saddler's shop north of the court-house. He bought the present Justin Lombard property of Gideon and Daniel Parsons in 1784, and died in 1795. Joel Marble kept a drug store in 1783, one door south of the court-house. In his store was a counter devoted to books and sundry small articles, and he received in lieu of money, wheat, rye, Indian corn, and beeswax. Among business men also may be noted R. Smith, clockmaker, south of the court-house; Burden, another clockmaker, in Ferry Lane; John Mun, saddler; Alexander Bliss, currier's shop; William Warland, chaise-maker, near the Great Ferry; Thomas Sargeant, watch business; and so on.

Of the taverns of that period the old stand of Zenas Parsons is the best known. The elm in the south-east corner of the present Court square stood in front of this tavern, there being just room for the "stage waggon" between it and the hotel veranda. There were extensive barns and sheds in the rear. Here auctions were frequently held, and on training-day young men often tried their powers of wrestling. Over the shed was a long dance-hall, much used by the young people. It is generally believed that General Washington put up at this tavern either when he passed through here to take command at Cambridge, or when he visited the armory after the war. At any rate, the old building now standing at the west end of Court street is a reminder of the tradition, and is honored by this generation accordingly. Back of the tavern, facing on Elm street, stood the first church.

The old place known to the older portion of the community as the Dwight homestead, corner of State and Maple, was the site of Capt. Charles Colton's tavern, a pre-revolutionary hostelry, which was a popular resort. The barn and horse-sheds were between the inn and Maple street.

The Worthington property (between Bridge and Worthington streets, and from Spring street to the river) was the original Jehu Burr allotment, and passed through Elizur Holyoke to Lieut. John Worthington, who died in 1774, and in turn to Lawyer John Worthington. The lieutenant kept a hotel for many years on this property.

The death of Rev. Robert Breck brought a young candidate for the first parish pulpit, he riding from Cambridge on horseback. He stopped at the Five-Mile house, and followed a bridle-path through the woods to the town. He passed a red building or two on "Ordnance hill," and an occasional farm-house on State street must have presented a somewhat primeval appearance. He rode over the "causeway," and hitched his horse in front of Jonathan Dwight's white house. This was Rev. Bezaleel Howard, of revered memory. It is understood that he used to say the town had a very neglected appearance — buildings out of repair, the place showing generally the effects of poverty, that was the result of war. Mr. Howard was ordained in 1785.

The Hampshire "Herald" says, that on Monday, April 27, Mr. Howard was ordained before "a numerous, grave, and attentive audience." Prayer was offered by Rev. Joseph Whitney, of Pomfret, and a discourse was delivered by Rev. Timothy Hillyard, of Cambridge, who appears to have visited this region frequently, and to have had many friends here.

Ebenezer Stebbins, who lived where Emery Court now is, was another innholder. A barn in the rear of his establishment was turned into a cartridge factory during the Revolution. Just before the war, Maj. Joseph Stebbins, son of the Joseph Stebbins who built a house in upper Main street (Clinton), built a tavern about opposite the old

Morgan road (Carew). This old hostelry is associated with the Shays's rebellion, the insurgents using it as their head-quarters; and with privateering also, the cellar being the repository of booty secured on the high seas. Joseph and Zebina Stebbins set out the trees that are now such a picturesque feature of that part of Main street.

Many anecdotes occasioned by depreciated Continental currency cling to all the old tavern sites. A party once put up with Zenas Parsons after learning from him that he took Continental money. Their surprise was unbounded when a bill of several hundred dollars was presented. They asked Parsons if he had not told him that he accepted Continental money, and he replied that he had, and "a d—d lot of it too." Joseph Stebbins was intrusted with a large amount of this money by an army paymaster, and it was held in safe-keeping until it was not worth asking for.

Captain Lamb and Capt. John Morgan were also innholders in this town after the Revolution. We can hardly realize the full place which the tavern occupied in those days.

The English were naturally a tavern-haunting people. The tap-room was comfortable, informal, and conducive to the interchange of fact and opinion, — three qualifications that appealed strongly to the English. The life in America led to a freer mental activity, and means of communication were limited.

But a new and tremendous agency was showing itself, — journalism. There was a paper or two started in the early part of the eighteenth century, and by 1745 newspapers were published at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and elsewhere. This ready means of intercommunication gave a wonderful impetus to republicanism, and contributed to the breaking up of tavern life as it originally existed.

The first Springfield paper was "The Massachusetts Gazette and General Advertiser," published by Babcock & Haswell in 1782. It was a dingy affair, containing some foreign matter and very little

local information, but was open to free discussion upon the hundred questions that self-government had grappled with. One is struck with the literary quality and wide reading of the men who wrote communications "to the printer." The average editorial of the country weekly of to-day, as well as some of the larger papers, does not exhibit a fraction of the quality, logic, and incisive force that characterized the literature of the "Gazette" and its immediate successors. The "Gazette" printing-office was a few rods south of the court-house, where also were an extensive stock of books, writing-paper, maps, and cartridge papers, to be exchanged for rags and country produce or even money. They published in 1782 an "Astronomical Ephemeris," calculated for the meridian of Springfield. This almanac was prepared by Professor Strong, of Yale. This and Goldsmith's "Deserted Village," with other books, were sold by the several post-riders from the printing-office.

These post-riders formed a graphic feature of the day, running, as they did, from the "Gazette" office up and down the valley, and both east and west. They were in straits in 1782, because they were compelled to pay weekly for their papers, and were unable to secure subscription money from their customers promptly. One post-rider, named Rumreil, covered a route from Northfield to Hartford. The printers themselves were often in trouble, owing to the arrears of the subscribers. Here is one advertisement in 1782: "Those gentlemen who engaged to pay for their papers in grain are once more earnestly requested to make immediate payment, as the printers are in much want of that article." Babcock and Haswell published a number of local books, among them two sermons by Mr. Breck, one delivered at the funeral of David Parsons and one at the ordination of David Parsons, Jr., of Amherst.

Mr. Babcock — his name was Elisha — took the whole paper in 1784, but before the year closed Brooks & Russell were the publishers. The paper edited itself. It was soon moved to the Great Ferry, its name changed to the "Hampshire Herald," and the proprietors

were Stebbins & Russell. Their store was enlarged so as to include drugs, hollow ware, and West India goods.

The Great Ferry had another paper in 1788, the "Herald" having been discontinued. It was the "Hampshire Chronicle," published by John Russell, then Russell & Webster, and then Weld & Thomas, the latter removing the establishment opposite the court-house. E. W. Weld, of this firm, bought the "Chronicle" in 1790, and soon changed the name to "The Hampshire and Berkshire Chronicle." "The Federal Spy" was started in 1793 by James R. Hutchins, and was bought by Francis Stebbins in 1796, and so passed to Timothy Ashley in 1799.

Joseph Williams, who was military store-keeper at the arsenal, lived on the Colton place, State street, which Dr. Charles Pynchon secured in 1781 after a lawsuit with Colton. Williams married Pynchon's daughter, and thus secured the property, which was subsequently bought by Jonathan Dwight, Jr. Mrs. Williams's sister, Mrs. Lyman, wife of Congressman Lyman, owned much of the property on both sides of North Main street. Samuel Lyman was a Yale graduate, a member of the Legislature in 1786, State senator in 1790, and sat in the fourth, fifth, and sixth congresses, but finally resigned on account of failing health. Captain Emery married Mrs. Williams's daughter, and built on the west side a house, which formed a part of the old American House, and later the Russell House. Deacon Williston made cocked hats in Ferry lane, and our friend Zebina Stebbins enlarged his business by weaving duck and linen checks. Edward Boylston, wheelwright, also lived on the lane. Nathaniel Brewer, son of Rev. Daniel Brewer, who lived on Ferry lane, was a stone-cutter. He died in 1796, at the advanced age of eighty-five. His son, Dr. Chauncey Brewer, studied with Dr. Charles Pynchon after graduating at Yale, and succeeded to Pynchon's practice after his death. The latter was one of the incorporators of the Massachusetts Medical Society, of which Dr. Brewer was admitted a fellow in 1785. Nathaniel Brewer's mother (wife of Rev. Daniel Brewer) was a daughter of Nathaniel Chauncey, son of Charles Chauncey, the

street), the log jail being in the rear. William Colton kept the tavern until the early part of the present century. The old building is now on Central street (between Main and Maple). Col. Thomas Dwight, the son of Josiah, lived in the Dwight residence (Howard street); he is remembered as a man of culture and dignity. He married a daughter of Colonel Worthington, and was the father-in-law of Maj. Charles Howard. Colonel Dwight was a federalist of the strictest sort. He was graduated from Harvard in 1778, was in the Legislature in 1794, and in the State Senate for 1796 to 1803, when he was elected to Congress. But there was too much Virginia politics for him down there, and he declined a reëlection.

Margaret street is named after Widow Margaret Bliss, mother of Samuel Bliss, who died in 1720, and who is said to have built the Loring house in South Main street. Reuben Bliss, who died in 1806, at an advanced age, lived on the east side of lower Main street, and had as a neighbor Capt. Joseph Ferre. Joseph Dwight built what was subsequently turned into the United States Hotel, and he kept a distillery just south of it (D. A. Bush's place). The potash and pearlash works of J. J. Dwight were at Wilbraham. Charles Ferre built on Maple street (Lombard Dale's) in 1661, and until about this time (1783) the road ran along the brow of the hill to the dingle (Rumrill's house). Dr. Charles Brewer lived on Maple street, and the road was sometimes called the road to Charles Brewer's; the prison lot, it will be remembered, was nearer the road to Boston (Judge Henry Morris's place). Samuel Babcock owned the paper-mill in 1786, where was manufactured newspaper, writing, cartridge, and wrapping paper.

As the century closed we find these men in business: Daniel Lombard, corner Meeting-House lane, dry goods and groceries; William Sheldon, south of the court-house, dry goods and groceries; Eleazer Williams, dry goods and groceries; Charles Sheldon, dry goods and groceries; John Padley, "taylor and habit-maker," two doors south of the post-office; and John Lloyd, leather-dresser.

Marcus Marble's drug-store was opposite the court-house. In 1792 he moved to the present site of H. & J. Brewer. Over Marble's store was a young ladies' school in 1793. As early as 1790 James Byers & Co. sold iron hollow-ware, potash kettles, and bought old cast-iron.

These rambling notes have been made in utter disregard of any order of time or situation. We have gossipped as a stranger would have done who dropped in at the old Dwight store, and was led by curiosity to learn of the village, and its ways and walks.

We now return to passing events. The selectmen of 1779 were Ensign Phineas Chapin, Capt. Thomas Stebbins, Capt. Daniel Burt, William Pynchon, Jr., and Thomas Williston. In 1782, when the Ely riots occurred, Hancock was governor, and John Bliss one of the Hampshire senators. The Fourth of July of that year was celebrated in Springfield by the flying of the Union flag at the "Continental works" on the hill. Thirteen guns were fired at noon, and fireworks in the evening. These early patriotic celebrations were accompanied by banquets and speeches. We are told "the gentlemen of the town assembled, and partook of a cold collation at the Continental works on the hill, when a number of patriotic toasts were drank." In October 18 of that year thirteen "beautiful rockets" were sent up in memory of the capture of Cornwallis. There was a dinner, and many toasts were drunk. The celebration on December 13, 1783, over the treaty of peace was the occasion for a repetition of these features.

Gov. John Hancock and Mrs Hancock, with Madam Jefferson, passed through the town in 1787, which must have challenged more of the circumstance of place and distinction. In December, 1782, a number of American prisoners passed through Springfield from Canada, where they had been held for several years. There were general felicitations and recounting of experiences.

We find a change in 1796, when Stephen Pynchon delivered the Fourth of July address, which was followed by a dinner. A place upon the hustings for the American eagle to spread was thus well

laid here. The changes in the personnel of the town-meeting were somewhat marked toward the close of the century. John Hooker became moderator in 1795, and the selectmen were William Pynchon, Jonathan Dwight, Reuben Bliss, Phineas Chapin, and Thomas Dwight.

In those early days the floating of timber down the river was quite a business, which was managed very much as the common fields were. Men secured from the authorities the monopoly of this trade. Thus we see in the spring of 1783 Timothy Bush, Moody Freeman, and John Ely forbidding persons marketing timber without a license. A possible explanation of this is indicated by an advertisement in the "Massachusetts Gazette."

Simon Parkhurst and seven others assert that whereas a small meeting of the proprietors of the timber trade in Connecticut river, at Landlord Brewster's, March 4, 1783, chose Dr. Page, Alexander Plumley, and Samuel Wells to "collect and dispose of said timber," they, the said Parkhurst *et al.*, forbid said committee from so doing.

There is little of note in this period about the schools. In 1795 the town was divided into nine school districts, and all teachers were ordered to report the number of scholars. An English school was ordered for the Centre, to accommodate such scholars as the selectmen thought not admissible to the grammar school. The total scholars in Springfield proved to be five hundred and ninety-three. The special committee on schools, in view of this, said: "It therefore is a matter of no small consequence that the liberal provision granted for the support of schools should be so appropriated as to produce the greatest benefit."

In March, 1787, after the collapse of the Shays rebellion, Captain Stebbins was placed at the head of a committee to hire constables, the bid for such service being raised from £5 to £15, and two and one-half per cent. of the State tax. Ebenezer Bliss was finally secured as one of the constables, and Moses Chapin another, the latter prob-

ably for the Chicopee part of the town. The next year it was proposed to put the office of constable up at auction, but finally Ebenezer Bliss took it another year, and William Chapin, Jr., took the place of Moses Chapin.

In December, 1788, there were more warrants of distress ordered against constables, although things were in a better condition than before the insurgent rebellion. There was a brisk business done in the abatement of taxes during these years, and the feeling was becoming general that these readjustments were the beginnings of better days. No less than fifty-three such tax abatements were ordered in 1790. Three years later the office of collector of the first parish was "sold at Vendue to the lowest bidder," and Jonathan Dwight secured it for £10. The Chicopee parish was given to Roswell Chapin for £3 10s. Dwight, by the way, was a selectman and town auditor.

Samuel Lyman was sent up to the General Court after the collapse of the Shays rebellion, and was reelected next year. William Pynchon was chosen as delegate to the famous convention in January, 1788, at Boston.

There was a general casting up of accounts in 1789, and William Pynchon's books were found to stand as follows: —

The town of Springfield in Account with Wm Pynchon Esqr Treasurer

Dr.	To sundry payments as pr Treasurers account from 1781	
	to this time	3456: 2: 5: 1
	To moneys outstanding in the hands of the Constables viz:	
	Sam ^l Leonard due to the former Treas ^r de ^d for the year	
	1774,	50: 4: 5:
	Semuel Stebbins for Moses Harris rates in 1776	58: 15: 0: 1
1782	Alexander Bliss	46: 12: 4: 3
	Sam ^l Munn on Execution 2 9 6 1	
	do on note 19 410	21: 14: 4: 1
	Ezra Stebbins by mortgage	128: 12: 7: 2
	Joseph Chapin by do.	57: 17: 5:
	Collected of do. by John Morgan on Ex ⁿ July 1787	8: 2: 0:

1784	Luther Hitchcock	0: 7: 10: 3
	Ebenezer Warriner	28: 6: 4:
	Jon ^a Beamont de ^d in the hands of M Chapin	7: 15 11
1786	John Colton L 35 4: 10	
	do on note L 114 8	36 19 6
	Aaron Morgan by mortgage	32: 0: 2: 2
1787	John Pynchon L 33: 11: 4: 3	
	do by note 3: 5	36: 16: 4: 3
	John Frink	43: 6: 10 3
1788	Ebenezer Bliss	24: 17: 10: 1
	Moses Chapin	22: 0: 9: 3
1789	Ebenezer Bliss L 207: 3: 9: 2	
	do for 2 notes 5: 10: 3: 2	212: 14: 0: 2
	Wm Chapin	35: 4: 9: 3
		L 4306: 11: 3: 3

Cr.

By several rates as p Assessors Certificates from 1781 to 178—

Inclusively	3363: 19: 0: 3
By monies received by Treasurer from 1871 to this time	532: 17: 2: 3
By balance due to the former treasurer as p ^r Adjustment Nov ^r 27	
1780	141: 17: 5: 1
By three notes of Sam ^l Munn	19: 4: 10
By one note of John Cotton	1: 14: 8:
By one do of John Pynchon	3: 5: 0
By two do of Ebenezer Bliss	5: 10: 3

4068: 8: 5: 3

Balance due town treasr

238: 2: 10

4306: 11: 3: 3

In 1792 the Legislature incorporated a company to build locks and canals on the Connecticut river, John Worthington heading the list of stockholders. Northampton was strongly represented on the list. Benjamin Prescott, of Northampton, engineer, was soon at work on the canal at South Hadley. The engineering difficulties were not insignificant, considering that it was the pioneer project of canalizing in New England. But the scarcity of money was more of an item of

discouragement. In 1793 the power to assess the stock resulted in a complication, which ended in the sending of an agent to Holland and the securing of a Dutch loan. The company was divided in 1794, the Montague falls being largely under the control of Northampton men, though Jonathan Dwight retained an interest in it. The original company having thus the lower falls in hand soon built a canal in the rocks, and started a dam to raise the river level at the upper end of the canal. The consequent overflowing of the Northampton meadows gave rise to a prosecution of the company, and a portion of the dam was torn down, — all but the oblique section. The Dutch capitalists retreated from the enterprise thoroughly frightened, but the faith of the local projectors enabled them to turn a comfortable penny. In 1802 they were authorized to raise more money by means of a lottery, and soon began to deepen the canal several feet, which was completed in 1805. Thus did the lands about the falls, granted in the latter part of the seventeenth century to John Pynchon, attain an importance in the first part of the nineteenth century beyond the emoluments of the fishing business.

The demoralization attending the wars was plain enough. Burglary and horse-stealing, from 1787, or for ten years, was very common here, and, of course, deserters and bounty-jumpers had their way. In 1782 two young men of the town — Gresham Brown, Jr., and Elias Swan — were induced to enlist at Worcester under false names, in order to secure the \$60 bounty. They were detected, but were let off with a published card full of humble contrition, and the payment of \$20 "smart money," to be used for advertising for deserters. Capt. Seth Banister, of the 4th Massachusetts (Colonel Shepard), was recruiting-officer stationed at Springfield. He was charged at one time with withholding the pay of recruits in order to keep them from deserting. The ground for this was the ordering of only a part of the pay of recruits in certain cases, the money being deposited with the soldier's immediate officer. Troops on furlough were ordered to assemble in Springfield, June 10, 1783, probably to be paid off and

be mustered out. Notice was given a year later that the commissioner's office at Springfield was soon to be removed from Springfield, and all holding certificates from commissaries, quartermasters, or forage-masters, for services performed before January 17, 1782, to present them for settlement. During that year, Maj. J. Williams, with sixty soldiers from West Point, reached Springfield, as guard to the magazine on "Continental hill."

A great sensation was caused in May, 1782, when a woman enlisted in Springfield, as Samuel Smith, dressed as a man. She failed to get mustered, or to receive the \$60 bounty, and was locked up. She was discovered by the "want of a beard and the redundancy of some other matters." William Jones, a passer of counterfeit State certificates, broke jail about this time, and, in fact, there were so many crimes against property, that at the close of the year (1782) a society was formed for the pursuit and conviction of thieves; but this did not prevent a descent upon Zenas Parsons about a year later, much plate and other valuables being secured.

The times were now ripe for the beginnings of those activities which we may term modern. Still another age was approaching, with change in dress, change in religious belief, change in political ideas, and change in business methods. In a word, the day of pounds, shillings, and pence was about gone, and the rule of dollars and cents had begun.

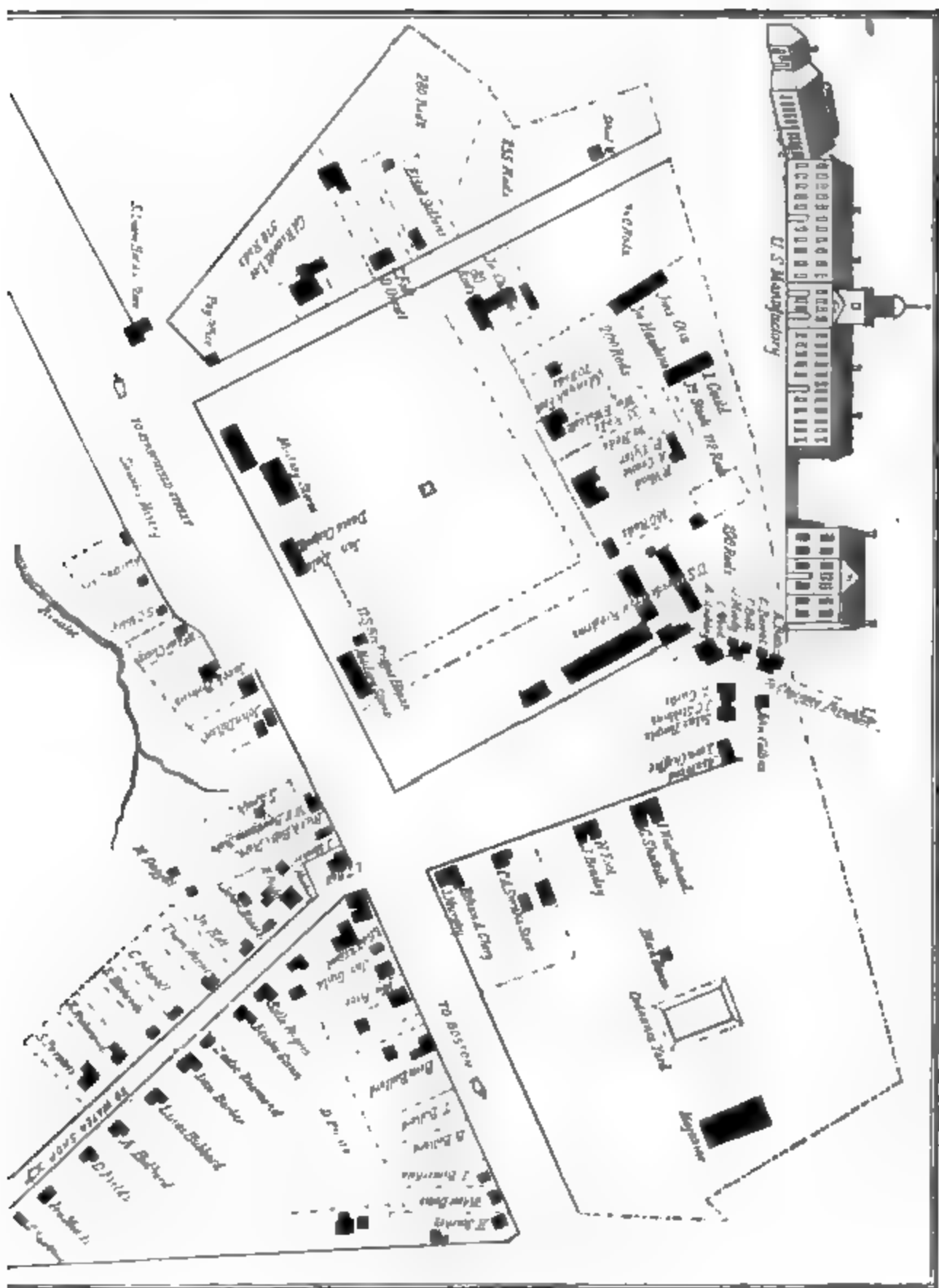
CHAPTER XVI.

1800-1821.

The United States Armory. — David Ames. — Roswell Lee. — “Toddy Lane.” — The Dwight Store again. — Other Buildings of Interest. — Incorporation of Hampden County. — Fight over the Offices. — The Embargo Troubles. — The Hartford Convention. — The Character of George Bliss, First. — Town Acts. — William Ely. — Town Officers for 1808. — Bridges over the Connecticut. — Visit of President Monroe. — Population. — The Springfield Bank. — Springfield Fraternities. — The Old Academy. — Samuel Osgood. — Baptists and Methodists. — Rev. W. B. O. Peabody. — New Congregational Meeting-House and Court-House.

WHEN the proposal to establish here a federal arsenal was made, public opinion was divided. If West Springfield had made any effort the armory would probably have been established there ; but the majority on the west side, like the minority here, feared the moral effect of drawing in the soldier element, which would make up the bulk of the armorers. There was quite a flutter caused in 1792 by a colony of laborers, with their families, who settled here ; but a meeting of the selectmen and sundry visitations of the two town constables, with writs of warning to depart in fifteen days, restored the equilibrium. It was this kind of invasion that the community feared.

Brookfield and Hartford had both been thought of as proper places for a government storehouse. Stores could be sent down the river from here, but the town could not be reached by a hostile flotilla. A resolve of the Continental Congress, recommending Massachusetts to build a magazine at Brookfield, was passed as early as December, 1776 ; but both General Knox and General Washington changed their minds, and six months later the Springfield training-ground had been selected. The ground was first leased to the government, and the proper deeds passed in 1795 and 1801. Land was bought for the lower water-



ARMY IITL AMULT 18th

shops in 1793 and 1798. The date associated with the Springfield Armory is 1794, when Congress passed a bill establishing a United States armory here.

The appearance of the hill at that time was not especially formidable in a military sense. There was a powder magazine (Magazine street), made of brick, with an arched roof of brick about three feet thick. This magazine was blown up by Major Ingersoll in 1846. There were two red wooden storehouses built in 1782, and there were some soldiers' barracks, and an old dwelling-house, where John Bryant, the store-keeper, lived. Buildings had already been put up at the lower water-shops. The upper water-shops were built in 1809, upon the site of a powder-mill that had exploded that year. This made it possible to abandon handwork for water-power in forging, boring, and grinding.

The first musket was made by the United States here, in 1795, under David Ames, the first superintendent, and Robert Orr, master armorer. Forty men were employed at first. It is stated that the first gun-lock was filed by Alexander Crawford, after a struggle of three days, Richard Beebe stocking it by hand. Among the first armorers may be mentioned Abijah Hendricks, Azariel Warner, Elisha Tobey, Jacob Perkins, Joseph Hopkins, Joseph Lombard, John Stebbins (father of John B. Stebbins, of Crescent Hill), Jason Mills, Jonathan Warner, Thomas Dale, and Zenas White. The armory turned out two hundred and forty-five muskets the first year, less than one for each working day; and the product increased until the civil war, when a daily capacity of one thousand was reached, which was the yearly capacity at the opening of the century. Armorers were exempted from jury and military duty after 1800.

David Ames was succeeded in the superintendency of the armory by Joseph Morgan in 1802, and after him came Benjamin Prescott (1805), Henry Lechler (1813), Benjamin Prescott (1815), and Lieut.-Col. Roswell Lee (1815). David Ames was born in Springfield, and beside his record as a federal officer on the hill stands his

notable enterprise of paper manufacturing. It was he who took up the loose lines of this industry, and developed it in a way to hold the paper supremacy of the county here. Benjamin Prescott built the north shops, burned in 1824, as well as the west arsenal. It was due to Prescott's efforts that Walnut street was opened through the pine forest then standing. The title to the main part of Federal square was secured from the town in 1812. Jedediah Lord kept a tavern on the south-west corner in 1809. Prescott was more of a mechanic and man of business than an executive officer, and Colonel Lee found enough administrative reform work to do. Lee was a six-footer, dignified and placid in demeanor. Old armorers exhibited great respect and affection for Colonel Lee, while his administration was recognized by armory experts as able and aggressive. Lee removed the blockhouse and red storehouses to the "eastern square," rebuilt the north shop burned in 1824, and put up the east arsenal and south shop, as well as the middle arsenal, that faces Olivet church. Lee lived on the site of the present large arsenal.

Once or twice during the administration of Colonel Lee his vigor carried him to debatable lengths. It was a source of anxiety to him that the armorers spent so much of their earnings for rum, and his zeal in checking the practice precipitated quite a scene in 1816. The old Toddy road to Japhet Chapin's tavern (Cabotville) was named for obvious reasons, and Lee did not reduce the travel along this route as materially as he had hoped. He discharged two workmen, Noble and Charter, who were found wrestling in the midst of a ring of armorers. There was a liberty pole in the centre of the ground that had been erected by the subscription of the workmen, and here the friends of the discharged men gathered and passed around the bottles. "If we can't have any liberty," they said, "we won't have any liberty pole," and an axe was laid at its root. Clerk Wolcott, then the colonel himself, then Master Armorer Foot, with some out-of-town officials, hastened to the scene. The pole was saved, and the little "rum rebellion" had a good effect all round, and a better

understanding prevailed. Toddy road did not lose its name for some years, however.

During the early years of the present century the Dwights had spread their mercantile relations in a way to command the course of trade in this region, and to their enterprise is due an important part of Springfield's commercial advancement at this time. "The Dwights rule Springfield," remarked a solicitous townsman of that day. The firm adopted the practice of setting up their clerks in business in the surrounding towns, but retaining an interest in the various stores. They established a store at Chester Village, with William Wade as manager; one at Northampton, with Josiah D. Whitney as manager; one in Enfield, Conn. (including a gin distillery, in which John Cooley, of Longmeadow, and others were interested), with James Brewer as manager; and a store, grist and saw mills at South Hadley Canal, with Josiah Bardwell as manager. In 1815 the Boston branch bore the firm name of William H. & J. W. Dwight. William H. Dwight was lost in the wreck of the "Albion," in May, 1822, on his way to England, and Edmund Dwight settled permanently at Boston.

J. and E. Dwight owned several coasting vessels between Hartford and Boston and New York, and were interested with John Cooley & Co. in a line of boats between Hartford and Springfield. The Dwights were also interested in banking business in Springfield, Greenfield, Geneva, Cleveland, and Detroit.

The firm of Day, Brewer, & Dwight commenced business at the corner store in 1822, after the death of James Scutt Dwight, and was composed of Benjamin Day, James Brewer, and James Sanford Dwight, with Jonathan Dwight, Jr., and Edmund Dwight as silent partners. In 1825 Mr. Day moved to Geneva, and the firm was then Dwight, Brewer, & Dwight, composed of J. S. Dwight, James Brewer, and Henry Dwight, the younger. Subsequently Mr. Brewer retired, and the remaining partners continued under the name of J. & H. Dwight. Mr. Day rejoined the firm, which was then Day & Dwight. Mr. Day and Henry Dwight sold out to James, who

assumed the business, and on his death, in Italy, the corner store was closed forever.

The front corner room of the second story of the brick store was occupied as a law office, successively by Jonathan Dwight, Jr., John Howard, William B. Calhoun, George Bliss, Jr., William Dwight, Richard Bliss, and Henry Vose. Here, also, the Springfield Fire Insurance Company was organized.

The building adjoining the corner store on the north was deeded by William Colton to "Simeon Ashley, trader;" and on the death of Ashley, his heirs in 1801 conveyed it to Jonathan Dwight, the elder, and James Scutt Dwight. The school-ground was directly east, in the rear. A few doors north of the old Dwight store was a building also owned by Mr. Dwight, and occupied at one time by James Byers as a post-office and a commissary for supplies to government troops and armorers on the hill. It was afterwards rented to Sterns & Edwards.

George Bliss, grandson of Moses Bliss, said in 1866:—

The land easterly of the stores on Main street, and as far north as the alley leading east by Kirkham's store, was the old school-ground, the title of which was in the First Parish. It extended some 8 or 10 feet easterly of the present old Town Hall. In my boyhood an old dilapidated two-story brick school-house stood near the north line of the school-ground, with the play-ground about 80 or 100 feet wide between the school-house and the causeway. On the front of this ground and adjoining the causeway stood an old engine-house, and the gun-house for the two artillery cannon. At a pretty early date the old brick school-house was taken down, and a one-story wooden building erected with two rooms. This was burned down and a two-story brick house built in its stead. About 1826 these schools were discontinued, and the front part of the lot was sold to the town for a Town Hall, and the residue to private parties, Market street being laid out between State and Sandford streets. The part of the school-ground west of Market street was sold to the owners of the adjacent stores. There is no building now standing on the east side of Main street, between the Dwight corner and Ferry street, which was standing in 1799, when the Dwight corner store was built. The building now on the north corner of Ferry street was then occupied by Zebina and Thomas Stebbins, who did a small business. In 1800 there were but few stores in town besides the Dwights'. James Byers may have

had a small trade in connection with the post-office and commissary, with Solomon Hatch, as clerk, in the Edwards store. Col. William Smith then traded in a store, with Francis Sexton as clerk, where Sanderson now is: Justin Lombard, where Swetland's confectionery store now is. The access to it was by a plank bridge over the town brook, with two or three steps down to the store floor. Dr. William Sheldon had a druggist's store, kept by Dr. Elam Bliss, where H. & J. Brewer now are. I believe Daniel Lombard kept a small stock of goods on the corner where the Chicopee Bank now is. Mr. Lombard succeeded Mr. Byers as postmaster, and kept the office in a small counting-room about 6 by 8 feet square, in which he opened all the mails and delivered letters. Ebenezer Tucker had a bakery about where Clark & Eldredge's auction store is, and he may have kept a few groceries. In my early days it was a beer store, and reputed a groggery. There was in 1800 no store east or south of the Dwight corner, on either side of Main or State streets.

The father of Mr. Bliss was a Springfield man of great importance. He was a lad of eleven at the opening of the Revolution. "Master George," as he was called, had both plebeian and aristocratic blood in his veins. His great-great-grandmother was Mary Pynchon, a daughter of the "Worshipful Major," and his grandfather was the well-known "Jeddy" Bliss, the Springfield tanner, heir to a line of tanners. Young Bliss was a junior at Yale when the last British soldier left these shores, and every circumstance of his bringing up was an appeal to patriotic and useful endeavor. Five years after his graduation he married Hannah Clark, whose grandmother was a sister of Jonathan Edwards. His habit of close application, and his fondness for the intricacies of common-law special pleadings, brought him rapidly to the front upon his admission to the bar. He was a member of the old Hampshire bar, and when Hampden county was formed he was, of course, entitled to practice by virtue of his position.

Mr. Bliss's name is associated with the legal troubles that accompanied the setting off of the lower part of Hampshire as a separate county in 1812. The act of incorporation decreed that the new county of Hampden should come into existence August 1, 1812, and Gov. Elbridge Gerry and his democratic supporters were in office.

The state elections were then held in April. The excitement throughout the State at the spring elections of 1812 was intense. In spite of everything, the federalist peace cry was sweeping the State. While in this conservative town Gerry polled two hundred and fifty votes and Caleb Strong, of Northampton, two hundred and thirty-three, the latter was elected, and the resistance to the war measures against Great Britain was at once begun. Under ordinary circumstances the thing for Governor Gerry to have done was to refuse to meddle with the offices that were to come into existence in the August following by the incorporating act of Hampden county. But patronage then, as now, had its charms, and under great provocation he was induced, on May 20, to appoint Samuel Fowler, of Westfield, democrat, probate judge of the prospective county, and three days later he made Jonathan Smith, Jr., of Westfield, another democrat, high sheriff.

This greatly irritated the federalists, and they attempted to throw out of court one of the first cases in which Smith's deputy served a warrant. The suit was Fowler *vs.* Beebe, George Bliss appearing for the defendants. He argued that at the time of Smith's commission as sheriff no such office existed. It was possible that such an office would exist in the autumn of the year, and that Smith would be a proper person to fill such a possible office. "This last, however," added Mr. Bliss, with emphasis made cutting by political bias, "in the opinion of many, is a *potentia remotissima*." Mr. Bliss then continued: "This appointment is also void, as it is a flagrant infringement of the rights and authorities of the succeeding executive officers of the government who were in a few days to enter upon the duties of their appointment, and would be in the exercise of their offices more than two months before the county of Hampden would commence its existence. If an appointment had been ever so necessary or convenient before the operation of the act, there can be no pretence that such necessity or convenience existed on the 23d of May. But it is a sufficient answer to the argument from the inconvenience of a county being without officers that the consideration of that

subject belonged to the Legislature. They might have provided for the case. Not having thought proper to do it, the executive had no authority to substitute itself ; nor will it be expected of the judiciary to support and countenance such an usurpation, even if similar ones may have been practised." Judge Parsons decided that, however it might be determined as to the question whether Smith was sheriff *de jure*, he was sheriff *de facto*, and the plea in abatement was accordingly overruled.

The federalists returned to the contest at the April term of the Supreme Judicial Court, held at Northampton in 1813, by assailing Samuel Fowler's commission as probate judge by *quo warranto* proceedings. Mr. Bliss and Eli P. Ashmun were pitted against each other, Mr. Bliss taking the place of the solicitor-general, who was absent. In reply to many citations of precedents, Mr. Bliss said : " It is, however, to be hoped that executive precedents are not all of them to be established by law. If they should be, our government would be emphatically a government of men, and not of laws. One governor divides, and another unites, the militia. One orders detachments from it, and another declares the measure unconstitutional. One waits until there is an office before an officer is appointed, and another makes appointments before the law has created an office." This time, to the unbounded delight of a majority of the county, the federalists won ; all of the Gerry appointments fell to the ground. When Hampden county was formed, the practising attorneys included George Bliss, William Ely, Jonathan Dwight, Jr., Oliver B. Morris, Samuel Orne, and Edmund Bliss. Mr. Morris became county attorney, Edward Pynchon register of deeds, and John Ingersoll, of Westfield, clerk of the courts. In 1813 John Hooker was made judge of probate, and Oliver B. Morris register of probate. Edward Pynchon was the first county treasurer, and held the office, as well as that of register of deeds, for eighteen years.

We find that as early as 1808 embargo troubles and danger of war with England had set the town-meeting discussing high matters of

state. A memorial to Congress was proposed in April. This memorial was adopted in September. In mid-winter (1809) the embargo was denounced as "disgraceful in its origin, oppressive in its operation, destructive in its consequences, and fatal to the Interest and honour of our Country;" the act of Congress giving the President power to enforce the embargo is called a violation of civil liberty, as it "prostrates the sovereignty of the States at the foot of the Federal executive;" and finally the town looked with distrust at the massing of troops by the United States. On March 12, 1812, the town-meeting gathered in the town-house, but adjourned to the meeting-house in the afternoon. The old selectmen, Thomas Dwight, George Bliss, John Hooker, and Lieut. George Blake, retired, after many years' faithful service, and new men were called to the front. They were Joshua Frost, Judah Chapin, and Lieut. Eleazer Wright. It was not until three weeks had passed that the matter was settled by the addition of Edward Pynchon, Jonas Coolidge, Daniel Lombard, Phineas Chapin, and Asher Bartlett to the select board. Moses Chapin, of the old board, was reëlected. The representatives for 1812 were William Sheldon, Moses Chapin, and Edmund Dwight.

In July, 1812, the town protested against war, Chauncey Brewer being in the chair. The government was declared a "trust for the good of the people," and public officers "the Agents of the People and at all times accountable to them." The war was called a "war of aggression and conquest, and when viewed in connection with our relations to France as threatening the extinction of the Liberties of the people of the United States." It was also "Resolved, that we hold in utter abhorrence an Alliance with France, the destroyer of all Republics and the common Enemy of every free and independent state." A regretful glance was cast back to "that high ground of real and impartial neutrality" in the "days of Washington, when Peace with all Nations and entangling Alliance with none was the motto."

We find, also, that Springfield considered that the State militia was

not bound to march in obedience to any authority outside the State, nor could it be sent by the State outside the Territories of the United States. George Bliss headed the committee which drew up this petition to the President. In May, 1813, the representatives were directed to use their influence in favor of a restoration of peace, as the "people of the Commercial States have no Interest in contending for the principle that our Flag shall protect British subjects to the exclusion and injury of our native seamen."

Springfield thus had thrown her lot against the war party, and when Gov. Caleb Strong and the Legislature were looking over the field of western Massachusetts for the best men to represent this section at the famous Hartford convention, George Bliss, of Springfield, was immediately selected. The record of the Blisses upon this question was all that a federalist governor could have wished. In August, 1814, when a British fleet was discovered off the New England coast, and a call for troops had immediately followed, Gen. Jacob Bliss, of Springfield, started with the old Hampshire militia brigade, having upon his staff Master George's son George, who served with the rank of captain. Governor Strong and Lawyer Bliss had been often pitted against each other at the bar, and they were both, of course, stalwart federalists.

We have not to do here with the proceedings of the secret convention held in the council chamber of the State-house at Hartford at the close of the year 1814. We know that "Master" George's son, having returned from Boston with the troops, drove his father from Springfield down to Hartford in a chaise to that convention. Mr. Bliss served upon several important committees, and in a volume printed some years later by Theodore Dwight, secretary of the convention, the author took occasion to refer to George Bliss as a lawyer of extensive learning and "most unshaken independence, both of principle and conduct." He also said: "No man ever passed through life with a fairer reputation for integrity, or in a more entire possession of the confidence of the community in which he resided."

Springfield was not such a terrible sufferer as in the Shays's rebellion times. Money was light, business unsettled, and anxiety great. In 1816 the town appropriations were: Highways and bridges, \$550; poor, \$1,250; schools, \$750; contingencies, etc., \$1,819. The town had to borrow \$1,000 to meet its floating debt.

We can linger a moment over the career of George Bliss, who, in these struggles, had shown a devotion to self-government which his father and John Worthington in the previous generation had shown for their tory principles. Mr. Bliss's knowledge of the law was most profound, and the zeal with which he conducted the studies of young men and engaged in examinations for their benefit might easily have led to the establishment of a law school in Springfield, if there had been a college to which it could be attached. Indeed, he did prepare a course of lectures, and had quite a law class started here. He was considered a great oracle on all knotty questions. When once a young lawyer came to him for counsel he said, with mingled annoyance and pride (for he fully understood the advantages and disadvantages of fame): "That is just the way! If a lawyer has got a complicated case that nobody can understand, then it is all 'Master George!' 'Master George!' But if it is a plain matter, then off he goes to Oliver, or George, or Willard." William G. Bates used to tell a capital story as to Mr. Bliss's penchant for severe technicalities. Bliss had entered a successful plea in abatement over a slight inaccuracy in terms, and the opposing lawyer, when subsequently reading a writ, confounded the court with the words: "For that the said defendant, in the year of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ—" "What is the occasion of that profanity?" asked the judge. "Why, I thought that if I did not allege what Lord it was, my cousin George would plead in abatement!"

The mastery of technicalities of the law, for which Mr. Bliss was noted, caused him to look with suspicion upon the tendency of younger lawyers for simpler modes of practice. When special pleading was being pushed aside, he said that he would not favor its revival; but he

added: "The tendency of our practice in permitting every deviation from established forms to pass unnoticed is to introduce uncertainty and confusion into our judicial proceedings. It cannot fail to induce a habit of carelessness and indifference, and eventually great ignorance of correct practice."

The demands of public and professional life, and a succession of three wives, increased the austerities of family discipline. Bliss was a thorough orthodox Congregationalist. Strong Master George of the law was the stern Deacon Bliss of the First Church. George Bliss, the son, in an unpublished account of his own life, draws the following interesting picture of his early training: "I attended the common district school kept by a female until eight years old (1801), and then was transferred to the school kept by a man. Out of school I wandered about the streets or engaged in play with every boy I could find. My father when at home was very rigid in his family government and discipline, controlling me more by fear than by affection, as was the wont in those days. . . . Afterward I was sent to the district school, and my most ardent recollections there are of the master's ferule or rod, with which I made close acquaintance almost daily. I do not recollect that anybody at home inquired about my proficiency at school or aided in my instruction, except occasionally an examination into my ability to repeat the assembly's catechism, which in those days was taught us by Rev. Bezaleel Howard." A member of the family of the present day says that he has the impression from the family tradition that Master George was "cold, learned, dry, just, hard, unlovable; but even this is only an impression, and may do him injustice." But it need not be to his prejudice, we may remark, if one remembers the age in which he lived.

George Bliss lived at a time when his profession, and in fact society at large, was undergoing a change. He saw and recognized its force, but he still lived in perpetual protest to many innovations. He grieved to see a favorite son of his join the Unitarian church, and he looked with solicitude at the number of young men admitted to the

bar who were strangers to the staid traditions of the profession. We talk nowadays of our rapid progress; but the revolutions in society in New England from 1700 to 1776, or during George Bliss's lifetime (1764-1830), were more marked, all things considered, than anything we have since witnessed. Mr. Bliss had heard his father deliver a plea dressed in a gown, wig, silk stockings, shining shoe-buckles, and he lived to see his son confront a bench of judges in a gray business suit.

The town acts were unimportant during this period. Measures were taken in 1800 to dispose of the ministry and school lands still in its possession on the west side of the river. The money realized therefrom was devoted to a poor-house, which was the building occupied then by Ebenezer Hitchcock, being a part of the Worthington estate. It was secured for \$666. All "Idle or Strolling Negroes" were subsequently sent to the work-house, and the expenses for the poor show that this institution was not a lonely and vacant place. The First Parish in 1806 sold the old ministry lot, which had been occupied for that purpose since the days of Rev. George Moxon.

The distillery was partly burned out in 1808, and the town abated a portion of its taxes. The last appearance of pounds, shillings, and pence in the town records is November, 1795. In 1806 the tax rate voted was "two thousand and ninety-eight Dollars twenty-five cents and four mills." In 1814 the practice of voting the annual appropriations in November was abandoned, and from this time on, for many years, both the election of officers and the financial concerns of the town were attended to in the spring. The Baptists wanted to hold meetings in the town-house in 1809, but were refused. The time for a broader religious toleration was fast coming, however. Prejudices were being pushed to the wall by a national process of development. In medicine we see a marked change. "Inoculation of the Kine pock," for example, was now regularly practised, under the supervision of a town committee.

The appearance of the village had improved since the shabby post-

revolutionary days. In 1800 the town brook, which was also known as Garden brook, had become filled up with rubbish. This overflowed the meadows to the east, and caused sickness. The bed of the stream was accordingly deepened. There was a raised sidewalk in 1810 on the west side of Main street, running from the gate which still led into the "plain field" to Zebina Stebbins's place, and from Samuel Lyman's place, then deceased, on the opposite corner, to the "Bridge lane," from the lane to Meeting-house lane, and from Meeting-house lane to the home lot of Samuel Burt, deceased. There was also a sidewalk on the south side of Meeting-house lane.

Among the new men that had come to the front was William Ely, who is supposed to have lived on Main street, just south of the old jail tavern. Thus, in 1804 the representative vote stood: William Ely, 59; William Smith, 13; George Bliss, 8; James Byers, 4. This was a light vote, for in November of the same year Ely polled 136 votes as congressman against 84 for Samuel Fowler. Jonathan Dwight, Jr., succeeded Ely as representative in 1805. William Ely was a Yale graduate, and was a federalist member of Congress from 1805 to 1815, which was within two years of his death. Mr. Ely advocated in Congress, in December, 1806, the death penalty for those importing slaves to the United States, and in January, 1813, he made quite an extended speech in the House against the classification of the militia of the United States, which was urged by the Southern members. Mr. Ely seems to have been very direct and business-like in his methods, choice of his words, and not given to bitter sentiments, although his convictions ran deep during these troublous times.

We cannot dwell at any length over the new men. Thomas Dwight was a favorite for moderator in this period; so were George Bliss and Oliver B. Morris. The town collector of taxes in 1803 was Pitt Bliss, and to him was committed no less than five separate rate lists, — town, county, state, parish, and district. Pitt Bliss was also

a constable. The following year William Pynchon declined to serve as clerk any longer, and Edward Pynchon was chosen in his place. William received a generous vote of thanks for his long services. John Hooker appears upon the select board.

We will here give a full list of officers of 1808, in order to show some of the changes that time was making in the personnel of the town : —

Moderator, Jonathan Dwight ; clerk and treasurer, Edward Pynchon ; selectmen, Thomas Dwight, George Bliss, Major Moses Chapin, Rufus Sikes, and John Hooker ; overseers of the poor, Justin Lombard, Judah Chapin, Walter Stebbins, Jonathan Dwight, Jr., and Zebina Stebbins ; tythingmen, Edmund Dwight, Oliver B. Morris, Erastus Chapin, and Samuel Orne ; assessors, Zebina Stebbins, Moses Chapin, and Pitt Bliss ; hog-reeves, Lewis Goodnow, Frederick Burt, and Frederick Chapin ; field-drivers, Silas Holton, Martin Burt, Thaddeus Ferre, Lewis Robinson, Joseph Robinson, Calvin Cooley, Caleb Simons, Ithamer Stebbins, and William Gaylord ; pound-keeper, Preserved White ; sealers of leather, Dormer Chapin and Pitt Bliss ; fence-viewers, Festus Stebbins, Moses Burt, Jr., J. A. McKinstry, James Meloin, William Sheldon, Levi Stedman ; firewards, Moses Burt, Jr., Major Jacob Bliss, Benjamin Prescott, Elisha Tobey, George Bliss, Frederick Chapin, Luther Hitchcock, Zebina Stebbins, and James Byers, Jr. ; surveyors of shingles and clapboards, Jacob Bliss, Joseph Pease, William Chapin, Jr., Festus Bliss, Pelatiah Bliss, and Joseph Griswold ; surveyors of highways, Abel Chapin, David Arms, and Thomas Stebbins ; constables, Henry Brewer and Oliver Chapin, Jr. ; collector, Jacob Bliss.

Springfield sent four representatives to the General Court in 1810, — Moses Chapin, Jacob Bliss, Oliver B. Morris, and Edmund Dwight. Four years later the list was reduced to three, — Samuel Orne, Edmund Bliss, and Joseph Pease.

The first proposals for a bridge over the great river were received with ridicule. “ Parson Howard talks like a fool,” said Colonel Worthington, in 1786, when the reverend gentleman predicted such an engineering event. But the bridge was a necessity, and it came. It was the younger men that carried the day, and October 30, 1805, the

bridge was opened. The fact that financially it was the child of a lottery did not prevent the famous Dr. Joseph Lathrop, of West Springfield, from delivering a dedicatory sermon and offering prayer in the presence of some three thousand people gathered upon the bridge. The church bells were rung, cannon fired, and the people split their throats in their rejoicings. The bridge was a creditable piece of engineering for the times, it being considered equal to anything in America: but a succession of floods weakened it, and it gave way to a heavy load of army supplies, nine years later. It has recently been incorrectly stated that the designer or builder is not known. A great many complimentary things were said at the time of the master-builder, Jonathan Wolcott, of Windham, Conn., who had charge of the work. The piers and stone-work were done under a Worcester county contractor, named Israel Reed. We are informed that he had under him masons who were "artists in that branch of the business." The bridge was an open one, painted red, was 1,234 feet long, 30 feet wide, and stretched 40 feet above low-water mark. The six spans were supported by two abutments and five piers, each pier and abutment containing about 2,000 tons of stone. Two guard piers to check the force of the ice were built 80 rods above the bridge: the curve in each arch was 187 feet. A local paper remarks with pride in 1805, just after it was opened: "This bridge is so constructed with frames upon each pier connected by long timbers with the arches that the traveller passes over nearly the whole extent of it on an elevated plane, affording a view of extensive landscapes in which are blended well-cultivated fields, pleasant villages, rivers, meadows, lofty mountains, and indeed a wildness and variety in the beauties of nature which is highly gratifying to the eye." This clumsy and indeed grotesque structure, so arranged that the traveller was compelled to go up and down with the curves of each span, was pulled down soon after the freshets of 1814. It had cost \$36,270, and the following tolls were charged: Foot passengers, 3 cents; horse and rider, 7 cents; Horse and chaise, chair or

sulky, 16 cents; chariot, phaeton, or other four-wheeled carriages for passengers, 33 cents; curricule, 25 cents; horse and sleigh, 10 cents; neat cattle, 3 cents; sheep or swine, 1 cent.

The second toll-bridge was opened to the public October 1, 1816, at a cost of \$22,000. In November the advertisement of H. Brewer appeared in a local paper in this style: "There's a tide now flowing and is almost flood tide. Springfield bridge lottery is a fine tide of riches. Improve it. Set every sail. Soon it will be too late. The 26th is at hand." According to a large hand-bill issued by the managers, — N. Freeman, Justin Ely, Jr., and Jonathan Dwight, Jr., — and dated Boston, March, 1816, the toothsome particulars of a rearranged scheme had been dwelt upon in very large letters. The head-lines ran: "All prizes — No Blanks and no Deduction — Springfield Bridge Lottery — First Class Scheme." The tickets were \$6 each, so that the profits to the bridge company, not allowing for expenses and commission on sales, would be only \$11,000. Some five hundred numbers were drawn per day, and accordingly for two weeks the local public was served with a series of conflicting sensations. There were several drawings in this town, and at least one local tavern scene is recalled where little girls, dressed in white frocks, performed the office of drawing the numbers. The Harvard college lottery, which was running in 1807, was well patronized in Springfield. One of the men of Springfield who offered Harvard college lottery-tickets for sale was Landlord Eleazer Williams. Williams is remembered as a man who divided his time and peculiar genius impartially between the ruffle in his bosom and the mixing of toddies, for which he was famous in these parts. It is recorded in the "Hampshire Federalist" that Williams sold the ticket which drew a \$5,000 prize in the Harvard lottery; but the name of the lucky ticket-owner is not known. We find that lottery-tickets were offered for sale here by J. & E. Dwight, Moses Bliss & Co., H. Brewer, and others.

In 1816 James S. Dwight, Samuel Lathrop, and Josiah D. Whitney

acted as the managing committee of the second Springfield bridge incorporators. This latter bridge was partly carried away in 1818 and restored in 1820, and has done much service until this day. The tolls were abolished in 1872. It is a longer bridge, and not as high as the first one, and is an exceedingly interesting structure. The



THE OLD TOLL-BRIDGE.

foot-path on the south side of the bridge was added in 1878. One cannot wander through this tunnel of early, hand-hewn New England timber and not see at every step the records of the years.

President Monroe passed over the bridge upon his famous New England tour in 1817. It was a very important occasion politically and socially for this valley, and Massachusetts also. The opening of the bridge and the visit of Monroe may almost be said to

mark a new era. The bitterness in politics occasioned by the embargo had been carried even to the breaking up of families. It was not, however, quite so bad as at the election of Jefferson, when many New England women hid their Bibles in the belief that the Virginian would inaugurate a system of persecution against Puritanism.

Monroe had been so well received at New York and elsewhere that by the time he reached our bridge he was greeted by a thoroughly cordial community. When the visiting chief magistrate reached the Massachusetts line from Connecticut, ascending the west bank of the river, he found sixty Springfield citizens upon horseback, many of them in military uniform, as well as scores in carriages, making a procession half a mile long. As they approached the village Captain Warriner had assembled his company of artillery at the bridge, where also a crowd had gathered. The church bells were rung, and a federal salute was fired. Old inhabitants can recall that memorable day: how a formal address was presented the President when he arrived at the Parsons tavern, then kept by Captain Bennett; the visit to the armory, and the review of four hundred and ten school-children. President Monroe was much interested in the little ones, and he said to the committee of entertainment standing beside him on the veranda of Parsons tavern, "I am much pleased and gratified with their appearance, and pray God to bless them, and you to carry your good designs into effect." They say that men fraternized after the Monroe visit who had not spoken to each other for years.

Springfield had entered the century with a population of 2,312, which was less than the West Springfield figures. Even with the armory population the west side still led. The struggle was severe, ten years later Springfield having 2,767 inhabitants and West Springfield 3,109. But in 1820 the village had risen to 3,914, with West Springfield a good second at 3,246, — the first time the village had secured the advantage in the memory of any man then living.

Both business and church activities were marked. In March, 1814, the Springfield bank (the first local bank of discount) was organized

at Uncle Jerry Warriner's tavern. This was a part of a movement in favor of bank expansion. In 1811 the first United States bank had been refused a renewal of its charter by Congress, and this developed the State banks. The New England banks did not suspend specie payments, as was the case elsewhere. The Springfield bank, like others, kept a deposit of specie at the Suffolk Bank of Boston, and it was no unusual thing for a cashier to bring back, by stage, \$50,000 or \$100,000 in bills in his valise. The Springfield Bank became the Second National Bank in 1863.

In 1820 an invention was made at the armory which gives Springfield a notable place in the annals of mechanism. Thomas Blanchard's machine for turning irregular forms was introduced at the armory, under Col. Roswell Lee, the forerunner of the "interchangeable system." — a device which has revolutionized the whole subject of manufacture, and is only next in importance to the great inventions of steam and telegraphy. Other places have claimed the credit of this great inventive discovery, but we think unsuccessfully; and were we to give a history of industrial Springfield, we would be justified in devoting a whole chapter to this subject. Manufacture has been completely revolutionized by the interchangeable system, which has made it possible for Americans to undersell Swiss watchmakers in their own country, put cheaper and better pistols and rifles in foreign markets; and, indeed, compelled other nations to take lessons of us in practical mechanics.

It was during this period, also, that Springfield started an interest in secret societies which has given the town and city such a position in the world of chaptered fraternities. The Hampden masonic lodge was formed in March, 1817. Its meetings were discontinued during the Morgan excitement from 1832 to 1846, which will be spoken of hereafter. It would not be surprising to see a masonic temple here before many years, contributing materially to the appearance of the city architecturally.

The slave had gradually lost his hold here, and it is mentioned



more as a graphic incident than a business matter that the citizens in 1808 bought and freed a fugitive. It was in February that a bill of sale was given by Peter van Geyseling, of Schenectady, to the selectmen of Springfield, by which a negro woman, "Jenny," a fugitive, was given her freedom. "Jenny" had become favorably known in Springfield, and the subscription of \$100 was easily raised. She and her husband, "Jack," lived for many years near Goose Pond (Lake Como), and they added to their fame by selling a fine quality of spruce beer.

The "Old Academy" was started in the exciting year of 1812, and while many a struggle was precipitated over the raising of funds, its record was worthy of the people who were destined to found a city of homes.

Religious matters also largely occupied the thought of the town at this time. The half-way covenant was discontinued at the First Church in 1795. Mr. Howard, whose voice had failed him, retired from its pulpit in 1803, with a payment of \$2,000, in three annual instalments, as a recognition of his work here. It was not until 1809 that Samuel Osgood, a young man of parts, was ordained and settled over the church, which had a membership of two hundred and twenty-five, with a precinct population of two thousand two hundred. Mr. Osgood was at first considered in danger of drifting with many other New England ministers of the day into Unitarianism, but he developed into a stout Orthodox divine. The old inhabitants have many anecdotes of this remarkable man. He was brave, original, clear-headed, earnest, and sound. Had he been called to public life, it would have been as a Garrison or Phillips. He had the commanding qualities of a moral sentiment, love of humanity, and picturesque methods of oratory. Men remember his wit, but better than that was his sterling worth. He carried his warfare, however, to great length. Owing to his personal opposition the Baptists were prevented from securing a foothold for some years. Osgood's parishioners were afraid even to attend Baptist meetings. The Baptists, after a

struggle running over many generations, finally secured a lodgment at the water-shops, in 1811, with a membership of nineteen. The Methodists also followed in 1815, when a society connected with the Tolland (Conn.) circuit, that had met in private houses, reorganized with eleven members, under the ministry of William Marsh; in 1819 it became a separate church, Rev. Daniel Dorchester, pastor.

In 1817 the first Episcopal services were conducted at the armory by Rev. Titus Strong, of Greenfield, and in 1820 the Methodist chapel known as Asbury Chapel was built at the water-shops. The First Episcopal Church was organized in 1821, with Rev. Edward Rutledge as pastor. This year also the first Baptist edifice was built at the water-shops, — 36 × 26 feet.

As to the First Congregational Church, the ministry of Dr. Osgood was carrying the congregation through the breakwaters of theological dissensions. The most complicated was precipitated in 1819, when Mr. Howard and twenty-five members of the church asked certificates of regular standing, that they might form a separate church. The application was refused. In June, 1818, fifty-four members of the First Parish had petitioned the Legislature to be set off as the Second Society. The petitioners paid one-third of the taxes of the parish, and they referred to the change that had come over Mr. Osgood in doctrinal matters. Mr. Osgood had gradually gained in power as an interpreter of the Scriptures in conformity with historical Congregationalism, and the split was inevitable. In December, 1818, Mr. Howard and the Unitarian minority attended a parish meeting, but nothing was done beyond illustrating the hopelessness of a united congregation. The minority thought they were treated like "a company of unprincipled men," and the souls of the majority burned with zeal for the ancient faith. Jonathan Dwight had a notion that if Dr. Osgood would resign they might unite upon a new minister; but Dr. Osgood was not a resigning man, and so the break came. Mr. Howard was a man of singularly placid disposition, good judgment, and candor. He was a Calvinist by education, but a Unitarian

by natural bent. How wisely, and with what inoffensive firmness, he conducted the controversy with the First Church may be seen in the tracts issued at the time over the "old" and "new" theology.



THE OLD TOWN HOUSE, STATE STREET.

His personal virtues and gifts are more than a tradition. Men still talk of Parson Howard, and honor his memory.

Jonathan Dwight, who was one of the men electing to die in old-fashioned small-clothes, but a newer religious faith, was the wheel-horse of the new organization. Dwight offered to build a house of worship for the new society, which was incorporated February 15, 1819, provided the rest of the congregation would establish a fund for the permanent support of the minister, to which there was a ready

and substantial response. The corner-stone of the church, situated on State street (Kirkham and Olmsted block), was laid May 20, 1819, and in July of the following year a call was extended to Rev. William B. O. Peabody, and he was ordained October 20. Mr. Peabody was a complete counterpart of Dr. Osgood, and when it is said that they became friends, it is only offering a tribute to the character of both. The stalwart Calvinist could shake hands with the mild-eyed Unitarian, and in time the two congregations came to look upon their old dissensions with the pleasurable feelings of the antiquarian.

But the building fever was contagious. The First Church was engaged upon its new house of worship, with its tall pillars, that now seem so ancient.

We have before referred to the court-house (Sanford street, built in 1720), which was used as a town-hall. It was occupied by the courts until 1820, when a new court-house (present Odd Fellows hall) was built; but the old building was used as a town-hall eight years later, when the State-street town-hall was built on land owned by the First Parish, which took the building as part pay, and moved it back on Market street, where meetings were held. It was finally disposed of to the South Church, which in turn passed it on to be used as a carriage-shop.

The need of a new court-house, and the building of the church, which latter was dedicated in August, 1819, led to the project of a public square, so much needed. The Dwights wanted it located somewhere on State street, but the First Church people and Main-street business men struggled to some purpose. Daniel Bontecou, Edward Pynchon, Eleazer Williams, James Wells, Justice Willard, and others raised \$3,000, bought the land constituting Court square, and deeded it to Hampden county in April, 1821, and in this year the new court-house (Odd Fellows hall) was occupied. Modern Springfield begins from this point; and so it was through honest enmities, a considerate spirit, and the friction of business, religion, and politics, that the town grew and waxed strong in limb.

CHAPTER XVII.

1821-1831.

The "Federal Spy" and "Hampshire Federalist." — Samuel Bowles, the First. — New Blood in the Village. — The Characters of William B. Calhoun, John Mills, Oliver B. Morris, and George Bliss, Jr. — Philanthropy. — The Colonization Society. — Population. — Fourth of July Celebration. — Political Banquets. — River Traffic. — River Steamers. — Stages. — Factories. — Postmaster Lombard. — Politics. — The Poor-House. — Selectmen from 1822 to 1826. — Destruction of the Pynchon Fort. — Temperance Society. — Jackson's Triumph. — Masonry. — Chapman & Ashmun. — Military Companies. — Ancient Trees. — Fire Department. — Lawlessness. — Death of Jonathan Dwight. — Commerce on the River.

THE "Federal Spy" had passed into the hands of Timothy Ashley in 1799, when he took in Henry Brewer (father of H. & J. Brewer), who became sole proprietor in 1803, and in turn the property passed to Luther Baker in 1805, and Thomas Dickman in 1806, when the paper was called "The Hampshire Federalist." A. G. Tannatt & Co. followed Dickman in 1819, a year after the establishment of the "Hampden Patriot" by Dr. Ira Daniels, and lingered till about 1824, when Samuel Bowles, a Hartford printer, started the "Springfield Republican." Mr. Bowles came from a Roxbury family of quality. He had rare good judgment, was odd in appearance, of a scholarly temperament, though denied a college training, and ambitious beyond the capabilities of a weak body. He had as an ancestor John Eliot, the Indian missionary, while the young woman whom he married was a descendant of Miles Standish. The early representatives of the Bowles family were church elders, members of the General Court, or town officials, and usually college educated; the later members of the family, on whom rested the burden of a paper that became an institution in this country, as a rule declined positions

of Church and State, while the college course was not permitted them. Mr. Bowles entered upon his newspaper venture just in time to have a hand in shaping the reorganization of parties in this region, and to stand behind and lend aid and encouragement to the business men of the community who were bent upon taking invention by the hand, that wealth might follow. The old federal and democratic parties were disintegrating, and Mr. Bowles started out as the local organ of the national republican party, which was really the democratic party; but Mr. Bowles passed to the whig party, and supported Levi Lincoln for governor in 1825. The first number of the weekly "Republican" appeared September 8, 1824, and was issued on Wednesdays from a modest little office opposite the present Chicopee Bank. The "Hampden Patriot" had been discontinued. There was a national republican (democratic) majority in Hampden county and in Hampshire county; the party had a good footing; but Mr. Bowles found that he could not work for the best interests of his State and the democracy at the same time, and so changed the political complexion of the paper. His whig affiliations continued until the coalition of 1848 and the formation of the republican party.

Springfield was even at this early day an important factor in State politics, due in a measure to the able men gathered at the Hampden bar. We find the names of George Bliss, Jr., William B. Calhoun, Justice Willard, and John Mills, figuring frequently on the pages of the press from this period down for many years. Mr. Calhoun early took an interest in public affairs; but he was a contemplative, serious man, who dwelt upon problems, social and political, with the spirit of a philosopher, rather than upon the manipulation of caucuses. He inspired confidence rather than enthusiastic admiration, and during a long public career was in turn State representative, congressman, State senator, secretary of state, State bank commissioner, presidential elector, county commissioner, and finally mayor of the city. Springfield never had a citizen who received so many political favors from her, and did so little to secure them. Mr. Calhoun had the

quality, inherited from his Scotch father, of candor and discretion. He was honorable, self-reliant, true, and religious. But he was lacking in the qualities that shine in a court of law. He, indeed, chose the profession that least befitted him; but his law education, though meagre practice, was of value as an equipment for public life. He had been but a few years engaged in the law when he was picked out by the local public as a man for representative in 1825. Mr. Calhoun was an editorial writer on the weekly "Republican," and in later years he was a contributor to the daily "Republican;" his success editorially was based upon the importance and soundness of his views, rather than upon the manner of presenting a subject. "Calhoun is an erudite writer," Mr. Bowles, the second, used to say, "but he needs some pepper injected into his veins."

Of John Mills we have already spoken. He was a man of singularly pleasing address, and as he grew in popularity and avoirdupois, his gracious and almost ducal bearing, his candor and old-fashioned methods of reasoning, and his scrupulous uprightness minimized the effect of his besetting weakness, — a too implicit confidence in human nature. An old Springfield whig once remarked that he happened to know but one honest politician, and that was John Mills.

A curious circumstance attending Mr. Mills's career at Boston has survived the visit of Lafayette to this country. Mr. Mills was the youngest member of the Senate. The two houses were gathered together at the reception given General Lafayette, and the distinguished Frenchman passed along shaking hands with every member. When he came to Mr. Mills the great visitor stopped, glanced at the prematurely bald head of the precocious Hampden county senator, and extending both hands exclaimed, "My dear friend, I recollect you in the Revolution." This absurd scene suggests a remark of Patrick Boise, of Westfield, a man of parts and one of the wits of the old Hampden bar, that it was John Mills's shining bald head that made him president of the Senate. Mr. Mills was a member of the Massa-

chusetts-Connecticut boundary commission of 1826, and of the north-eastern boundary commission (Maine and Canada) in 1842. He served as State treasurer, and was for many years willing to run on the democratic State ticket when victory was out of the question. He became thoroughly identified with Springfield by real-estate investments, too much so for his pecuniary advantage; but his predictions as to the growth of Springfield have been singularly fulfilled.

Judge Oliver B. Morris holds a distinct place in local annals as lawyer, citizen, and lover of Springfield village. "In my youth," he used to remark, "I saw an aged man who remembered seeing persons who came over in the 'Mayflower.'" And the judge was quite as proud of this as if he had led a victorious army to battle. He was preëminently the village man. He knew everybody, and everybody knew him. All the ways of rural New England life were pleasing to him; he enjoyed its shady walks, its humble thrift, its simple democracy, its deference paid to the village fathers, its solemn Sabbaths, and its old nine-o'clock bell. But the satisfaction he felt for his own local prominence was not simply a personal pride. He came by his local patriotism in the study of local history. He thought much of the past, and loved to talk of the plantation of Springfield, to reproduce the pioneer scenes when every yeoman was a defender of the gospel, a tiller of the soil, and at times a fighter of Indians. Morris never wanted to live to see the time when the town-meeting would adjourn forever; when the stages would be taken from the old turnpikes, and the town brook buried in the Main-street sewer. But he did, — and he lived also to be the oldest inhabitant, and to see city wards spring up where once were open fields. "I do not like to see so many strangers," he once remarked to a minister here; "I used to know every voter." This lament was not the result of a natural desire to oppose progress, but a deep affection for the quiet, quaint, old days of Springfield. He had been looked upon for nearly two generations as the antiquarian of Springfield. He was familiar with more genealogies than any one else, could give more facts about old



Oliver Morris

buildings, the transfers of property, the historic spots, the traditions, the stories, anecdotes, and lore of the place. Law was his profession, but Springfield village his life.

Morris was sent to the Legislature in 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1813, was made register of probate in 1813, county attorney in 1820, and judge of probate in 1829. When distinguished men visited Springfield, the judge was quite apt to be selected for the speech of welcome. He introduced John Quincy Adams to the people in the First church, and was also chosen to welcome Henry Clay at the ovation given him at the old town-hall. It is related by a citizen who was a school-boy when the Adams reception took place here that Morris had several times begun public addresses by saying, "When I look about me and behold the sea of upturned faces," etc. This lingo, with more of the same sort, the boys committed to memory, and when the eloquent judge rose to introduce John Quincy Adams, and had got as far as "When I look about me," the boys shouted in chorus the familiar "and behold the sea of upturned faces." Perhaps no better picture of the judge in town-meeting could be given than this, which George S. Taylor has kindly furnished: —

About the year 1836 (I think) some of the out-of-town people were bound to put down the High School in Springfield. Of course, Judge Morris, who was always on the right side in school matters, was on hand, while both villages in what is now Chicopee turned out *en masse*. "Uncle John Chase" said that his "shops could not start until that High School was put down," and so the old town-hall was filled with voters. Then came Judge Morris's opportunity, for he was a fine speaker. The question of abolishing the High School was reached, and when the motion was made to abolish it, and it was about to be put by the moderator, Judge Morris arose calmly and made a half-hour speech that carried the house, in which he said: "Mr. Moderator and gentlemen, I have lived in the town of Springfield nearly forty years, and have paid taxes during that time, and I am proud of our schools; these are our safeguard. Mr. Moderator, I am glad to speak for our school privileges. Here, sir, the poor have the same rights and privileges as the rich. Yes, gentlemen, I glory in this, for I am a republican. I was nursed at the breast of a republican mother, and know my rights. — the

greatest of which is freedom, after which our public schools, at the head of which is our High School." The audience was with him as he sat down, and at that moment a creaked, squeaky voice was heard at the other side of the hall: "The gentleman just seated says he nursed at the breast of a republican mother; if so he must have lost a good deal of the cream." Such a sudden descent from the sublime to the ridiculous will never be forgotten by those who heard it.

When age began to tell its inevitable story of lessening powers and ambition, the venerable judge was in the habit of dropping in at the "Old Corner Bookstore" and chatting and arguing with both old and young. It so happened that the judge once took his Sunday-school class of boys, forty in number, over to the parish house, and there gave them some very good advice, after reading the sixth chapter of Proverbs. On the following Monday Maj. Edward Ingersoll, one of his Sunday-school scholars, entered the bookstore and found the judge discoursing upon old-fashioned morals. The major made a remark concerning the judge's zeal, which prompted this reply, that has been often quoted before the firesides of Springfield: "I lament and condemn the degeneracy of the times. I do not like to see so many strangers here. There was a time when I could hang any man in the village; now I have trouble in keeping myself from being hung." There are several variations of this reply, but the above appears to be the most authentic. Major Ingersoll was encouraged to dispute with the judge about the degeneracy that so distressed him, and he asked: —

"Do you remember the ordination of Rev. Dr. Osgood?" — "I do." — "And do you remember whether there were any refreshments?" — "Yes; a feast, and a ball also." — "Do you remember where you were, Judge, after the ordination?" The judge was greatly taken aback, for he did not know that it was common talk that he with three other church-members repaired to a chamber over Elijah Blake's shop and played euchre, — and it was not a dry game either.

The figure of George Bliss, Jr., also, stands out as a marked

contrast to Judge Morris, his brother-in-law. He was eager for business conquests. His pride in Springfield led him to take up all new ideas that would advance Springfield's



BLISS RESIDENCE.

commercial importance. When the incorporation of Hampden county is mentioned, the name of George Bliss, the elder, is at once in mind; but when the railroading era is mentioned, one thinks of George Bliss, the younger.

He may not have had the mastery of the law that Judge Wells, of Chicopee, had, nor the inspiring and spontaneous qualities of mind that made George Ashmun a master of oratory, nor the leisurely dignity of William B. Calhoun; but he had a deep hold upon those principles of law affecting the commerce of the State and town, as well as an organizing and executive faculty that made

him invaluable in a legislative assembly or a directors' meeting. As to his personal characteristics it has been said: "There was something dry about him physically and mentally, and a curtness that made him sometimes pass for irritable: but this was his manner merely."

"I was not brought up, but merely grew up neglected," Mr. Bliss used to say in after life. After graduation he became a member of the little law school which his father found time to teach; and upon his admission to the bar, in 1815, he opened an office at Monson, and in 1822 formed a law copartnership with Jonathan Dwight, Jr., the legal member of the famous firm of J. & E. Dwight, merchants. Mr. Bliss built the fine residence now used as the Episcopal rectory. He first appeared in the Legislature in 1827, and upon his reelection in 1828 he was made chairman of the committee which prepared the act establishing boards of county commissioners as a substitute for the town system. This act was largely the work of Mr. Bliss, both in phraseology and service in pushing it through the Legislature.

Mr. Bliss aided in the support of the Unitarian church ; he gave the site of the city library, besides \$10,000 in cash ; and the Home for the Friendless and other local charities knew the extent of his substantial interest. He was president of the Springfield cemetery, member of Governor Briggs's council, and active in organizations like the Hampden Park Association ; and his death at the advanced age of eighty, full of honors and surrounded by the material monuments of his public spirit and sacrifice, was an event of no passing moment to this community.

This was a period rich in philanthropic and public spirit. The Hampden County Colonization Society issued a circular in November, 1826, closing with these words : " Our country has been verily guilty of despoiling Africa of her children. Who can say that this will not be overruled by a righteous Providence as the principal means of diffusing the knowledge of salvation by a crucified Saviour to millions of our fellow-beings, who are now buried in the thick darkness of the grossest superstition and idolatry ? " This was signed by Samuel Lathrop, Israel E. Trask, Samuel Osgood, William B. O. Peabody, Isaac Knapp, John Mills, Justice Willard, Frederick A. Packard, George Colton, and Ethan Ely. In February, 1827, at a public meeting presided over by O. B. Morris, measures were taken to send provisions to the starving Greeks. For this cause Dr. Osgood's church raised \$150 ; Mr. Peabody's, \$90 ; Mr. Webb's (Methodist), \$12.76 ; Mr. Branch's (Baptist), \$12.02 ; and Mr. Phenix's (Chicopee), \$11.50. The county raised in all \$672.20, and sent one box of clothing, which postmaster Daniel Lombard forwarded to the Boston custodians of the Greek fund, which tunes the local bard to pipe his lay : —

" Alas for poor Greece ! must she drain her best veins,
And find but a sound the reward of her pains ? "

A little earlier (1825), at a meeting in the court-house, this committee was appointed to consider the advisability of forming a negro

colonization society: Justice Willard, Simon Sanborn, William B. Calhoun, Elijah Blake, Charles Stearns, Samuel Bowles, and George Colton.

The town was now making marked progress in numbers and general appearance. The building of churches, town-hall, the opening of the square on Main street, and like improvements, had added a healthy ambition to the ancient community. In January, 1826, George Bliss and one hundred and eleven others petitioned that the village proper be incorporated into a police and fire district, that the meadow might be drained, the brook regulated, and streets widened. There was a natural curiosity to know exactly the local population, and some public-spirited men put their hands in their pockets, counted noses, and in 1827 reported these results: Over 30, males, 791; females, 803. Over 16, males, 826; females, 983. Over 10, males, 357; females, 410. Under 10, males, 707; females, 827. Total, 5,764.

The population of the village in 1820 was 3,914, showing that the tide of prosperity had indeed begun. Northampton in 1827 had a population of 3,840, and West Springfield had also fallen behind the central village. The rivalry between the local communities continued, but the chances were now clearly in favor of the mother town. Hampden county in 1825 had 3,425 houses.

The Handel and Haydn Society, of Springfield, gave their first public concert Sunday evening, June 17, 1827. In October, 1824, the newly organized Hampden Guards received from the citizens "an elegant standard," Lieutenant-Colonel Colton making the presentation speech.

The Fourth of July celebration of the first half-century of the republic warmed the local heart. The celebration was planned at a meeting of men of "all parties, religious or political," and under the special direction of this committee of citizens: Col. Roswell Lee, Israel E. Trask, John Chaffee, Samuel Lathrop, Joshua Frost, Calvin Burt, Benjamin Jenks, Col. Solomon Warriner, Dr. Reuben

Champion, of West Springfield, Adonajiah Foot, Joseph Hall, Jr., Justin Willard, John Howard, Alpheus Nettleton, and Maj. E. Edwards. The Hampden Guards, commanded by Captain Nettleton, marched from the Hampden coffee-house to Dr. Osgood's church, where William B. Calhoun delivered an oration. Dr. George Frost read the Declaration of Independence, and Colonel Warriner, with the aid of a large chorus, sang an ode written by Rev. Mr. Peabody. From the meeting-house the guards, with Col. Harvey Chapin, Maj. Caleb Rice, and Lieut. Samuel Reynolds, mounted, marched with a great crowd and band music, firing of cannon and ringing of bells, to the new armory store-house on State street, opposite the Olivet church, where a banquet for four hundred was spread. Samuel Lathrop and Colonel Lee offered the toasts, and the speaking continued until dusk.

In November, 1826, a banquet was given at the Franklin hotel in honor of Col. Roswell Lee, who was transferred to Harper's Ferry, Paymaster John Chaffee presiding. Another dinner was given at Phelps's hotel, J. Dwight, Jr., at the head of the table. The Fourth of July celebration of 1827 was denounced by a writer in the "Hampden Journal" as an "anti-administration celebration;" but there was no foundation for it beyond some hissing at a Jackson toast. This was considered a hit at Colonel Lee, who had returned from Virginia to the armory.

In January, 1825, a committee of the Connecticut River Association addressed circulars to all towns interested in river manufacture to meet at Windsor, Vt., February 16. It was proposed to open the river traffic to Lake Memphremagog. National aid was expected in continuing trade communication with Canada. A shipment of lumber, which had to be carted forty miles to the Erie canal, thence carried two hundred miles to Troy, by sloop down the Hudson to the Sound, up the Connecticut to Hartford, and then transferred to furniture manufactories, troubled the visions of the local students of commerce. The project of connecting the river at Bellows Falls with Boston by

a canal was also talked of, but engineers preferred to strike the river at Springfield. The Windsor convention memorialized Congress and took steps to form a navigation company. A largely attended meeting of the citizens was held at the Hampden coffee-house, May, 1825, to consider canals and river traffic. It was resolved that a Boston and Springfield canal was practicable and desirable, and that the river could be improved so as to admit sloops to Springfield. George Bliss was in the chair and Justice Willard was secretary. Delegates were chosen to attend a meeting at Brookfield. Mr. Willard was present at Greenfield in April, where a Franklin county convention passed resolutions favoring Connecticut river improvements; and a few weeks later a convention of the three counties at Greenfield took similar action, George Bliss heading a committee to memorialize the General Court on the subject.

Says a writer in the Boston "Patriot," May, 1825: "A canal from Springfield to Boston will render our harbor the mouth of the Connecticut river." The papers of the State were filled with arguments pro and con, and every step of the engineers commissioned to survey the Connecticut and a canal route across the State was followed with lively interest. Stages were rolling along regardless of the new-fangled notions of transportation. In 1826 H. Sargeant advertised a new line of stages, which left Springfield daily at 5 A.M. for Hartford, taking the west side, and returning at 7 P.M., for \$1. This line stopped at Phelps's Springfield hotel (Exchange hotel). The following year there was started a stage line from Springfield to Belchertown, by the Factory village,—N. B. Moseley & Co., proprietors. In 1828 still another line was started between Norwich and Springfield, the distance between the two places being covered in eleven hours. The proprietors were N. B. Moseley, of Springfield, and Landlords Kinney of Norwich, Abbe of Windham, and Smith of Tolland.

The local industries were making a fair showing. The paper mills of D. & J. Ames were, in 1825, about the largest in the United States.

They ran twelve engines and employed one hundred girls, besides many men and boys. Lathrop & Willard had just before this built a four-engine paper-mill, "10 miles above this place." N. P. Ames began the manufacture of cutlery at Chicopee, with nine hands, in 1829. The Ames Manufacturing Company was incorporated in 1834, with a capital of \$30,000.

Mr. Blanchard's steam-carriage was exhibited in these streets in November, 1826, and created the greatest excitement. A bevel-gear wheel, running parallel with the carriage wheels, was attached to the hind axle-tree. Pinion wheels plied into the cogs of this wheel, and the engine attached had a two-inch cylinder, the boiler holding three gallons. The carriage weighed half a ton.

Many business changes had taken place on the street. Horace Lee, who came from Westfield, was running a chair-factory in a brick building on the east side of North Main street, and had a rival in Moses V. Beach, who ran the Springfield cabinet warehouse, now Wright's cigar-shop; William W. Wildman's Springfield comb factory was opposite the Springfield hotel; Whitfield Chapin kept a lumber-yard at the east end of the bridge over the Connecticut, which passed, in 1826, to Isaac Humeston; Joseph Bangs had a forge on Mill river; Benjamin Belcher presided over the Springfield furnace; Dennis Cook ran a copper and sheet-iron manufactory, and so did Philip Wilcox, the two men having originally been in business together (Cook & Wilcox) in front of the Springfield brewery (Church of the Unity); George Colton sold lime, hewn stone, and lumber; Isaiah Call kept stoves (near the bank); John Hooker, Jr., was manager of the Springfield brewery; William Childs & Co., who were known to store liquors in the cellar of the present Congregational church, owned the Sixteen Acres distillery, and Reynolds & Morris were managers of the Hampden brewery. Major Ingersoll was their clerk. The marble yard of S. D. & W. Sturges was one door west of the bank. The Springfield Fire Insurance Company, George Bliss, Jr., secretary, was doing a good business.

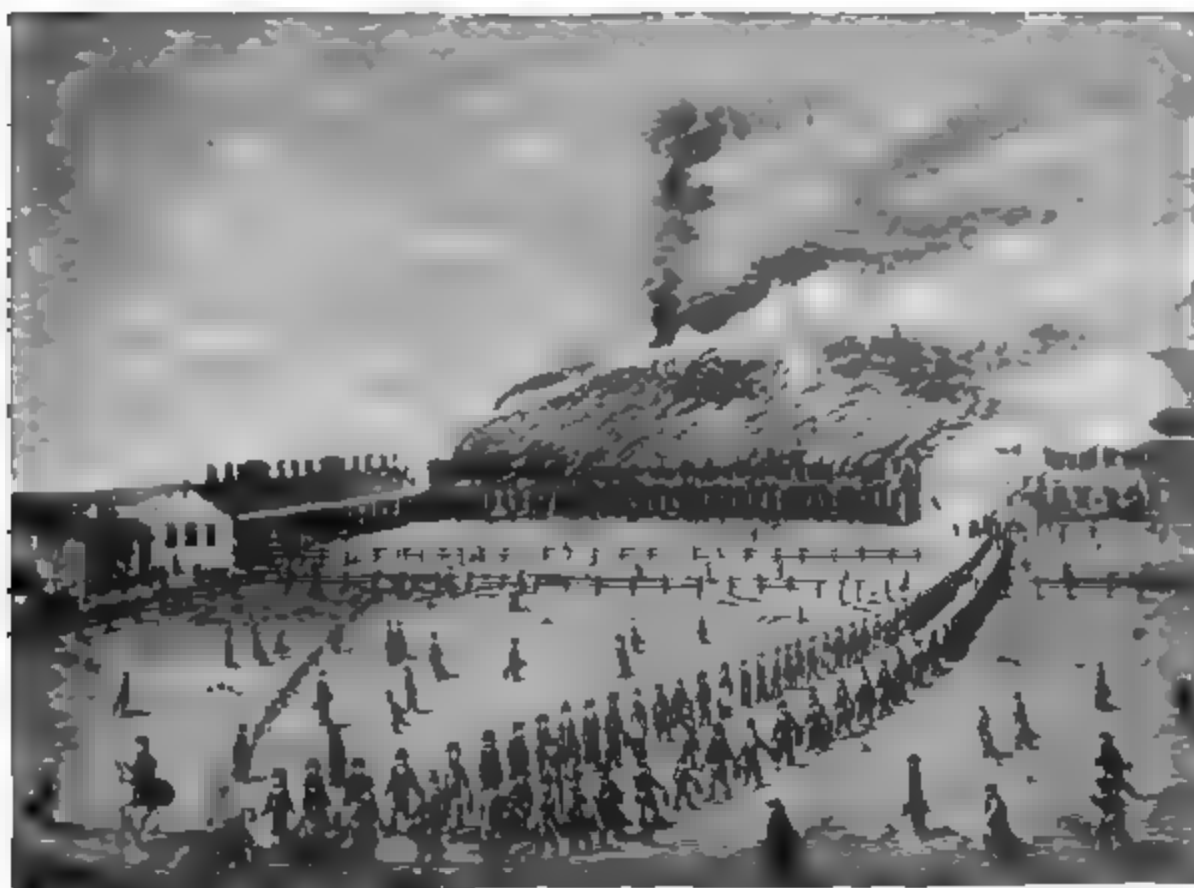
Daniel Lombard was still postmaster. The bookstores included G. W. Calender (opposite Court square). Robert Russell and T. Dickman (opposite Springfield Exchange hotel). E. Edwards and Sterns & Hunt were druggists; and the prominent dry-goods merchants were John W. Dwight (successor of Dwight & Colton), Bangs, Stikes, & Co., D. C. Brewer, Howard & Lathrop, Bliss & Morris, Bontecou & Hunt, Ames & Reynolds, Solomon Warriner & Son, James Brewer, Gilbert A. Smith, and T. A. Merrick. H. Brewer sold fish, cheese, etc.; Henry Adams was watchmaker; Rand, Bates, & Co., curriers; Blake & Kendall (opposite Court square), boots and shoes; E. Stockbridge, merchant tailor; Lewis Briggs, groceries; and James Mills, fancy goods and millinery; while Luther Grant advertised: —

“ Shorrevals and Over’alls
And Pantaloons he’ll make.
Cutting too he’ll always do
And will no cabbage take.”

Carlo Smith kept a glazing establishment in the rear of the bank, and Festus Smith ran a blacksmith shop. Reference is made still to the “ Plainfield Gate,” north of Col. Quartus Stebbins’s house.

Business changes were of course made from time to time, but about the close of the period covered by this chapter Spencer & Orne had a crockery store north of the Dwight store. Then came Elisha Edwards, druggist and grocery; Edmund Rowland, dry goods; Capt. Tom Sargeant, jeweller; H. Y. Beach, furniture; Reynolds & Morris, dry goods; Dr. Brewer, druggist, in the dark basement of which was Henry Brewer’s little grocery; “ Springfield Republican,” north corner of Main and Sanford streets; Daniel Bontecou, with Elliot’s barber shop in the rear; Elijah Blake, shoemaker; Sterns & Sparhawk, druggists; Seth Flagg, jeweller, and William Calender, bookstore; James Wells, dry goods, boots and shoes (Metcalf & Luther); Mr. Tucker, groceries and bottled beer; Josiah Howe, with black-

smith shop in the rear; Roswell Lombard, farmer (Brigham's); Coolidge & Sanderson, hatters; Mr. Baker's shop; Mr. Elliot's red dwelling-house (north corner of Bridge and Main streets); Emery's lane (Lyman street), leading to the large Emery pasture, where half the cows of the village were pastured; Jerry Whalen's house (north



BURNING U. S. ARMORY, 1824.

corner of Main and Ferry streets); and Amasa Parsons (Franklin street). Other places can be identified by the map accompanying this volume.

On Armory hill Tileston tavern was a resort of note. The hill merchants included Bangs & Ely, Flagg & Chapin (military store), Avery & Stoddard, Bowdoin & Carew, and John Hall. Rand & Shepard was the Armory hill boot firm (Smith's building). Albert

Morgan kept a grocery and dry-goods store, and Baker & Holbrook owned the Hampden furniture establishment in the Carew building. The main armory building was burned in March, 1824, and during the summer three fire-proof buildings were put up, — two workshops and a store-house, each one hundred and twenty feet long. The two hundred and sixty men employed turned out forty muskets per day.

At Chicopee, Chapin & Bemis were the leading merchants. The cotton factories on the Chicopee river belonging to the Boston & Springfield Manufacturing Company were begun about 1823. In 1826 there were two brick five-story factories, with seven thousand spindles and two hundred and forty looms, and there were about twenty tenement houses for operatives with accommodations for fifty-four families.

On March 4, 1825, the inauguration of John Quincy Adams was observed by a political dinner at the Hampden coffee-house, the report being of a "style which does credit to Colonel Russell." Colonel Lee presided, and J. Dwight, Jr., was chosen vice-president. There was some political rancor in the speeches, but patriotism prevailed. John Mills and Justice Willard were elected State senators in April, the latter only after a contest before the Legislature with Jonathan Dwight, Jr. The representatives in 1826 were George Bliss, Jonathan Dwight, Jr., William B. Calhoun, William H. Foster, and Jesse Pendleton.

In 1826, when Solomon Hatch was nominated for register of deeds, an ardent republican closed a long appeal in support of Hatch by remarking that Hatch is "not less honest nor less capable than the present *family* incumbent, who has, as yet, little reason to know that he does not hold the office as an heirloom from his ancestors, but as the free gift of a free people." This was a signal for a spirited charge upon Edward Pynchon, who had been register since the formation of the county, in 1812. The discussion was narrowed from the principle of rotation in office to the business habits of both estimable gentlemen, and sundry irregularities in land transactions were charged and denied in rapid succession. Pynchon was reelected by a large majority.

Senator John Mills introduced a bill for the relief of poor debtors, at Boston, in 1826, the object of which was to abolish imprisonment for debt, and it passed that body almost unanimously. Justice Willard's action in opposing his colleague created some talk. Mr. Mills was a candidate against Webster, in 1827, for the United States Senate. It was when Mills was president of the State Senate, in 1828, that he created some local contention by coming out for Jackson, and declined being a candidate for reelection. William B. Calhoun also created local heart-burnings by opposing a resolution in favor of the Adams administration. Mr. Calhoun had been elected twice to the House without opposition, and, at that time, at least, was not considered a party man. He was returned to the Legislature in 1828, and became speaker. The full list of Springfield representatives were: William B. Calhoun, Fred A. Packard, Jesse Pendleton, William H. Foster, Simon Sanborn, George Bliss, Jr., and William Childs.

The poor-house, which was built in 1802, was situated on the west side of North Main street, between Auburn and Seventh streets, on the site of the present wooden building adjoining the brick residence of Miss Angeline Stebbins. Up to 1824 the inmates had numbered one hundred and fifty males and sixty-five females, besides a number of children; deaths, thirty; total expenses, \$14,120. The first overseers of the Main-street poor-house were Zebina Stebbins, William Smith, John Hooker, William Ely, and Calvin Stebbins. The board organized in May, 1802, with Mr. Hooker, clerk.

In August Calvin Stebbins was made master of the work-house. He promulgated a rule that no inmate should have any rum or ardent spirits not furnished by him, on pain of being put in the stocks, not exceeding three hours at a time. We put the account of the poor and work-house in this chapter in order to give point to the action of the town-meeting in 1823, when a committee was appointed to consider the condition of the poor. This committee deplored the fact that the inmates were given so small an allowance of liquor. The com-

mittee also lamented the decadence of the original idea of the poor-house, which should also be a work-house. This matter was agitated again the year following, Robert Emery and George Bliss drawing up an exhaustive report. The town, and particularly the selectmen, were taken to task for allowing pauperism to spread. They went into history, showed that the original New England idea was that the town should maintain public worship, schools, highways, and the poor, etc. : but then (1824) churches were taking care of themselves ; the law obliging the rich to pay for the poor was continually attacked, tolls had been substituted for highway taxes, while " the poor are to be thrown not upon those who are able, but upon those who are willing to maintain them." To which a town committee responded by giving the historical fact that " our ancestors came to this country a very short time after the English poor rule system was adopted and after there had been full trial of the system of begging in England both before and after Popery was abolished and Monasteries suppressed."

In 1825 the schools were also thoroughly looked into. Total number between the age of four and sixteen was one thousand three hundred and six. It was found that some schools had been closed for want of funds, and some partly supported by private subscriptions. " None of the schools," so runs the report, " have kept pace with the improvements and advancements in the science of instruction."

Mention is made of the " inductive system," whose " light has been but faintly shed upon the free schools of Springfield." A school committee was at once appointed, headed by Mr. Calhoun, and including the clergymen of the town.

We add the selectmen for several years, for convenient reference : Selectmen for 1822, Jesse Pendleton, Solomon Hatch, William Childs, Joseph Carew, and Simon Sanborn ; 1823, John Hooker, Robert Emery, Israel E. Trask, Jonathan Dwight, Jr., and Joseph Pease ; 1824, Jesse Pendleton, Solomon Hatch, William Rice, George Colton, and Allen Bangs ; 1825, Solomon Hatch, George Colton, William

Rice, Allen Bangs, and Bridgman Chapin; 1826, William Rice, Joshua Frost, Bridgman Chapin, Harvey Chapin, and Solomon Hatch.

We make a period at 1831, for during that year the old Pynchon manor-house on Main street was pulled down, by what ill-advice we know not. It had figured in history and fiction, was indeed so ancient that the local newspaper notices occasioned by its demolition were not accurate. Fiction first borrowed from history, and then history from fiction. By August the building was pretty well demolished. Men stood mournfully about the ancient site where William Pynchon had built his modest house, and John Pynchon this palace fort, and vainly protested against its removal.

In philanthropic and literary matters the aggressive spirit was pronounced. The Springfield lyceum was in its glory. Debates and lectures followed in rapid succession. The soft-tongued Peabody, the learned and serious Calhoun, the prismatic and popular George Ashmun, the painstaking and candid Willard, in turn addressed the lyceum; and among other lecturers were William C. Dwight, Thomas Dwight, Lieutenant Tyler, Dr. L. W. Belden, Rev. B. Putnam, Samuel Bowles, William Bliss, 3d, and J. B. Eldridge.

The society for the promotion of temperance had made substantial advances. It had been an ancient custom to have beer on the table. In the early part of this century beer had given place to hard liquors. The society had already induced many to remove the spirits from the table. Even at gatherings of militia and other organizations less liquor was drunk. This meant much for Springfield. Parson Howard was president of the society in 1828, and at the meeting in Mr. Peabody's church in September John Hooker was chosen vice-president and William B. Calhoun corresponding secretary. George Bancroft was present, and standing upon a chair made a ringing temperance speech. The sale of spirituous liquors in Springfield had decreased one-half since the previous year, and the society was encouraged to continue its noble work.

The Springfield debating society was at this time in full blast.

Specimen question: "Are well-regulated theatres injurious to humanity?" Probably not five per cent. of the debaters had ever been inside of a theatre. In August, 1829, came the first annual examination of the Springfield High School: average age of the boys, twelve; number, fifty; special efficiency in algebra, natural philosophy, and mental arithmetic, reflecting the commercial trend of the day. The infant school, in the centre of the town, numbered sixty. One was started also near Ames's mills. It was in 1829 when Miss Hawkes opened a young women's seminary here with eighty and more pupils.

The triumph of the Jackson party in national politics intensified the feeling locally for some time, even to the invasion of patriotic events. March 4, 1829, was a famous day in Springfield. The imagination of the man of battlefields challenging conflicting feelings. Cannon was thundering at daybreak on Armory hill and again at noon, and a few hours later artillery was drawn into Court square, where Jackson powder was burned for a long time. Meantime one of the new public storehouses was transformed into a banquet-room, and fully two hundred and fifty gathered about the board, delegates coming in from neighboring towns. Before the banquet Samuel Johnson, of Chester, delivered an oration. The banquet-room was elaborately decorated. Colonel Lee sat at the head of the table, and John Chaffee assisted at the bottom as vice-president. We have no such days now. In the evening the hall of the Hampden coffee-house, "where so much good living and fine dancing has been seen," was taken possession of by the John Quincy Adams men. They were cheered by a band of music and a good supper, and, "willing to hope for the best, were rather disposed to be merry than sad."

Fourth of July was made the occasion of another display of patriotism decked with the robes of party; a banquet was served at the armory, and a young man stationed on the field of ordnance yard swung a flag when each speaker sat down, which was the signal for a volley of cannon.

The removal of Postmaster Lombard was the first realizing evi-

dence that there was a new President. Lombard's successor was Albert Morgan. A protest, signed by a majority of the business men of the town, was forwarded to Washington; but it was useless. It was the day of Jacksonianism, with all that implies. November, 1829, Charles Howard was appointed paymaster and military store-keeper at the armory, vice John Chaffee, which caused the anti-administrationists again to cast reflections upon the "new scheme of rewards and punishments." Major Howard was said to have been, in 1823, one of the only three Jackson men in the county.

In 1829 William B. Calhoun was unanimously elected speaker of the House of Representatives, at Boston, the first time in its history, which caused the "Boston Courier" to remark that the Connecticut valley "may feel proud of its present distinction." Samuel Lathrop, of West Springfield, it will be remembered, was at this time president of the Senate.

The Fourth of July of 1830 was celebrated by the colonization society of the local branch, of which Samuel Bowles was secretary, by special contributions taken in the churches, the Fourth falling on Sunday. On Monday there was the usual celebration on the hill, managed by the Jacksonians, while the Hampden Guards paraded with Henry Clay banners, and dined at the Springfield hotel. Some enterprising women of the town organized a patriotic tea-party the day following at Worthington grove, east of the Worthington house. The Springfield artillery were encamped there under Captain Dwight: a liberty-pole had been put up and hung with evergreens, and supporting astral lamps properly decorated. The tea was followed by music, dancing, and a gay time generally, participated in by over a thousand people.

Masonry and politics were becoming woefully mixed. The anti-masonic party had put up Samuel Lathrop, of West Springfield, as candidate for governor against Levi Lincoln. Indignant "national republicans" of the county met at Springfield November 1, 1831, Festus Foster, of Brimfield, in the chair, and Samuel Bowles secre-

tary. They demanded that Mr. Lathrop should submit his letter to the anti-masonic convention, Jonathan Dwight, George Ashmun, and Simon Sanborn being appointed a committee for that purpose. Mr. Lathrop replied that he would produce the letter, provided he was informed of the action of the meeting. Nothing came of this correspondence, and the committee printed a statement that Mr. Lathrop had shown his letter of acceptance of the anti-masonic nomination to Oliver B. Morris, R. A. Chapman, and others before it was sent. Lathrop in his letter had spoken highly of Governor Lincoln, and had disapproved of the nomination of Wirt, for President, as an anti-mason, and called himself a friend of Henry Clay. Lathrop had finally concluded to break from the whigs.

Two new actors had appeared upon the local stage, — George Ashmun and Reuben Atwater Chapman. These two young men drifted to Springfield from Blandford, and formed the law firm of Chapman & Ashmun. One rose to be chief-justice of the Supreme Court, while the other was invited by his fellow-citizens into the field of politics, and figured honorably and brilliantly in national affairs.

The old English rules of common-law pleading had a partial hold of the State courts at that time, and it was the custom for young lawyers to associate older members of the bar with them as counsel. But the young firm introduced an innovation that was, at once, pronounced glaringly impertinent. Judge Chapman, in his later days, often reverted to the storm of resentment that both were compelled to meet. Judges frowned upon the young men, giants of the law were covered with sardonic smiles or frigid glances, and even their patron, District Attorney Wells, of Greenfield, revealed his annoyance. Ashmun was quick, facile, and witty, while Chapman was "sarcastic and tremendously saucy," to use the words of an aged resident who remembers the dramatic *entrée* of this firm upon its notable career. Those were days when it was not considered out of place to call out the heavy ordnance over very insignificant causes. "A jackal!" cried Chapman, in reference to a man who was pursu-

ing his client, as he thought, too closely. "A defender of jackals," he added in low-voiced severity, glancing at Mr. Wells. The Greenfield attorney rose, white with indignant emotion. He pictured the birth of the child Reuben Chapman on the shores of Russell pond, his farm-work, his weighing sugar in a country store, and, finally, the kindly aid extended him by the speaker. "And this is the return for my kind offices!" Young Mr. Chapman looked very sober, but the figure of the jackal would not down, and the prosecuting attorney made no headway against the burglar whom Chapman was defending.

Mr. Chapman might be called a wheel-horse to the legal car rather than a brightly caparisoned leader. His days were spent in laborious application. He was learned, courtly, kind, set; his pleas were models of brevity, but disclose no imaginative and but slight forensic quality. He contributed little to the amusement of the bar, but much to its form of legal practice. Mr. Chapman seemed bred and trained for the express purpose of contributing to the great task of sweeping away the mass of technicalities involved in civil practice. Before he could become a maker of statutes of this Commonwealth, however, he was compelled to climb into notice, both giving and taking hard blows.

The Hampden bar needed neither color nor incident fifty years and more ago; but it did need new blood, and this it got in good measure with the law firm of Chapman & Ashmun. These men were in a way complements of each other. Chapman was a man of books; Ashmun was a man of action. Political honors knocked at Mr. Ashmun's door, and it was within his grasp to play a national part. He did to a certain extent, but the creditable lack of a desire for personal preferment prevented that cohesion of political action and ambition which is an element in conspicuous careers.

Springfield never made to the great public the gift of a character about which is associated more good-humor, genial humanity, brighter morality, or more dignified eloquence than that of George Ashmun. The lover of old times delights to this day to tell how he would drop



Ho. Ashman

in of an afternoon, "rub his nose and take some snuff," and awake the pleasantries of cordial conversation. The more serious read his political addresses, pitched in lofty sentiment, while the gossips treasure a fund of anecdote concerning him. He had the rare faculty of hospitality which is spontaneous without being familiar. If the tradition of the town is authority, one of the most brilliant occasions in our local annals was the dinner given by Mr. Ashmun to Thackeray, the English novelist. We have the word of "The Republican," long since recorded, that the "company floated out for hours on a tide of humor, of brilliant gossip and suggestive criticism, in which Mr. Ashmun was astonishingly seconded by his friend from Greenfield, the most brilliant table-talker in America (George T. Davis); so that even Thackeray, accustomed to the finest society of England as well as America, often laid down his knife and fork, — a thing he was not wont to do without occasion, — and listened or applauded with wonder."

With the decline of training-day, and the multiplication of special feast days, sprang up a number of special military organizations that graced many a festal occasion and covered the town with glory. The old artillery company, organized before the War of 1812, was the admiration and wonder of these parts. This company had a couple of six-pounders which were kept at the foot of Elm street, near the gate of the old cemetery. The dark blue coats, and belts with big brass buckles, still linger fondly in the memory. But it was the Hampden Guards, already alluded to, that took the lasting honors for socio-military prowess. This organization included pretty much the flower of Springfield, over which commanded in succession Alpheus Nettleton (father of Colonel Nettleton, of Governor Ames's staff), Solomon Warriner, Jr., Captain Bates, and others. The Hampden Guards wore white trowsers, tall leather caps, blue dress coats with bell buttons and standing collars. The local organizations often participated in the May trainings, and always in the fall muster, when the militia of the county rendezvoused for inspection and parade and sham-

battle. The fields adjoining North Main street, the "rye field" on the hill (McKnightville), and West Springfield have been the scenes of these martial displays. In the autumn of 1828, at a meeting here of the First Regiment (1st Brigade, 4th Division Artillery), Lieut.-Col. Galen Ames was elected colonel in the place of Colonel Goodman, and Maj. David Moseley was elected lieutenant-colonel. It was noticed, by the way, that no liquor was passed round on this occasion.

In 1824, the Governor's Foot Guards, of Hartford, under the command of Major Putnam, made a return visit to Springfield in the "Blanchard" in August, 1824. They were welcomed by the selectmen, a company of sixty horsemen, the Hampden Guards, Springfield Artillery, and a large crowd. Colonel Ames commanded the military, and Colonel Nettleton the civilary. They repaired to Ordnance yard, and a banquet followed. There was a reception in the town-hall in the evening. The next day there was much marching, and also speeches by Colonel Ames, Judge Morris, Major Putnam, and others. The Hampden Guards were commanded by Captain Warriner, and the artillery by Captain Dwight. Warriner had been elected captain of the light infantry company of the Hampden Guards in January. Capt. Benjamin J. Boardman, of Hartford, died suddenly in his bed at the Hampden coffee-house, during the visit of the Foot Guards, which lent a tragic view to the otherwise perfect occasion. In October of that year the artillery regiment (Col. G. Ames) and the infantry regiment (Col. D. Wood) were reviewed in this town by General Warner. The First and Second regiments of infantry, under Colonels Wood and Ely, with the local artillery company, all commanded by Brigadier-General Warner, were reviewed October 7, 1830, in this town, by Major-General Sheldon. They made a fine appearance and drew a big crowd, who improved the day by "stowing away oysters, gingerbread, etc., well peppered with dust, and seemed as much fatigued with the labors of the day as the military." The Hampden Guards received in this month a "splendid

standard " from the citizens. Colonel Nettleton made the presentation speech, and Ensign Spencer responded. The following year, Lieut. Erastus M. Bates was elected captain of the Hampden Guards,



ARCHWAY TO THE SPRINGFIELD CEMETERY.

vice Capt. Solomon Warriner, Jr., resigned. Captain Warriner's last military act was to carry the standard to Pittsfield, where the Greys received them in their best style. Their appearance was applauded upon all sides, and a sarcastic remark in a Northampton paper about the Guards shows that the green-eyed monster knew a good thing when he saw it.

But what of the condition of the town in these days? Let the

following table, gathered from the records for 1831, speak : Population (about), 6,700 ; dwelling-houses, 722 ; stores, warehouses, and shops 118 ; barns, 580 ; cotton factories (370 looms), 3 ; bleachery, 1 ; paper-mills, 3 ; printing-offices, 5 ; grist-mills, 5 ; saw-mills, 7 ; card factories, 2 ; carding-machine, 1 ; fulling-mill, 1 ; breweries, 2 ; distilleries, 2 ; tan-houses, 3 ; tillage lands (acres), 5,301 ; meadow, 1,807 ; horses, 389 ; oxen, 321 ; cows, 474 ; steers and heifers, 237 ; sheep, 954 ; newspapers, 4. Armory property is not here enumerated. The town had increased in population 2,870 between 1820 and 1830, when the figures were 6,784. The population of the county in 1829 was 33,000. Much attention was now paid to village improvements.

New streets were being laid out. In 1828 Charles Stearns was appointed to widen and deepen a part of the town brook, for which he used 1,500 feet of block stone, over 10,000 bricks, and 9,000 feet of planking. There was a bit of what now seems vandalism attending these improvements. In May, 1829, Charles Stearns proposed to cut down an ancient elm standing on Main street, near the land of George Bliss, in order to carry out the work of draining the meadow by enlarging the brook. The elm was in the way, and much feeling was caused by the plan to cut it down. The Blissés applied to Chief-Justice Parker for an injunction, which, after a learned argument, was denied, and the elm fell. It stood on Main street, opposite Bliss street ; a handsome elm stood in the yard of James Bliss, which was cut down in 1853. A West Springfield farmer, it is said, gathered some seeds under this tree, sowed them, and in due time traded elm saplings for a cemetery lot, whence came the avenue of elms leading to the beautiful Maple-street entrance of the cemetery. The oldest elm on Court square was planted by the Pyncheon family, according to tradition, and was a large tree at the Revolution. It is understood that the tree at the north-east corner of Court square was set out by Mrs. Charles Sheldon in what was then her door-yard. The other trees in the square were



THE OLD ELM, ON ELM STREET.

planted in 1829, by Major Ingersoll, David A. Adams, and others. The subscription to meet this expense was signed by Daniel Bontecon, Ebenezer Russell, William Dwight, George Bliss, Benjamin Day, Henry Sargent, and others.

One of the trees which figures in "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" stood on Barnes's lot, on the old line between the Dwight pasture and the Pynchon lot. It was called the largest tree in New England, and Dr. Holmes calls it one of the very largest. At its most slender girth, which was about two and a half feet from the ground, it measured twenty-eight feet in circumference. It stood but a few feet from the brook which flowed through the lot and there joined the town brook along the side of Main street, and one could almost sit under its great branches and catch the trout which abounded in the stream. The rails of the fences for which the old tree was the union post had been placed against it so long that it is said the tree had grown around them. In July, 1858, the eastern half fell, but the other half stood until April, 1864. The tree in front of the Elm-street school-house was planted by Dr. William Seldon, who lived on the site of the Elm-street school, over one hundred years ago, and despite some attempts to have it cut down still stands. A. D. Briggs saved this tree when the school-house was built, in 1867, from being destroyed to give a little more sidewalk room.

There was another elm opposite Worthington street, on the east side of Main, which was cut down when that street was laid out in 1841. This tree was often called the "offering tree," as the dense shade of the tree and the unfrequented neighborhood made a favorite resort. The roots of the tree protruded in a snarl on the south path. We have before spoken of the trees in North Main street which were set out in 1770, by Maj. Joseph Stebbins and his son, Festus Stebbins. Mr. Stebbins brought the trees from West Springfield on his back and in a boat. The row formerly extended from Carew street to Cypress street, but it has been reduced so that there are but five elms and a button-ball of the original row standing. The

row of elms on Benton park was set out by Stephen O. Russell in 1835, and Mr. Russell set out many other trees. The trees for a great part in the armory grounds were planted under the supervision of Major Ingersoll, who must be called one of the patron saints of Arbor Day. There is a large elm nearly opposite the Olivet church which was native where it stands. The Federal-street trees were set out under General Whitney's administration. Another fine specimen of the old elms is the one near York street on Main street. The tree near the Memorial church is a very fine specimen. The two magnificent trees on State street, just above Elliott, were set out by Capt. William Childs about 1832. Charles Stearns moved an elm from his garden to the street in front of his residence and carefully watered and cared for it. It stands on the corner of Maple and Union streets, and is sometimes called the Stearnselm.

In 1830 the Springfield fire department was incorporated, and here follows the first officers: Elijah Blake, chief engineer; George Bliss, first assistant; Simon Sanborn, second assistant; Edwin Booth, third assistant. The fire wardens were Charles Stearns, Charles Howard, Joseph Lombard, Jr., Silas Stedman, Stephen C. Bemis, Samuel Henshaw, William Childs, Theodore Bliss, Allen Bangs, Ithamer Goodman, and Charles J. Upham. Elijah Blake was the soul of this department, and stands now as the father of Springfield fire department. An engine-house had been built in 1826 (corner Sanford and Market streets).

Evidence of lawless men abounded in those days, and the authorities had their hands full for a time. In 1828 a number of bold burglaries took place, and the people began to know the value of lock and key. Up to the War of 1812 no one bolted the door of their residence in the town. This was true, by the way, of most of the New England villages. In 1828 John Kinder, employed by Coolidge & Sanderson, stole one hundred and sixteen musk-rat skins from them, and was arrested while attempting to dispose of them at Worcester. A gang of thieves had spread their operations through

all this region. They had made raids upon the stores of Bemis & Sheffield, Chicopee; J. & C. Ely, West Springfield; Winslow's clock shop, and the residence of Jonathan Blake, in this town. Elijah Blake distinguished himself by organizing a party. The woods were scoured, and one Russell Stephenson and one George Ball were overhauled in the woods Sunday morning, May 24, 1829, in a hovel where booty was concealed. Stephenson drew a pistol on Blake, but he was not quick enough. Ball was seized by W. Chapin, and it was said at the time that some of the party were too busy looking out for their own safety in the event of stray bullets to be of service. Judge George Bliss committed the men for trial. Erastus Stephenson (a brother) was also arrested. At the trial of Stephenson and Ball a humorous court scene is still remembered. The prisoners had entered George Blake's house through the buttery window by pulling away a twine net, and the lawyer for the defence asked the judge to charge that burglary implied a breaking of the house, and "that tearing down a net made of double twine nailed to keep out cats is not such a breaking as to constitute the offence charged." The judge declined to so charge; the case went up on appeal, and the prisoners were sent to prison for life. William L. Loring was convicted this year also for receiving and concealing a body taken from the Springfield burying-ground on Elm street.

Among the prominent Springfield men who died during this period may be mentioned John Hooker, judge of probate from 1813 to 1829. He was president of the Springfield Bank, and was one of Springfield's substantial citizens, a man of integrity, and much honored. Jonathan Dwight, Jr., succeeded him at the head of the Springfield Bank, Oliver B. Morris, his old friend, took his place as probate judge, and Justice Willard was made register of probate. George Bliss, Sr., passed away the 8th of March, 1830, aged sixty, and a few days later the venerable Dr. Chauncey Brewer died (March 15, aged eighty-seven). The doctor was the oldest practitioner of western Massachusetts, and the same age of Jonathan



From the original copy of the original

Edward Pynchon.

Dwight, a deacon at the First church and for over half a century prominent in town affairs, as we have seen. March, 1830, was indeed a fatal month, for the same week (March 17) Edward Pynchon died, in his fifty-sixth year. Upon the death of his father, in 1808, he had become town clerk and treasurer. He was also county treasurer and register of deeds. The positions of county treasurer and register have been filled by a Pynchon for over a century. The death of Pynchon led to a hot struggle for the positions of county treasurer and register of deeds.

David Paine secured both for a year, but William Rice captured the registry of deeds at the second election, in 1831. George Colton was elected county treasurer in 1835.

Merchant Jonathan Dwight died in September, 1831, at the age of eighty-eight. We have described him as a man of great force of character, business energy, and integrity, and he was and is looked upon as the father of Springfield merchants, — not the first merchant, but the first to organize the business activities as they lay prostrate after the Revolution. He was collector of taxes in 1793 and several years thereafter. When Springfield makes up her list of men who contributed to her foundation-stones, Jonathan Dwight will have a place of honor.

Thomas Blanchard, the noted inventor, built a little stern-wheel steamboat, which he named after himself, and launched in the autumn of 1828. It was Tuesday, September 10, when the inventor invited a party of citizens to accompany him on a trial trip. The "Blanchard" had a sixty-foot keel and twelve feet beam; cabin, ten by twenty-four, divided into two compartments; thirty tons burden; four wrought-iron boilers, pressure, five hundred pounds to the square inch. The river was very high, and a few days before the "Blanchard" had cruised round the swollen river, steamed up the Agawam to the bridge, and ventured across the flooded meadows to the Connecticut river again, about a mile above the mouth of the Agawam. The first trip to Hartford was made in two hours fifty minutes, she

carrying fifty passengers. Her arrival at Hartford was greeted with a cannon salute. The attempt to return was prevented by an accident to the rudder while ascending the falls. The Hartford people paid Thomas Blanchard and the Springfield company much attention, and gave them an excursion in the steamboat "Barnet;" while the Hartford press took occasion to speak of Mr. Blanchard as an inventive genius, his machines for turning gun-stocks being particularized. The "Blanchard" soon became very popular as an excursion boat. During a single week it took no less than six hundred school children on various pleasure trips. It carried, in October, the Hampden Guards to Hartford, where they were handsomely entertained by the governor's Foot Guards and other organizations.

The steamer "Vermont," also built by Captain Blanchard, was completed in July, 1829, a Brattleboro' company having given the order. The hull was built on what is now Hubbard avenue, and was drawn on wheels through Main street and down Elm street to the river, and thence floated to the wharf at the foot of Harvard street. It was seventy-five feet long and fifteen feet beam, and a large promenade deck. It ascended the Willimansett falls with ease, and could also pass through the Willimansett canal. The "Hartford Mirror" noted, in July, 1829, as an evidence of business conditions, that four boats arrived there from Springfield in one day, loaded with produce and merchandise valued at \$100,000. The steamer "Vermont" was able to run the Enfield falls without the aid of poles. The Enfield canal was opened in 1829.

In April, 1830, the townsfolk saw for the first time a schooner under full sail — "The Eagle" — on the river. She had come up through the Enfield canal. The "Blanchard" and the "Vermont" happened to be both lying at the wharf, and the excited people dreamed of a metropolis at once.

A convention of the river towns at Windsor, Vt., in October, 1830, recommended the formation of a company for a steam tow-boat navigation of the river. George Bliss took part in these deliberations,

and arrangements were soon thereafter made with the proprietors of the locks and canals of the Connecticut. Books for subscription to the stock of the "Connecticut River Valley Steamboat Company" were at once opened at the Hampden Coffee House. Charles Stearns contracted with the directors to superintend the building of a number of boats. Three boats were already plying between Springfield and Hartford. The steamer "Springfield" was run by the Connecticut River Valley Company. It was partly burned at the wharf in November, 1830. The "Hampden," used mainly for freight, was owned by John Cooley & Co., and the "Vermont" was run by Sargeant & Chapin. The Valley Company launched the "John Ledyard" in April, 1831. Captain Blanchard's new boat, the "Massachusetts," was launched April 14. It was ninety-six feet long, and considered a beauty. The "William Hall," owned by the Valley Company, ran up from Hartford in July, 1831, with a number of the directors, and received a warm greeting. Some people, with their feet in the dust of the past, called these Connecticut boats "sauce-pans," and had their smile when the "Massachusetts" was not small enough to go through the Enfield canal, and had to wait high water in order to run up the falls. As an evidence of travel and curiosity as to western Massachusetts, it may be stated that one boat (August, 1831) took down to Hartford no less than sixty passengers, most of them tourists, and the steamboat "William Hall" would arrive at the wharf with six and eight boats in tow. The Valley Company, at this time, owned some thirty freight boats, and charged \$2,000 for the season. It had \$38,000 invested, of which \$7,000 was borrowed. The Springfield and Albany stage over the Pontoosuc turnpike began running in June, 1831. The Farmington canal was opened in 1828, and continued in operation eighteen years.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1831-1841.

The Era of Railroad Building. — Canal and Railroad Advocates. — The Old Western Road. — A Mass Meeting at Springfield. — Hartford's Rival Scheme. — Stock Subscriptions. — Seeking State Aid. — Democratic Party Opposition. — River Boats. — Chicopee and Cabotville. — School Districts. — Activity in Real Estate. — A Washington's Birthday Celebration. — Visit of Henry Clay. — William B. Calhoun. — Temperance. — Elliot-Buckland Murder Trial. — Revolutionary Pensioners. — George Bliss in Politics. — Springfield's Bi-centennial. — Fourth of July at Factory Village. — George Bancroft in Local Politics. — The Fifteen-Gallon Law. — Marcus Morton. — A Harrison Demonstration. — Slavery. — Dr. Osgood. — Springfield Statistics. — Newspapers. — Dr. Joshua Frost. — Churches. — The Fire Department. — Military Companies.

On the 23d of June, 1831, the Boston & Worcester Railroad Corporation was chartered. On the 21st of December, 1841, the railroad from Albany to Chatham Four Corners, N. Y., was so far completed that trains passed through to Worcester, thus joining Boston and Albany with a continuous rail. This, then, was the decade of pioneer railroads. The project of a canal over this route had fallen through. Governor Eustis had favored it early in 1825, and Governor Lincoln later in that year viewed it with equal favor after a commission had gone over the ground, although he took occasion to speak of railroads as a promising means of transportation. The commissioners' report of 1826 had favored a canal route through Worcester county, up the Deerfield river, and through Hoosac mountain by a four-mile tunnel; estimated cost, \$6,824,072. But at this session Senator Mills, Representative Calhoun, and the other members of the committee on roads and canals recommended that railroad commissioners be appointed to investigate the subject. The House refused to do so.

“There are possibilities here,” remarked Daniel Webster, in July, 1826, as he saw loaded cars drawn on rail by horses. He had gone down to Quincy to attend the funeral of John Adams, and had chanced upon the only railroad then in the country. It was a three-mile track, designed to transport granite from the quarries to the water.

In 1828 we find the Legislature discussing a southern railroad route through Worcester and Springfield, and a northern route through Watertown, Rutland, Belchertown, Northampton, Adams, and Hoosac Four Corners. Here arose a danger to Springfield's supremacy in western Massachusetts. Under the transportation system of stage, canopied wagon, and boat, Springfield had won. With the rise of the new day-star of commerce, Hartford and Northampton and Worcester were ready to renew the fight.

The directors of the Boston & Worcester Railroad Company secured a charter in March, 1833, to run a railroad from Worcester to Springfield, and thence westward to the State line. This supplementary company was called the Western Railroad Corporation. Power was given this corporation to build branch roads. New York State responded to the call by chartering, in 1834, the Castleton & West Stockbridge Railroad, or, as it was called two years later, the Albany & West Stockbridge Company. The stock was readily taken, and the company organized in 1835. The Boston & Worcester road was opened to Westboro' in November, 1834, but aside from Springfield and the towns east, no town made any determined effort to place the stock of the Western road.

Popular scepticism was about equally divided between the financial and engineering difficulties. The New York Stock Exchange made an attempt to get control of the proposed road, but the offers were declined with thanks. At a meeting of the citizens of Springfield, January 2, 1835, this committee of inquiry and correspondence was appointed: William B. Calhoun, George Bliss, George Ashmun, Charles Stearns, Justice Willard, W. H. Bowdoin, and J. B. Shef-

field. The result of their deliberations was a mass meeting at the Springfield town-hall, February 16, George Bliss making a favorable report upon the practicability of a road, and advising a convention of delegates from the towns on the proposed route to consider the ways and means of building the road. Worcester was the place and March 5 the date of this convention, which numbered over one hundred delegates. Caleb Rice was in the chair, and Reuben A. Chapman secretary. Aside from a desire in Worcester that that place be the permanent terminus of the Boston road, there was little opposition in passing resolves to make surveys from Worcester to Springfield. The executive committee intrusted with this work were the chairman and secretary of the convention, W. H. Bowdoin, of Springfield, Joel Norcross, of Monson, and N. P. Dewey, of Leicester. The onus of this survey fell upon George Bliss, who was, in fact, the apostle of railroading here in western Massachusetts. Col. John M. Fessenden, chief engineer of the Boston & Worcester Railroad, made the survey, and also examined a route between Springfield and Hartford. He was assisted by William S. Whitwell, now of Brookline, and the late William Parker, Samuel Nott, of Hartford, and others. It was found, by reference to stage-books and landlords, that 55,510 people had passed in one year between Worcester and Springfield, and that the freight was 42,000 tons. Allowing \$1.75 fare for passengers, and \$4 per ton for merchandise, they had an annual revenue of about \$265,100, less \$85,000 estimated expenses, leaving \$180,100 net income, which was about 16 per cent. on the estimated cost of the road. This report was printed and used to secure subscriptions.

Hartford was now anxious to snatch the crown from Springfield by making a railroad connection directly with Worcester, cross country. A large convention, held at Hartford in March, 1835, voiced her desires, and another convention was arranged to be held at Worcester a little later.

By May the Worcester & Hartford Railroad Company was chartered by the Connecticut Legislature to connect the Hartford & New Haven

road with the Boston & Worcester. The next thing which the people of Springfield had to meet was a proposed road from Hartford to Albany. This meant a Boston, Hartford, & Albany Railroad, and Springfield a tributary suburb.

All these interests came together with a clash at Worcester, July 2, 1835, as arranged by the Hartford convention. Levi Lincoln was called upon to preside. There were more Connecticut than Massachusetts delegates from the thirty-five towns represented. George Bliss spoke for Springfield, Nathan Hale for the Boston & Worcester road, John A. Rockwell for the Norwich route, and General Johnson pleaded the cause of Hartford and "the direct" route. He was supported by Nathan Smith, of New Haven, and Major Putnam, of Hartford, the latter stating, upon the authority of Albany business men, that, in the winter, communication between Troy and New York was destined to be *via* Hartford and New Haven. It would have been unwise to try to commit the convention to any one route, and each party hastened away to make the appeal to moneyed men.

Stock-books of the Western road were opened in August, and public meetings were held from one end of the State to the other. The \$2,000,000 asked for was not secured, however. The influence of New York city was against the road, since it was feared at the metropolis that trade would be drawn from Albany to Boston. The merchants of New York did not propose to "let Boston people come Yankee over us." In this emergency a meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Oct. 7, 1835, delegates being present from all the towns along the route, including Albany itself. The old hall was full. North Appleton gave figures, Hermanus Bleeker promised that Albany would do her duty up to the State line whether Massachusetts did or not. Edward Everett pledged the Commonwealth to a policy of progress, and William B. Calhoun announced that his town of Springfield had already taken one-eighth of the two million, and the towns from the river to Worcester had done nobly.

Another canvass was made, and 18,300 more shares were sub-

scribed, and another meeting held at Boston, this time in the Supreme Court room, on the 20th of November. There was still a deficiency, and they beat the bushes once more, and on the 5th of December, 1835, the stock had all been taken, — \$2,000,000 with 2,200 shareholders. The company was organized in January following, with these directors: Thomas B. Wales, William Lawrence, Edmund Dwight, Henry Rice, John Henshaw, Francis Jackson, and Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Boston, and Justice Willard and George Bliss, of Springfield. We do not know why Worcester was not represented. The fear that Worcester was to be simply a way station was at the bottom of much opposition to the Western road, and Nathan Hale, who was at the head of the Boston & Worcester road, had at one time met opposition to his scheme by threatening not to deflect the track into Worcester at all if obstruction continue. This had a very sobering effect.

Thomas B. Wales was made president of the board of directors of the Western road, and George Bliss general agent of the corporation, the latter being authorized to "make all contracts and transact all business which he may deem necessary for its interests." George Ashmun soon presented in the Legislature a petition for aid in the construction of the road. The stock of the road had been taken not by capitalists, but by men of moderate means, and the State, in the Ashmun petition, was asked to charter a bank to be called "The Western Railroad Bank," located at Boston, capital, \$5,000,000, the usual bank tax of which to be paid to the corporation for twenty years. The charter of the United States Bank had expired that year and a new charter refused. Thus the withdrawal of the capital of the United States Bank was the Western's opportunity. Other petitions for a bank followed, and the Ashmun scheme was pushed aside. A bill was reported in March, 1836, to establish the State Bank of Massachusetts, capital, \$10,000,000, half to be subscribed by the State; payment to be made in coin or State scrip, interest $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; time, twenty years. The directors were

EXPRESS TRAIN ON WESTERN RAILROAD.

From a Daguerrotype, made in 1861.



AFTERNOON TRAIN BETWEEN ALBANY AND SPRINGFIELD.

STILLMAN WITT, Superintendent at Albany.

THOMAS W ALLEN, Master Mechanic.
D. S. WOOD, Engineer.

JOHN B. ADAMS, Conductor.
HORACE H. BABCOCK, Ticket Agent

to be authorized to subscribe for 10,000 shares of the Western road, the bank to retain one-half the bank tax on its capital, and the income on the stock in the road until the assessments on the road were refunded. The democratic party declared war against the bill on account of the provision for such an immense bank, and they succeeded in putting through a substitute bill, authorizing the State treasurer to subscribe \$1,000,000 to the Western stock, provided that three of the directors be chosen by the Legislature. George Bliss had the pleasure, as he tells us, of carrying this bill to Governor Everett for his signature. The following year the State treasurer was authorized to issue scrip to pay assessments and to establish a stock sinking-fund. The Massachusetts Bank project meantime fell through.

Hartford was still an applicant for a Massachusetts charter for its road, being supported, too, by many influential men in Worcester county; while Berkshire furnished a respectable petition for a road from West Stockbridge to the Connecticut State line toward Hartford. Mr. Bliss was appointed to oppose the Hartford scheme, and after a heated contest in committee the petitioners were given leave to withdraw. Surveys along the Western railroad route were actively pushed during 1836, and the first grading was begun in the following winter.

The manner of entering Springfield furnished occasion for many local heartburnings. The four routes discussed were: (1) Cabotville, a little south of Chicopee Falls, with a bridge just south of the mouth of the river; (2) End brook, crossing the Connecticut midway between the village and the Chicopee river; (3) Garden brook, very much as it was finally built; and (4) Mill river, thence north below Maple and Chestnut streets to the Garden brook line. When it was thought probable that the Worthington property would be the site of the depot, an agent secured of the New York owners the refusal of the property at a certain sum. A charge of speculation was subsequently made. The present route was approved by the directors in

the spring of 1837. The work during this year was delayed on account of lack of funds: many refused to pay assessments and surrendered their stock, which was in some cases resold. Six assessments (\$900,000) had been made, but only about two-thirds of the amount had been realized. Mr. Bliss, who took a prominent part during these trying days, says: —

The estimates of the engineers for the whole line were before the board by midsummer (1837), requiring for grading, bridging, superstructure, and land damages a little less than \$4,000,000, exclusive of engineering, depots, and general expenses. The funds provided were only \$3,000,000 in stock, if the whole should be paid; and under the most prosperous condition of the country, there was enough to dishearten the most arduous friends of the enterprise. But superadded to this came the financial storm of 1837, which was winging its fearful course over the entire land, visiting Massachusetts, and particularly Boston, and sparing no commercial community. Those who had subscribed to the stock taxed every energy to meet the calls. But the cold paralysis had blighted the fairest prospects. The stockholders of this company suffered with the rest, and it became necessary that some power, measurably unaffected by the pressure, should again step forward.

This relief was the credit of the State, and State scrip to the amount of \$2,100,000, payable in thirty years in London, at five per cent. interest, was authorized after a severe struggle. The directors of the Western road were compelled to combat lukewarmness also at Albany, as little or nothing was being done by the Albany company but talk, and there was every evidence that the stock of that company was to fall into the hands of the New York capitalists.

The directors of the Western were again before the Legislature for State aid in 1839, and secured, after another investigation, authority for \$1,500,000 more in scrip, and by October, 1839, trains were running between Worcester and Springfield. There was a grand celebration upon the arrival of the first train the first week in October. James Parker was the conductor, and continued in that service for many years. A procession was formed, and after marching down

and up Main street, a stop was made at the round-house at the depot, where a dinner was in waiting. The tables were arranged like the spokes of a wheel. George Ashmun presided, and at the table were Levi Lincoln, Edward Everett, Amasa Walker, Nathan Hale, Justice Willard, and editors and public men from half-a-dozen towns. Letters were read from John Quincy Adams, Benjamin Russell, Abbott Lawrence, Stephen Fairbanks, Chief-Justice Ward, Julius Rockwell, and others. Edward Everett made a very glowing speech, closing with this passage : —

On my last visit to Springfield, a year or two ago, my esteemed friend, just named (Mr. Peabody), who has labored with so much diligence and success on the ornithology of the State, informed me that one of these little sea-birds (stormy petrel) had left his mark upon the mountain wave, his home upon the deep, and had been found near the Chicopee river, within the limits of the town of Springfield, seventy miles, at least, in air line from tide-water, and hundreds of miles from his accustomed range on the seas. What could be the object of this mysterious little visitant ? Who can tell ? On his native element the sailors regard him with an unfriendly eye ; on shore, by the rule of contraries, he may come as the harbinger of God. Perhaps, sir, he had heard of your railroad, and had come to try the speed of his pinions with your locomotives. Whatever be his object, I am disposed to regard his visit as a good omen. As the bird of the land in the infancy of our race came back to the ark with an olive branch in her mouth, as a sign that the waters were abated from off the earth, let us welcome the little sea-bird who has come up to the hills as the herald to tell us that the portals of the deep are thrown open, that the chariots of fire and iron are rolling over its waters, and that henceforth, if never before —

Seas shall join the regions they divide.

Albany still lingered over its part of the great work, and in 1840 George Bliss, Charles Stearns, and a large delegation of Western stockholders visited the capital of New York. They secured an agreement with the city of Albany to subscribe \$650,000 to the stock of the Albany Railroad Company ; the Albany company agreed to intrust to the Western road the location and construction of the road lying in New York, and further agreements were made with the

Hudson and Berkshire company. Albany raised more funds, the total bonds of the city reaching \$1,000,000, less ten per cent. to the sinking-fund. The cost of the road was estimated at \$1,412,804, which deficiency was met by the Western company.

General extravagance was charged upon the directors of the Western road, and in the winter of 1840 an investigation, extending over a month, took place, Henry Sterns, of Springfield, and Edmund Dwight, of Boston, appearing as complainants, while George Bliss defended the road. It was, in fact, an investigation of George Bliss himself, as he was charged with quite an extensive scheme of land speculation; but it was proved that instead of making money out of the location of the road it was the corporation that was benefited by his liberal terms. Other officers emerged with equally clean skirts.

A third grant of scrip was asked of the Legislature in 1841, which was secured after the usual fight. Thus the funds were provided and the trains running between Boston and Albany before Christmas of that year.

George Bliss soon became interested in railroading. He was eventually chosen president of the Michigan Southern road, which position he held until the road was completed to Chicago. He also became president of the Chicago & Mississippi road, one of the projectors of the Hartford & Springfield road, and director of the Chicago & Rock Island road. He was instrumental in building more than six hundred miles of the through line between the Mississippi river and Boston.

The Connecticut River Valley Steamboat Company were in trouble in 1832, and some of the stockholders withdrew from the concern, which was \$17,000 behind its accounts. The river traffic was certainly not flat at this time. The "William Hall" and "John Cooley" brought from Hartford, June 2, twelve boats with two hundred and fifty tons of merchandise, one-half for this town. But the Valley Steamboat Company failed in August, 1832, and boating was carried on by smaller companies and concerns.



George Blip

We have spoken of several steamboats built in Springfield. In 1837 Erastus Reed, ship-carpenter, of Longmeadow, turned out a new boat, the "Agawam," for Frink, Chapin, & Co., the "enterprising mail contractors and stage proprietors." The steamboat "Massachusetts," which had been built about three years before, proved too large to enter the canal at the falls below. The "Massachusetts" was a Blanchard boat, and was bought by Chester W. Chapin to run as a day boat between Springfield and Hartford. It was built on Main street, near Union street. The "Agawam" made its trial trip down the river July 20, 1837, and it ran the falls on the return trip easily, no polemen being employed. The first steamboat, "Barnet," was three days in running the Enfield falls,—and this, too, with the assistance of no less than fifty men. So that the "Agawam's" trip of six miles of rapids in an hour's time was considered a great triumph.

The communities along the Chicopee river were fast growing in importance. The "Springfield Republican," speaking of the improvements at D. & J. Ames's paper mill, January 21, 1832, remarks: "If the improvements in the manufacture of paper and in the art of printing proceed as they have for the last ten years, we may expect to see a machine which will receive rags at one end and deliver the books, all printed and bound, at the other." The Ames mill at this time had a capacity of thirty-nine thousand three hundred and twenty-four reams of paper; value, \$150,000. No single industry of the county equalled this, except, of course, that of fire-arms. The wool product of Hampden county was about \$115,000, and harnesses, whips, etc., \$121,882. By the autumn of 1832, a canal, one-third of a mile long, was completed on the bank of the Chicopee river by the Cabot Manufacturing Company, and their mills were being built. There were two cotton-mills already on the Chicopee, employing nearly two thousand people. The Cabot Manufacturing Company was organized in 1832, with a capital of \$1,000,000. The first products of this company—ten bales of cotton goods—were shipped in 1834. In that year, also, Mr. Adams built a large hotel at Factory Village. The

Springfield Locks and Canal Company were supplying water-power to the mills at Cabotville. The Cabot Company had built a new mill. N. P. Ames's edge-tool factory had put its golden sword on the cupola, and Mr. Chapin, the stage man, was putting up a hotel there.

At the United States armory, the residences of the paymaster and master armorer were going up, as well as a new factory building at the water-shops. The frame of the new Congregational church (Rev. Mr. Baldwin), on the hill, had been raised. Real estate was, however, stagnant here in the village, although two purchases, in 1834, gave new life to speculation. Col. Galen Ames bought, for \$1,740, the old Jonathan Dwight place (Whitney & Adams), with the avowed intention of building an elegant block, and James Byers secured, for \$6,000, the Daniel Lombard property. The contract for blocks on both of these sites were given to Goodman & Gorham. In the autumn the post-office was moved from the "uncomfortable little coop" to Mr. Byers's building "opposite court square," on Elm street, and there was a reading-room above. We add the census for 1835 by school districts: Willimansett, 242; Chicopee, 281; Paper Mill, 163; Lower Chicopee, 220; Skipmuck, 133; Sixteen Acres, 138; North End, 298; Centre, 1,675; Long Hill, 425; South Hill Road, 116; Armory Hill, 1,034; Carlisle, 95; Upper Water-shops, 437; North Side Chicopee River, 58; Next to Granby, 13; Chicopee Factories, 1,356; Five-Mile House, 118; Ames's, 255; Cabotville, 915; Jenksville, 197; United States Grounds, 242; total, 8,411.

There were at this time in Springfield seventy-three mechanic shops, six cotton factories, three paper-mills, four printing-offices, thirteen warehouses, two card factories, one rifle factory, six saw-mills, four grist-mills, one powder-mill, three tanneries, two joiners' tool factories, two forges, one sword factory, and one spool factory.

In the spring of 1836 the Colonel Worthington homestead (Bridge and Main streets), which in 1835 brought \$3,500, sold for \$12,500 to Charles Stearns. When Worthington street was opened, in 1839, from

the river to Chestnut street, by Mr. Stearns, he had a house warming at the old Worthington house, which had been moved back to Water street. Judge Morris entertained the company with reminiscences.

There was quite a brisk trade in lots at the time, and a fifty per cent. advance over ruling prices for years was the rule. The Lyman farm, owned by R. Emery, East North Main street, had jumped from \$10,000 to \$20,000. It was natural that in the real-estate activity that rumors connected the railroad promoters with speculations. These insinuations were resented and the rumors formally denied.

In 1831 the democrats put up for senators James Kent and Harvey Chapin, and one of their handbills gives the best expression to their notions of the situation. Here it is : —

Shall a Charles X. and his Polignac grind us to the face of the earth? It was for their enormous expenditure, and taking from the mass of the people — the workingmen — the real bone and sinew of the country — their just rights, that the good LaFayette placed himself at the head of the noble workingmen of Paris and hurled their oppressors from power. We have our aristocracy, our Charles X. and our Polignac, and we have them at our very doors. Who have hitherto controlled the elections in this county? A small band of lawyers and Springfield aristocrats. Who boast that Enos Foote and John Nyles shall be forced upon the workingmen? This little band of lawyers and aristocrats who nominated them. Who boast that the present splendid State Government to the tune of \$293,000 per annum shall continue to be forced upon the people? This same aristocratic ruffled shirt party! Who will sustain the lawyer's bar rules? Who will continue to oppress the people with the present oppressive laws for the support of religious worship? Who would deprive every independent workingman but to deceive and cajole us? The aristocracy! The lawyers! The ruffle shirt party!

The celebration of Washington's birthday in 1832 was another of those *fête* days that the town may well remember. No less than three thousand people participated, and politics was forgotten. Cannon on Armory hill and Court square were thundering at daybreak, and every church bell was ringing. Col. Ithamer Goodman formed the

procession at the town-house just before noon, the escort comprising the Springfield Home Guards under Captain Upham, the Springfield Artillery under Captain Cooley, the Hampden Grays (Westfield) under Captain Parsons, and the Hampden Guards under Captain Bates. The column proceeded to Dr. Osgood's meeting-house, in the galleries of which, we are informed, the "ladies seemed animated." Hundreds on hundreds were unable to get inside the house. The Springfield Musical Society performed an overture, and Colonel Warriner led the choir in rendering some sacred music. Rev. Mr. Putnam led in prayer, and J. W. Crooks read passages of Washington's farewell address. Then came more music and the oration by George Ashmun.

At the town-hall banquet, later in the day, Colonel Lee — that famous toast-master — presided, and it was said that never did "a cold cut and a glass of wine" go with better relish than this temperance collation. In the evening there was dancing at Colonel Russell's hall, while at Factory Village "300 fair spinsters skipped over the floor" of the new factory building.

In November, 1833, Henry Clay and family arrived at Springfield and were warmly welcomed. A Hartford committee escorted Mr. Clay to Enfield, where a large cavalcade of Springfield men met them. Their entrance into the village was heralded by ringing of bells and the firing of cannon. William G. Bates, of Westfield, was at the Hampden Coffee-house (then kept by Horatio Sargeant) with an elegant whip which had been made for Mr. Clay, who took it with the remark that he was proud of such a gift from friends, but that he would not take such a thing from an enemy. — a bit of grim pleasantry, by the way, as his political enemies had just given him a sound thrashing. Mr. Clay held a reception in the town-hall, which was attended by ladies, and accompanied by a formal address of welcome from the lips of Judge Oliver B. Morris.

The Hampden Coffee-house would make a rare subject for an antiquarian, but we must be content with passing references and a reproduction of its outlines, so familiar to the older inhabitants.

HAMPDEN COFFEE HOUSE.



NORTH SIDE OF COURT SQUARE,

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

THE subscriber has furnished the new and elegant brick house, erected the last season on the corner of Court Square, for the reception of company. It is deemed by competent judges to be the most commodious building of the kind in the state, west of Boston, and its situation is peculiarly pleasant and attractive.—Travellers and parties of business or pleasure, will find every accommodation usual in such establishments, and can at all times have access to a room regularly provided with the leading newspapers and journals in the United States.

The CHOICEST LIQUORS will at all times be kept; and during the summer months a

SODA FOUNTAIN

will be attached to the establishment.

HORSES AND CARRIAGES

will be furnished at the shortest notice.—The subscriber will be anxious and devoted in his attention to all who may honor him with their company.

ERASTUS CHAPIN.

Springfield, June, 1822.

Tennant & Co. Printers, Springfield.

William B. Calhoun was nominated for Congress as a whig in 1834. The "Hampden Whig" called him a poor man, and the "Republican" retorted: "They now sneer at a man because he is poor.



THE OLD HAMPDEN COFFEE HOUSE.

O shame!" This flier, sent to the voters by the whigs, more fully reflects the tension of that canvass: —

What do the Tories want? They have got complete possession of the United States Armory. They now want to get hold of the treasury of Massachusetts. Van Buren has chained United States with his great league of Safety Fund Banks; and he now desires to put the chains upon us. Citizens of the Bay State, will you submit? Will you bend the knee to the great Golden Calf which Van Buren is setting up? "Let the aristocracy of Springfield support their own paupers!" So speaks the Jackson paper of our friend and fellow-citizen, William B. Calhoun!! Yes — in order to defeat the election of William B. Calhoun and to help O. H. Warner and J. W. Crooks, &c., the leading Tories denounce Mr Calhoun as a pauper of Springfield. Men of honorable feeling of all parties! show your indignation at the polls!

Calhoun got a rousing majority. He had had the satisfaction also that year to have received all the votes but one for the speakership at Boston. He probably never came nearer to eloquence than in his Fourth of July address that year. The celebration was made of special interest by the death a few days previous of Lafayette. "Deep is the sleep of the hero!" exclaimed Mr. Calhoun, and he paused, when the choir, under Colonel Warriner, burst forth with an anthem beginning with those words, and there were patriotic tears for the dead. The peculiar quality in Mr. Calhoun, — this career of dignified posturing for a principle or an economic fact, this life-study for the wealth and prosperity of public institutions, with the utter neglect of his own finances, this old-fashioned faith, that eased his declining years by the acceptance of a deaconship in the First Church with deeper gratification than a score of political honors, — what wonder that he remained for so many years the public man of Springfield? His tall figure was made historic in the troublous session of 1833, when, as speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, he put the famous resolves condemning nullification, in which it was declared that the "right claimed by the convention of South Carolina for that State of annulling any law of the United States which it may deem unconstitutional, is unauthorized by the letter or spirit of the Constitution;" and there was quite as much impressiveness in his movements when, as selectman of the village, he apportioned a dollar here and a dollar there for the poor of the community.

The Springfield Temperance Society was making fair progress in its crusade. Its membership in 1834, after a three years' existence, was two thousand five hundred. The town population was six thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, leaving four thousand two hundred and eighty-four for the society to labor with. During the year previous eleven thousand five hundred gallons of rum alone was sold in Springfield, one-half of which, it was estimated, was consumed here. B. Fuller, Jr., proprietor of the Springfield

House, announced, in 1834, that he had discontinued the sale of ardent spirits. The house was "genteelly furnished" and "free from the noise and bustle incident to a stage-house." We might also here mention that in 1835 one thousand six hundred legal voters petitioned the county commissioners to refuse liquor licenses. R. A. Chapman presented it in a speech, and George Ashmun opposed it. The commissioners refused the petition. At the May elections the temperance issue was fought over, and James W. Crooks, G. Stiles, of Southwick, C. Knox, of Palmer, L. Bagg, of West Springfield, and L. Wright, of Westfield, were elected. They granted licenses freely. The venerable and much-honored ex-Lieutenant-Governor Trask, who enjoys nothing better than to pass a genial afternoon talking about bygone days, says that Mr. Chapman's law partner signed the temperance pledge in 1840, and made one of the most eloquent temperance addresses he ever heard.

The Elliot-Buckland murder trial, in September, 1834, excited the interest not only of the town, but the whole country round. Moses Elliot, the accused, was a lad of twelve, and Josiah Buckland, his victim, was but a year older. These boys had made up their minds to run away, and on a Saturday in April, 1834, had repaired to a hop-pole house on the Rice farm, on the Wilbraham road, to divide their clothing and to make some preparations for their journey. The upshot was that in the middle of the day Elliot fled home, and was subsequently seen going in the direction of the hop-house with a spade, presumedly to bury the dead. No boy so young had ever been tried for murder in the Commonwealth, and the greatest excitement prevailed when Chief-Justice Shaw and Judges Wilde and Putnam opened the extra session in the autumn of that year. Attorney-General Austin and District Attorney Dewey presented the case for the State, and Judge Morris was assisted by the brilliant and eloquent George Ashmun. People neglected their business in order to hear the evidence. The Elliot boy's name for mischief-making confirmed the popular belief in his guilt, and Judge Morris was set to

confront a desperately strong tide of circumstances. His plea was over two hours long. The old court-house (Odd Fellows' building) was packed to the doors ; crowds hung about the building, and country teams were standing in all the approaches to the Springfield hall of justice. Hundreds had driven into the village many miles to hear Morris's defence. The lawyer had first to sweep aside prejudice and a popular feeling of guilt, and then to offer explanations of the stern facts of blood, death, and of the secretive acts of Elliot. Morris had a rotund, sweeping, and impetuous style of oratory. His powerful arms would sweep through the air, and he would pose, or stamp his foot, or stride to and fro before the twelve jurymen, as was the wont of the profession half a century ago. The court-room had been gradually drawn to the prisoner's side, and under the skilful handling of Morris the jury, too, were affected ; and when the lawyer sat down women were in tears, and the whole body of listeners deeply moved. The jury acquitted Elliot after an absence of two hours, and a memorable scene of relief and congratulation followed.

Another graphic scene, but of a far different nature, occurred in August, 1832, when about one hundred revolutionary soldiers of the county assembled at the Probate Court to prove their pension claims under a new act, and the circumstance gave rise to a patriotic demonstration. The portrait of George Washington, copied from the Gilbert Stewart painting at Hartford, by Mr. Elwell, then growing in popularity, was hung in the court-room, and one veteran said, with tears in his eyes, " Oh, yes, it looks like the old General." This venerable company, after the legal formalities, took their slow march to the Hampden Coffee-house in a pouring rain. A fine dinner was laid for them, and Judge Morris spoke, and Rev. Mr. Knapp, of Westfield, pronounced a blessing. Mr. Elwell's portrait of Washington now hangs in the Common Council room in this city, and serves to perpetuate the name of the artist whom so many in this region honored and loved.

George Bliss came quite prominently into politics in 1835, when he



REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS AT THE COURT-HOUSE, 1832.

was a member of the State Senate, and upon the death of Benjamin Pickman he was chosen president of that body. In 1832 Mr. Bliss had reported a bill enlarging the jurisdiction of the Court of Common Pleas in criminal cases and regulating the appointment and duties of prosecuting attorneys. It passed the House without amendment. The great legislative event of the exciting year of 1835 was the consideration of the new code. A large committee of the Legislature took the voluminous report of the commissioners for the revision of the statutes, and considered it during the recess. Mr. Bliss was chairman of this committee. Governor Davis had meantime been elected to the United States Senate, and Lieutenant-Governor Armstrong wanted the section about poor debtors to be stricken out, even threatening to veto the whole bill if this were not done. Mr. Bliss wrote William B. Calhoun on the matter, and received this reply: "A single provision is arrayed against the whole labor of years. It is fashionable to assume responsibility, but this would be a most fearful kind for any individual." This reassured Mr. Bliss, and the committee stood firm. Armstrong finally signed the bill, contenting himself with a protest against the action of the House requiring him to approve the whole bill or veto it.

When it was rumored in Springfield that Governor Davis was a candidate for the United States Senate, Judge Oliver B. Morris wrote Mr. Bliss in a distressed state of mind. He asked: "Are there any among the whig party who are willing to remove Governor Davis from his present situation, and thereby endanger the integrity of the party in the selection of a successor? . . . The Jackson folk among us are delighted with the idea." But their and similar protests were unavailing, and Davis's advancement to the United States Senate brought the adverse elements of the whig party to the surface, and Judge Morris's fears were realized. A convention of the whig members of the Massachusetts Legislature had nominated Mr. Webster for the presidency in January, 1835, George Bliss being on the committee which drew up the Webster appeal to

the people of the United States. Davis was elected to the Senate in the middle of February. On the evening of the 27th a legislative convention of whigs was called on only two or three days' notice to nominate a candidate for governor. It was not a convention of the party, but the legislative members of the party; and when Senator Allen, of Worcester, proposed a ballot without debate, George Bliss sprang to his feet and voiced the sentiment of western Massachusetts when he said, with great earnestness, "Sir, the members of this Legislature were not chosen with reference to any object of this kind. They have no power from the people to act for them in this matter. . . . The great whig party of Massachusetts is not fairly represented in this convention. Gentlemen will be surprised when I state the astounding fact that there are at least 115 towns in the Commonwealth which cannot be represented by whigs on this floor. . . . And let me add, sir, there is already in the river counties a great excitement, a strong feeling caused by the proceedings of the last few weeks."

After the excitement was over, Mr. Bliss, with others, were finally convinced, in view of the figure which the Massachusetts whigs were attempting to cut in national politics, that the best thing to do was to swing into the Everett line. This decision was not reached, however, until home influence had been brought to bear upon the president of the Senate, as appears by this extract from a private letter sent Mr. Bliss from Samuel Bowles, father of the late Samuel Bowles, dated March 5, 1835: —

But while we agree with you in disapproving the hasty and unfair manner of the nomination, I am sorry to see a few — Judge Morris, Mr. Bontecou, and others — taking the occasion to oppose the candidate, and openly electioneer for S. T. Armstrong! . . . The sentiments you may see in my next paper are in accordance with those of Messrs. Calhoun, Willard, and Ashmun. If it should prove that Mr. Everett is the candidate of the majority (and I believe it will so prove), we do not think it best to make any unnecessary distraction in the whig party, because some of our friends, whose good and patriotic motives we see no reason to doubt, have nominated the right candidate in the wrong way.

That one may understand the extent of men's feelings, this passage from a letter from Oliver B. Morris to George Bliss may be added: "Under present circumstances, if those who voted for Mr. Davis at the last election can be made to vote for Mr. Everett next November, in my judgment they will be no longer worthy to be called whigs. We have been accustomed to call, and I think properly, the followers of Van Buren 'collar men,' and under the control of a regency. Now it seems to me that those who undertook to act for the whig party in the nomination of Mr. Everett usurped power which the party never conferred upon them." William G. Bates, of Westfield, wrote Bliss as follows: —

And first, I must say how much obliged we all are to you for your stand at the legislative caucus. The proceeding is most disastrous, as respects to the prospects of the whigs, if indeed we are now known by that name. Brother B. is all wrong. You know how much is said in our country about Boston influence, and how much more has been said to the west of us, and how much we have labored to undo any such belief. But now what can we say to any such charges? They have not only, in violation of all precedent and in disregard to the late practices of the party, put an obnoxious candidate before the people, but they have confederated with the Jackson party to uncap the commonwealth in order to make way for him. And for what reason? Why, ostensibly to unite with the anti-Masons — as if we could not do it at any time — by coming upon their ground and playing second to their fiddle. . . . The Jackson party increases its chances of electing their stereotyped ticket — the anti-Masons choose a governor who believes that the obligations of Masonry destroys the allegiance of government (who of course acting upon his principle in relation to appointments is a thorough anti-Mason) and the poor whigs get nothing. It won't do!

But Mr. Bliss would not give way. While admitting the irregularity of Everett's nomination, there was never any doubt about the general desire among the whigs that he should be their candidate.

Edward Everett ran in on a somewhat reduced majority, but George Bliss lost his seat in the Senate by an adverse vote, which his bravery and good judgment had by no means merited. He had been president

pro tem. of the Senate during Mr. Pickman's illness, and upon his election as president a Boston paper had remarked that it had been said of George Bliss's father that "nothing escaped his notice or examination. This is true of the son, — his mind is extremely active, and its activity is more than ordinarily apparent in the variations of his countenance and in his whole air and movements. No person of observation can fail to perceive that he is constantly intent."

The festivities attending the second centennial of the town's birth began upon Tuesday afternoon, May 24, 1836, when Gov. Edward Everett and suite, Col. Robert C. Winthrop, General Dearborn, and other officials arrived at Springfield from Boston by the old Moseley stage line. A cavalcade of citizens, and as well many in carriages, met the party at the Five Mile House, and conducted them to the Hampden Coffee-house upon Court square. Charles Stearns had also arrived from Maine the same day, bringing with him four fresh salmon and trout caught nearly four hundred miles from Springfield, he "having been only forty-three hours on the way." John Howard opened his residence in the evening, and the citizens of Springfield had an opportunity to become acquainted with his Excellency and party.

The eventful 25th was heralded with the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells. The fire department, under Stephen C. Bemis and George Dwight, assembled at an early hour upon Chestnut street and proceeded to Court square, where it showed to a large crowd what the hand-engine pumps could do upon occasion. The governor was escorted to the scene of the oratory by five hundred mechanics, the procession being formed upon Elm street. The printers had provided a hand-press from "The Springfield Republican" office, and as they moved along they worked off an edition and distributed copies to the people. The mechanics of the armory followed with a banner, then the carpenters and workers in wood, then machinists, shoemakers, and so on through the list of trades. The hardware mechanics from Wilimansett were conspicuous in the line. The military escort included the Springfield Light Infantry, the Springfield Artillery Company, the

West Springfield Grays, and an independent company from East Longmeadow, which latter were noticeable by having two men at their head in Indian costume. The mechanics marched through several streets before they halted at the Hampden Coffee-house, and were there joined by the governor and staff, officers of the day, and soldiery. They proceeded at once to the First Parish meeting-house, whose capacity was sorely taxed with as brave a throng as ever gathered there. Judge Morris's address took two hours in its delivery, and is quite familiar to the people of this generation and to library frequenters, and has been much used abroad as the basis of historical articles upon the early history of this town. After the exercises in the meeting-house, the guests and the officers of the day were escorted to the town-hall on State street: George Bliss was president of the day, and John Howard, Justice Willard, Charles Stearns, James W. Crooks, George Ashmun, Charles Howard, and George Bancroft were vice-presidents. Tables, provided for nearly four hundred guests, were furnished by Mr. Bishop, of the Springfield Hotel. Governor Everett, George Bancroft, and other distinguished gentlemen "occupied the circular seats around the president." The galleries were filled with soldiery, but its interest to us centres in the toasts and speeches.

Edward Everett added the elegance of his diction when he spoke to propose the toast, "The fathers of New England — their faults were the faults of the age; their piety, courage, and perseverance were their own. Time, which destroys all things, will strengthen their work and honor their memory."

Mr. Bliss had noted in his remarks that Richard Everett, one of the early settlers of Springfield, was a relative of Governor Everett. His Excellency expressed his surprise and gratification, and then took up the weightier matters of the hour, in the following manner: —

I regard such a celebration as a noble day of recompense for the tribulations of other times. Would not William Pynchon, sir, on the very day when his book, written with the heavy rebuke of the fathers of church and state, was igno-

miniously burned on Boston Common, have felt his heart cheered and his spirit soothed, even under the infliction of that burning stigma, could he have foreseen that when near two centuries should have passed, on an occasion like this, amidst thousands of an admiring posterity, his name would be repeated with respect, gratitude, and veneration, as the great founder of what we behold around us? Could I hope, sir, that after the lapse of 200 years, my humble name would be remembered with kind feelings of those who shall come after us, as one who had sought to promote the public good, I should deem any labor, care, and sacrifice as cheaply encountered for such a recompense. If to the moral interest of the festival which has called us together you add the attractions of nature at this pleasant season of the year, and in this beautiful region, you will not wonder, sir, at our readiness to leave the noisy streets and smoky atmosphere of the city for a visit to the banks of this most lovely river. A poetical writer, a native of our sister State which bears the name of the Connecticut, has exclaimed in the most beautiful lines of a long work —

“Thy parent stream, fair Hartford, met his eye,
Far lessening upward to the northern sky;
No watery gleams through happier valleys shine,
Nor drinks the sea a lovelier wave than thine.”

Many speeches were delivered upon this occasion. Charles Stearns drove a nail into this thesis upon the wall of an ancient town's history in saying, “The interlopers will endeavor to leave old Springfield in as good condition as they found it.” George Bancroft, the future historian, chose as his toast the noted Capt. Samuel Holyoke, “the hero and the martyr of the Falls fight. His memory shall be cherished till the cataract of the Connecticut ceases to roar; his fame shall stand as imperishable as the mountain that bears his name.” A toast was proposed to the county of Berkshire (a part of the original county of Hampshire), which was hailed “not as a colony, but as an independent and sister county. May our union be still more strongly connected by the increasing enterprise and public spirit of the inhabitants of both counties.” This was a fitting introduction to the toast of Col. Robert C. Winthrop, a descendant of John Hampden, whom he extolled, and said, “A noble name, and

worthily bestowed upon the county which bears it." Julius Rockwell turned the attention of the table to the future by referring to the commercial enterprises that were absorbing public attention at that time, dwelling upon the benefit to be derived from the Western railroad, the route of which was then being surveyed. John Howard proposed as a toast, "Modern antiquarians:" Justice Willard "The land of our home and the home of our fathers:" George Ashmun, "School-houses;" Major Inches, of the Boston Independent Cadets, "The orator of the day:" S. O. Russell, "The history of the settlement of Springfield:" and E. D. Beach, "The Springfield Light Infantry."

Many letters from prominent men were read after the speaking. John Quincy Adams wrote from Washington proposing the sentiment, "The Puritan principles purified by the school of time, still improving from age to age, the physical culture of the Western hemisphere and the moral culture of the human mind." Daniel Webster took occasion to write: "Two centuries have made a great town out of a handful of settlers, and the present prospect is that its future history is to be marked by a still more rapid degree of growth and improvement. . . . Long may education and knowledge, sobriety, morality, and religion characterize their enjoyment under the blessings of Providence." Alden Bradford, the president of the Pilgrim Society at Boston, paid a high tribute to William Pynchon, saying that, while he had the misfortune to differ with his associates upon matters of dogmatic theology, his "probity, piety, and learning were never doubted." Mr. Bradford proposed this toast: "Perpetuity to the essential principles of the Puritans. — a preëminent regard for the authority of God and for the rights of men." Letters were also read from Levi Lincoln, Judge Story, W. B. Calhoun, Thomas L. Winthrop, and others.

In the evening a reception at the elegant residence of George Bliss and a concert by the Springfield Musical Society made their bids for the local public. The occasion softened the rigors of political rivalry,

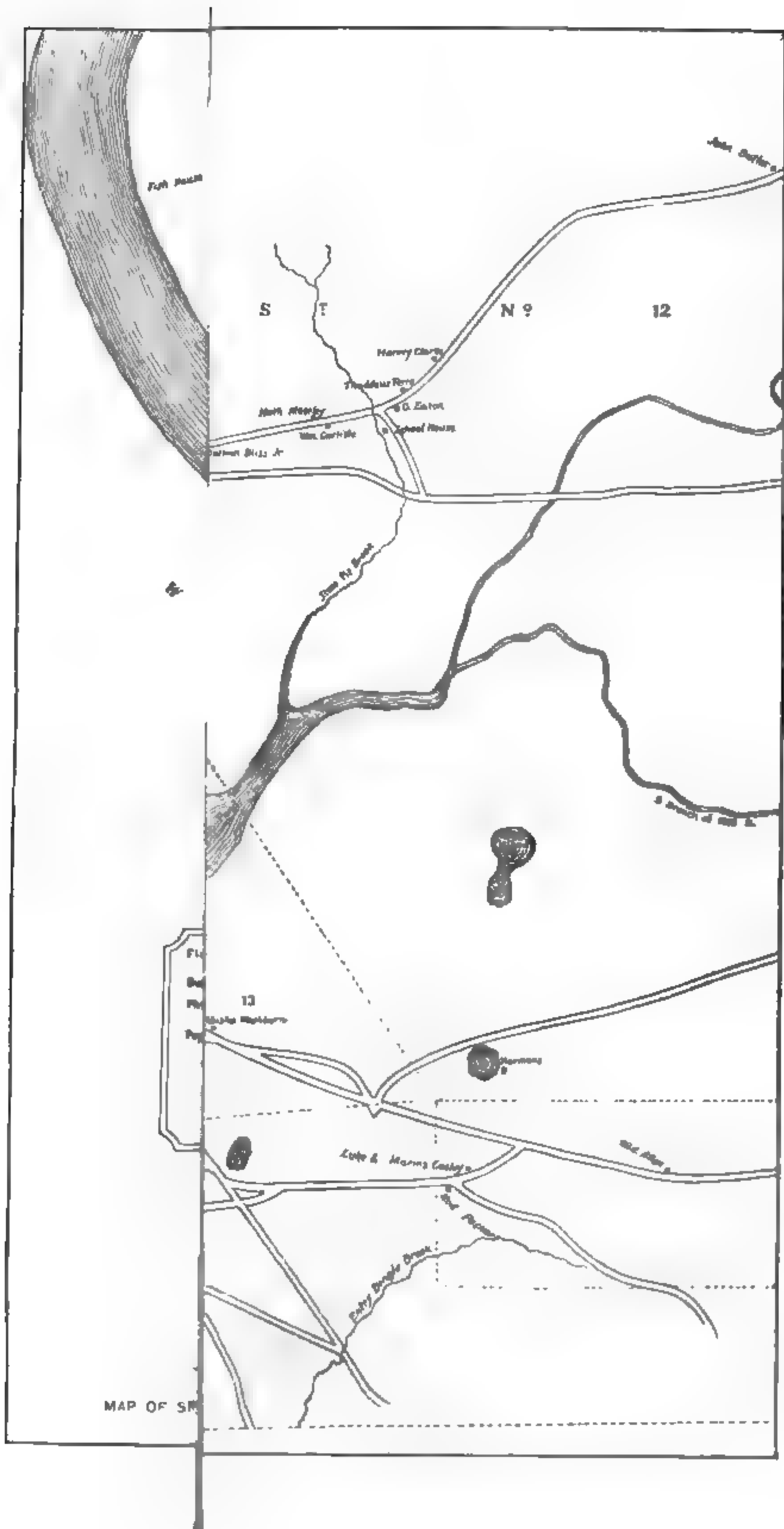
and Oliver B. Morris, Edward Everett, and George Bliss fraternized with perfect cordiality.

But the non-partisan spirit of anniversaries soon departed. The Fourth was coming, and Mr. Beach announced in his paper that *the* celebration was not to be on the hill, but Factory Village. Cabotville was aroused, and protested, and some one, signing as "Skipmuck," remarked, "There are some very important characters at Cabotville who want to control everything; but they will not prevent us at Chicopee Factory from doing as we please." Another disquieting rumor was that the pure democracy was preparing for a celebration on the hill, and that George Bancroft had engaged to deliver the oration. So it proved. But the "union celebration," as it was called, came off at Chicopee Factory, and was an immense success. A procession, under Colonel Nettleton, formed at the Adams House and marched to the meeting-house. "The operation of the mills being suspended," says the ancient chronicler, "the doors and windows of the boarding-houses were filled with bright eyes and smiling faces. What a sight for a bachelor! Nearly in front of the meeting-house the national flag, in right good taste, waved on the top of an aged white oak." Rev. Dorus Clark was chaplain, and Myron Lawrence orator. S. Shackford presided at the banquet at the hotel that followed, and speeches were made by Wells Southworth, J. Johnson, E. Edwards, J. C. Bemis, George W. Culver, Elihu Adams, Charles Stearns, Samuel Bowles, J. M. Colton, and others.

George Bancroft's Fourth of July oration on the hill to the Springfield democrats made quite a stir at the time. "Whiggism, the party of vested rights!" he exclaimed; "it perpetuates established wrong on the plea of vested rights." The whig, he maintained, "pants for monopoly." The curious thing about this was that at this time the whigs had nominated Webster, who was not rich, and had sent to Congress Mr. Calhoun, who had been offensively called a pauper; while the democrats had put up wealthy men all down the ticket, including the Hampden senators. A very amusing contest followed, in which

rich and poor, whig and Jacksonian, were very much mixed up. It was made none the less diverting when Bancroft, the "white kid-glove and silk-stockings democrat" was nominated against Calhoun for Congress.

Mr. Bancroft had been a whig but two years before. He was what was known as a Jackson federalist. Not the least interesting phase of this canvass was the dragging in of Mr. Bancroft's connection with the Masons. It will be remembered that an anti-Masonic convention was held at Warriner's tavern on the evening of October 14, 1834. A resolution was proposed commending Mr. Bancroft for a letter written by him to some Northampton voters, and asking him to take a seat in the convention and become its candidate for Congress. Seth Flagg, the chairman, came to the front in that canvass of 1836 in explanation thereof. He claimed Mr. Bancroft had approached him before the convention met with resolutions favoring his own nomination for Congress; that Mr. Bancroft was invited to take a seat; that he (Flagg) presented the resolutions as requested; that Mr. Bancroft read amusing extracts from a book on Free Masonry, and then withdrew; that the next day Mr. Bancroft complained to him (Flagg) that he had been accused of looking into the windows of the Warriner tavern while the convention was in session, and demanded of Flagg a paper to the effect that this was not true, which he secured; that he returned shortly with another stronger paper for Flagg to sign, stating that the convention had asked Bancroft to sit in the convention, had recommended him as congressional candidate, and then reconsidered this action; that Flagg signed this paper with the understanding that it was not to be circulated publicly. Mr. Flagg claimed that in spite of this statement, over his own signature, the resolutions recommending Bancroft as a candidate were not passed, but simply presented and laid on the table. Here was a pretty complication, and caused no end of crimination and recrimination then. Mr. Bancroft certainly had the written statement of the chairman of the convention that he was



[illegible]

nominated. But he did not secure the support of the anti-Masons sufficient to elect him in 1836. The vote stood: Calhoun, 3,958; Bancroft, 2,878. Bancroft, however, polled about four hundred more votes in the district than Warner, democrat, did in 1834.

George Ashmun was a member of the Whig State Central Committee of 1835, when Webster had been put up for President. In 1837 George Ashmun and Reuben Boies, Jr., were whig nominees for the State Senate. The Loco Foco Van Buren convention at West Springfield nominated George Bancroft and Lucius Wright, of Westfield. Hampden county had gone tory the year before, but Ashmun and Boies turned the vote to the whig column with a majority of one hundred and fifty. The representatives in 1837 were Daniel W. Willard, Alpheus Nettleton, Josiah Hooker, William Dwight, Samuel H. Stebbins, and Luke Bemis, Jr., all whigs. It was a bad year for Loco Focoism in western Massachusetts. Immediately after the election John Mills was offered the collectorship of the port of Boston, so it was understood by his friends; but he declined, and George Bancroft was appointed. When George Ashmun was renominated for the Senate, in the fall of 1838, Charles Stearns, Elijah Blake, and Samuel Bowles called his attention to the report that democrats were supporting him in consequence of a pledge that he would advocate the repeal of the fifteen-gallon law. Ashmun responded as follows: "I am bound to no man or body of men on that or any other subject. The whole system of pledges I regard as odious and at war with the true principles of republican representation." This was considered satisfactory.

The election was a draw, and was thus thrown into the Legislature, which had no trouble in choosing Ashmun and Boies. When the fifteen-gallon law came up in the Legislature in 1839 in the shape of a bill to regulate the sale of spirituous liquors, George Bliss made a telling attack upon it. The fifteen-gallon law made no end of trouble. In June, 1839, Elisha Edwards was arrested for violating the fifteen-gallon law by selling liquor to an employé of Charles Stearns,

on the latter's order, and a troublesome prosecution followed. The liquor issue was a prominent factor in the caucus of 1839, when Everett and Morton were pitted against each other once more, the former being defeated by one vote ; and the first important step of the new Legislature was to repeal the obnoxious fifteen-gallon law. Marcus Morton was the father of Judge Morton of this city.

An incident of the Morton election is preserved by an odd communication of that day, headed : " The Complaint of the town clock to the Parish committee of the First Society in Springfield." This chronometer said : " Marcus Morton would not have been governor but for me. On the day of the election in November last I was 10 minutes too fast. The polls were to be closed at half-past four. A good whig in the upper part of the town who was chary of his time calculated that he could leave home at four o'clock and be at the town-hall in time to vote. His calculations were right. He left home exactly at four o'clock, but he was too late. The polls were closed by my time : his vote was lost, and Morton was governor by one vote."

The temperance issue made trouble for the whigs also in the Legislature. The delegates of 1838 were George Bliss, Orange Chapin, William Childs, Elijah Blake, Sylvester Taylor, and Charles McClallen, all whigs. There was no choice in the election of 1839, and a second ballot was equally unsuccessful. This was because there was a union temperance ticket in the field, made up of three Loco Focos and three whigs. Springfield thus was not represented in the Legislature. The Hampden whigs were greatly irritated by these events, and the Whig Republican Association of Springfield was organized early in the year 1840, with these officers : President, George Ashmun ; recording secretary, William Stowe ; corresponding secretary, Henry Seymour ; treasurer, George Dwight ; executive committee, Elijah Blake, Luke Bemis, Jr., Edward O. Morris, Elihu Adams, Francis M. Carew, and Otis Skeelee. The presidential election was now coming on, and the old-liners gathered at Springfield, Feb. 19, 1840, to give the whig nominee for President, William Henry

Harrison, a good send off. George Ashmun was made president, and Henry Seymour, of Springfield, secretary. Speeches were made by Isaac C. Bates, Emory Washburn, of Worcester, Judge O. B. Morris, William Stowe, and others. April, 1840, the famous campaign of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" was now under way, with all its picturesque features.

One day some Longmeadow boys rigged up a log cabin and made a call on "Uncle Jere's," the cabin being drawn by six horses. A fifteen-gallon keg served as a chimney. The hard-cider candidate was well toasted. The year was full of excitement, and the democrats were also ripe for the fray. There was a grand Harrison demonstration in Springfield, October 9, 1840. William B. Calhoun had just been nominated for Congress. On the evening of the 8th the town-hall was occupied by the whigs. A triumphal arch spanned Main street, near the Chicopee Bank, put up by the merchants of "Fountain row." Early Friday morning a cavalcade with a band rode in from Monson, and some wagons and horsemen poured in from Wilbraham, Ludlow, Longmeadow, Northampton, West Springfield, Granby, Belchertown, and dozens of places. The Westfield delegation to the convention came in a huge wagon drawn by twelve horses, and "Old Tip's Buggy" inscribed on its banners. Over half-a-dozen bands were tuning up the party patriotism. Capt. George Dwight formed the procession at ten o'clock, assisted by H. Seymour, William M. Town, C. A. Mann, R. Shurtleff, and others. Revolutionary soldiers were at the head, and the column, six deep, proceeded to Worthington grove, where that inspiring leader of men, George Ashmun, called the assemblage to order, and Oliver B. Morris was made president. All the afternoon was spent in speech-making and singing whig songs. The American eagle, in all sizes and conditions, perched on the decorated floats about the grove; whig mottoes floated in the breeze on familiar terms with the stars and stripes, broken democratic arches lay in ruins, and lampoons furnished food for the merry. Stuffed roosters stood proudly upon log cabins, and General Harrison

was toasted in drinking-booths on the edges of the grove. It was a great day, and there were many great days before that canvass was over. Harrison won, and the whigs had their short day and deep mourning for the death of their standard-bearer.

Back of all this political commotion loomed the grim question of slavery, and the fine art of public life of that day lay in retiring the spectre of human bondage to the background. William B. Calhoun had been charged with forcing the issue by charging radical abolition upon Harrison. This was done to alienate the Southern whigs : but Calhoun denounced the attempt in phrases very spirited for him. Early in 1836 some Hampshire men, in session at Amherst, had proposed an anti-slavery convention, to be held at Northampton. — a move that created much uneasiness. There was an anti-slavery prayer-meeting in Springfield on the evening of the Fourth, 1837, when the air was dismal with fire-crackers, and the first annual meeting of the Hampden County Anti-Slavery Society was held in January, 1838, at Dr. Osgood's church. The officers elected were : President, Abel Bliss ; vice-presidents, Rev. S. Osgood, Rev. J. A. Morrill, and Rev. H. Smith : secretary, Chauncey Chapin : treasurer, Edwin Booth ; directors, E. Chapin, Luther Bliss, Dr. Jefferson Church, Dr. J. Bassett, and Noah Merrick. Slavery was denounced as a national sin. Judge Morris made a memorable speech, the house being packed. Morris was not identified with any abolition society, which fact heightened the effect of his eloquence. Dr. Osgood and Dr. Ralph Emerson, of Andover Theological Seminary, were drawn into a fierce discussion over slavery. In one letter Dr. Osgood said : " But I ask, in what light ought Christians to regard that universal system of concubinage which is practised by the blacks themselves in all the slave States ? The slave laws do not recognize the marriage institution. The master has the power to dissolve it at pleasure, and either of the parties cohabiting together may break off their connection at will, and do so in multitudes of cases."

Chauncey Chapin at this time took occasion to draw out Mr. Cal-

houn's opinion on slavery. The latter was again a candidate for Congress. He answered by calling attention to the fact that his vote against the admission of Arkansas upon the ground that slavery was recognized in its constitution was sufficient to indicate where he stood. He added: "I look upon this infernal traffic as but a slight remove from the foreign slave-trade now so abhorrent to all. It is the grand means of perpetuating slavery. . . . I found no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that Congress, within its appropriate sphere, ought at once to adopt such measures of judicious and efficient legislation as shall bring this great moral, social, and political evil, in all its forms, as speedily as possible to an end." Mr. Garrison did not receive Dr. Osgood's support in his radical notions of forming a political party at that time, and Garrison denounced Osgood in his paper in unmeasured terms.

It was of course to be expected that between the enterprise of the stage men, the boating men, and the railroad men, that the town would grow apace. In 1834 the population was 6,784. By 1837 Springfield was the sixth town in population in the State, and the third in the valuation of its manufactures. Here are some figures: Population, 9,234; public schools, 20; winter scholars, 1,617; average winter attendance, 1,398; teachers (winter), 14 males and 16 females, (summer), 4 males and 26 females; academies and private schools, 1, with 168 scholars; cotton-mills, 7, with \$1,400,000 invested; wool produced, 4,500 pounds; value of boots manufactured, \$10,000; tanneries, 3, with \$8,000 capital; hat factories, 2; paper-mills, 4, with \$120,000 capital; furnaces, 3, with \$35,000 capital; cutlery, 1, with \$20,000 capital; cabinet and chair factories, 6, with \$16,000 capital; plough manufactories, 2; tinware factories, 4; steam-boats built during year, 5, valued at \$18,000. There were also manufactured \$14,000 worth of muskets at the armory. An indication of over-production was noticed in 1837, when many hands were discharged at Chicopee and Cabotville. By 1840, 2,558 persons were engaged in Springfield manufacturing.

At a meeting of the manufacturers, farmers, and merchants of the town, held in the town-hall, May 18, 1832, Justice Willard in the chair, and Stephen C. Bemis secretary, resolutions favoring a continuation of a protective tariff were passed. Another meeting at Warriner's Inn, May 31, with the landlord in the chair, and Samuel Bowles secretary, passed resolutions against peddlers, as it was considered "fraught with injurious consequences to the regular business of the community and tends to the encouragement of bad habits and imposition." The committee to suppress this practice consisted of James Brewer, James Wells, A. G. Tannatt, Francis M. Carew, and Stephen O. Russell.

Springfield was not wanting in newspapers at this time. The "Republican" was a great success as a staunch anti-Jackson sheet. It absorbed the "Hampden Journal," started in 1807 by Thomas Dickman. The "Hampden Whig" was started in February, 1830, by John B. Eldredge, who sold out to E. D. Beach, in 1835. The "Springfield Gazette" was started in September, 1831, with G. W. Callender, Henry Kirkham, and Lewis Briggs, proprietors. William Hyde was editor. In 1832 Callender and Kirkham withdrew, and the "Gazette" was published by Mr. Briggs and Josiah Hooker, the latter being editor as well. The "Hampden Intelligencer" had started up in 1831 as an anti-Masonic paper, but was short-lived. In 1840 Mr. Beach, then editor of the "Hampden Post," was nominated by the Loco Foco party as county treasurer, but was defeated. In 1840 William Stowe became editor of the "Springfield Gazette."

Dr. Joshua Frost was buried from Mr. Peabody's church in April, 1832. He was a man of fine education and admirable character. He was a model village man, being always present at town-meetings, and ready to bear his share of public burdens. Dr. Frost graduated at Harvard, and was State senator in 1826. He was sixty-five when he died. The year following (August 25, 1833) Col. Roswell Lee passed away, and with him a prominent actor in local affairs.

He rivalled George Ashmun as a guest or host, and had sat at the head of many banquet tables, political and social. His honorable record as superintendent of the armory is a matter of history. He had command of Fort Griswold, Groton, Conn., in the War of 1812. William Bliss, the lawyer, died March 3, 1838, aged forty-one. He ranked in his profession among the first in the county, and was prominent in town affairs. He was chairman of county commissioners in 1834. Mr. Bliss was a very companionable man, and was very much of a wit. Many anecdotes are associated with his name. Perhaps it would not be out of place to give one of them. Samuel Bowles was very fond of pictures, and delighted especially in a good portrait. He was very much interested in Mr. Elwell's painting, and gave him much encouragement. Mr. Elwell used to tell of an artist who had a studio in the Byers building, facing on Court square, and to please Mr. Bowles it was arranged one day that an empty frame should be placed in a remote and somewhat shaded corner of the studio. Behind this William Bliss was placed in tableau, and Mr. Bowles invited in to view the new portrait. The visitor was wonderfully impressed, and finally when Mr. Bliss stepped aside and left the frame empty, Mr. Bowles threw his hands across his breast and sighed deeply.

It may be mentioned by way of church activities that the Baptist meeting-house was dedicated Sept. 12, 1832. In that year was held a convention of the Baptist denomination of Massachusetts in the new Baptist church, one hundred and eighty churches being represented. Rev. Dwight Ives was ordained pastor of the First Baptist Church, in January, 1836, Rev. Dr. Davis, of Hartford, preaching the sermon. In October, 1836, Rev. Simeon Howard Calhoun was ordained at the First Church as an evangelist preparatory to his duties in Greece and the Holy Land. Christ Church (Episcopal) was christened April 1, 1840, and on the following day Mr. Henry W. Lee was installed rector, Rev. Dr. Stone, of Boston, preaching the sermon.

In the autumn of 1833 a new school building for the Centre District was completed. It was situated "near the foot of State street." The old building was bought by Philip Wilcox and fitted up for a tin factory. The Misses M. and N. Holland were teaching a young ladies' seminary at this time, and Mrs. A. P. Curtis was principal of the Springfield Female Academy. The school-house belonging to the armory was burned in January, 1840.

The fire department was in a flourishing condition. In October, 1837, there was a grand muster with five engines, one hundred and sixty-two men, and one thousand three hundred and seventy feet of hose, not counting the Independent Fire Club. The engines were tested on Liberty square, when they proceeded to Court square. By the use of two engines hose was run to the balustrade at the foot of the spire of Dr. Osgood's church and a stream of water thrown ten feet above the old rooster. The annual festival of the Springfield Fire Department took place Jan. 2, 1838, one hundred and seventy-five sitting down at the Hampden Coffee-house table: George Colton presided, and Col. I. Goodman, E. Hitchcock, F. M. Carew, and Samuel Bowles acted as vice-presidents.

In 1835 the Springfield Light Infantry organized as follows: Edward Rowland, Jr., captain; William W. Orne, lieutenant; George Dwight, ensign; Nathaniel Lombard, orderly sergeant; R. T. Safford, S. B. Hodgett, and Dwight Smith, sergeants. The following year Lieut. George Dwight was elected captain, Capt. E. Rowland having been appointed division inspector. R. T. Safford was elected first lieutenant and Edward D. Chapin ensign. A brigade muster followed in this town a few weeks later, eleven companies being present, under command of General West. The column was reviewed on Walnut street by Major-General Moseley, and by Governor Everett in the afternoon. The artillery and the light infantry had another gala day in September, 1837. They were out one thousand strong. Artillery was represented by companies from West Springfield, Monson, Westfield, and Belchertown, Colonel

Gorham in command; and the infantry and riflemen came in from West Springfield, Longmeadow, Brimfield, Ware, and Ludlow, and were commanded by Colonel E. Parsons. Captain Dwight's light infantry (Springfield) were said to have taken the palm.

CHAPTER XIX.

1841-1852.

Maj. Edward Ingersoll. — Colonel Ripley. — Military Superintendents. — Protest of the Armors. — Charles Stearns. — Col. Roswell Lee. — The "Stearns Riot." — Long Litigations. — Politics. — Ashmun's Defence of Webster. — Liquor Licenses. — Arrival of John Quincy Adams's Body. — Ashmun's Public Career. — The Thompson Riots. — Eliphalet Trask's Position. — Erasmus D. Beach. — John Mills again. — Chapman as a Statute-Maker. — Railroads. — Visit of Charles Dickens. — More River Steamboats. — The Fire of 1844. — Real-Estate Changes. — Proposal for a City Charter. — Deaths of N. P. Ames, David Ames, and Dr. Peabody. — Newspapers. — Churches. — Removal of the Old Cemetery. — Jenny Lind. — New Business Enterprises. — Militia. — The New City.

MAJ. EDWARD INGERSOLL was appointed paymaster and keeper of the military stores at the United States Armory in May, 1841, in the place of Maj. Charles Howard, who had held the place for twelve years. Ingersoll is the son of John Ingersoll, of Westfield, who for so many years filled the position of clerk of the courts, and died in 1840. He had grown up in Springfield as a lad, tending school, driving cows for his father up Main street, then learning business over the counter of Reynolds & Morris. He has a rare faculty of observation and a regular antiquarian memory; we may here pay him the tribute of having furnished for modern local writers more color and diverting incidents, probably, than any other citizen now living. His touches are on many of these pages, as he has been a never-failing source of information as to what he has seen or heard from men now long gathered to their fathers.

Major Ingersoll became paymaster at the armory at a very critical time in its history, and it may be said that his good judgment and considerate actions had much to do with the restoration of a better

feeling between the armory administration and the citizens of Springfield. This was the year also when Col. J. W. Ripley was made superintendent. There was almost immediately a loud call for Ripley's removal. His discipline was of the strict military order, and regulations like forbidding the reading of books or newspapers in the shops during working hours occasioned bitter resentment. The armorers, in fact, objected to a military man on general principles. This unpopularity of a whig superintendent delighted the loco focos; and well they might feel pleased, for the disaffection was great enough to bring about a draw in the November elections for representatives, the whig abolitionists contributing to this result by running a "liberty" ticket. The political confusion had been increased by the failure of the whigs, in April, to elect town officers. There were no less than four tickets in the field, — whig, loco foco, independent, and abolition.

In the spring of 1842 the armorers sent a committee to Washington to protest against the "system of military superintendence." The claim was made at that time that not only the discipline of the men had deteriorated, but that it was less economical to place a military man over the armory. There had been an uncordial feeling in the armory toward the army officers, running back to 1833, when an application for more wages for the armorers was referred to a commission of three armory officers, which promptly recommended a reduction of wages. This recommendation was not followed. During the sickness of Colonel Lee, in 1833, Lieutenant-Colonel Talcott had a short trial as superintendent, and his \$12.31 musket and \$15,000 deficit did not aid the cause of military superintendency very much. In 1834 a civilian, John Robb, paid off the old debt, made a musket for \$11.05, and showed a surplus at the close of the year. In 1835 the musket was reduced to \$10.94, and when he was superseded, in 1841, he had a surplus of \$42,000. The return to a military superintendency had been recommended by the Board of Ordnance, of which Lieutenant-Colonel Talcott was president.

Colonel Ripley showed little disposition to mend the breach of good feeling between the two factions, and when Amadon, Foster, and Hopkins, the committee of protesting armorers who had been sent to Washington, returned, they were promptly discharged. About forty armorers were sent away in a bunch, and at one time the shops were closed. Some one hundred and fifty men were compelled to seek employment elsewhere. The bitter feeling was increased by the circulation of an unproven report that Ripley asked N. P. Ames & Co. not to employ discharged armorers, and there were many of them at that time. Piece-workmen were immediately exchanged for time-hands at \$1.75 per day. The reason for this was simply a matter of economy. Piece-workmen would save in a month wages for two months, and lock the work in their drawers. They were able by this means to be absent two weeks at a time, their names appearing on the pay-rolls just the same. Under civil rule the men often worked only from three to five hours, when they would hasten off to their farms or homes. When military rule was fairly established, some men earned more money per month at twelve and one-half cents, piece price, than they had formerly earned at thirty-three cents per piece, because they were obliged to work stated hours.

The contest broadened out into a fight between army men and civilians generally, and a local paper remarked: "The officers of the army all over the country are banded together by a sort of Free Mason tie, contracted at the West Point Academy to carry out the schemes of their leaders."

The nomination by the whigs of Charles Stearns for one of the Hampden senators, in 1842, may be considered evidence of the heat of the armory disaffection, he being an implacable foe to military superintendencies. The county vote defeated him, however, and Asa Lincoln and Reuben Champion were elected.

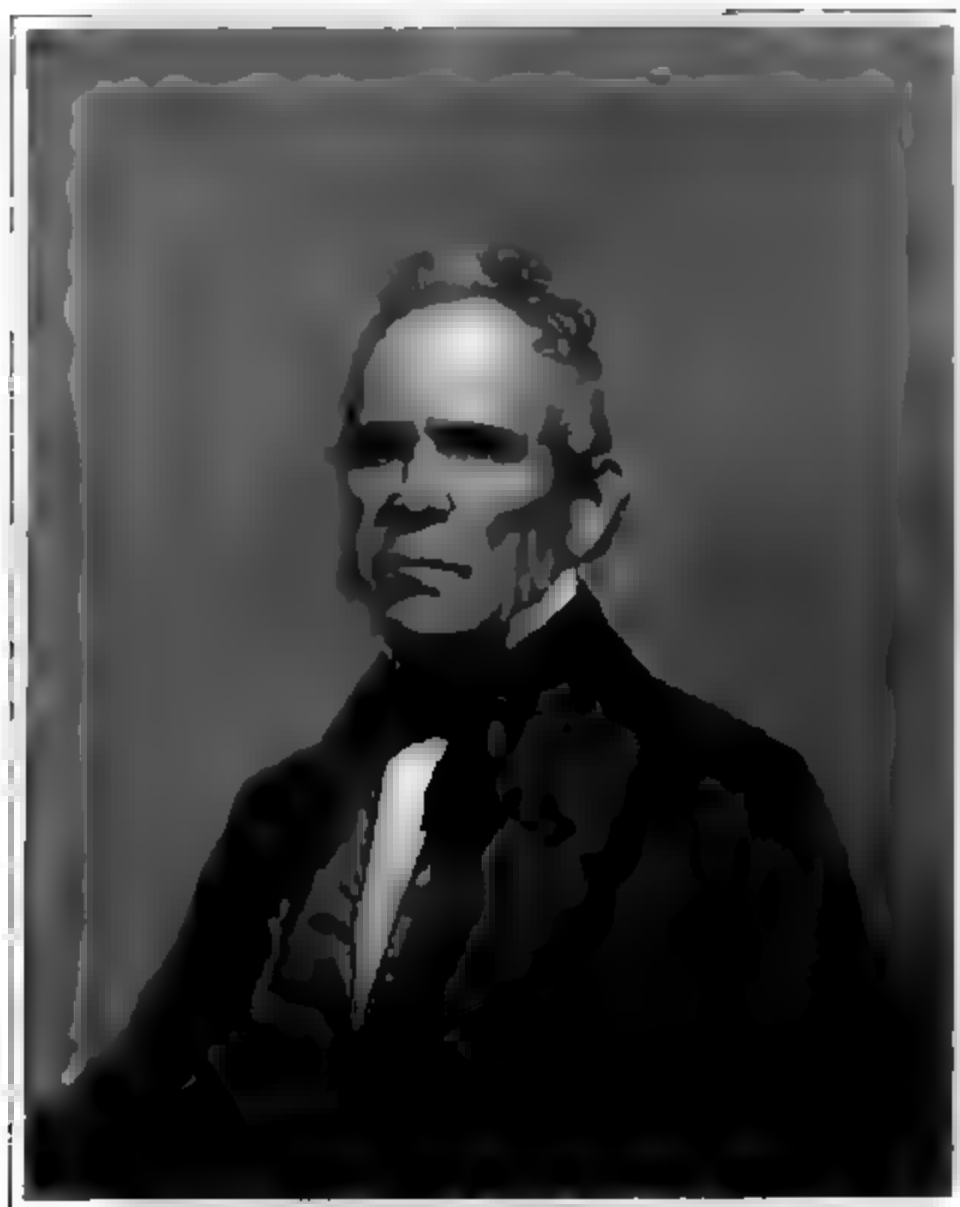
Until the appointment of Colonel Lee at the armory, it may be said the armorers were in the main unmarried or transient men. Colonel Lee, however, induced many to build houses for them-

selves. The character of the men improved under both Lee and Robb. They became inventors, were even elected to the Legislature, and filled a large place in Springfield town. The change from practical gunsmiths to ordnance officers could not fail to make trouble, and many of the old armorers were very exasperating in their manners. They avoided the order against smoking by puffing their pipes in the stove, claiming that they were not smoking in the shops. Such men were given their walking-papers in short order. A strenuous effort was made in 1843 and 1844 to get these men reinstated, and Charles Stearns even went to Washington to see what could be done there for them. One of the arguments used was that many of these armorers, under the belief that their places were permanent, had made valuable inventions, and given their ideas to the government without a thought of pay. When Mr. Stearns returned he had an unsatisfactory interview with Colonel Ripley, who was accused of extravagance in pulling down the superintendent's residence and putting up a better one. He was taken to task also for clearing away several small buildings rented to armorers. Talcott, lieutenant-colonel of ordnance at Washington, was a firm friend of Colonel Ripley, and put aside the protests as the interference of civilians in military matters. A communication signed by Chauncey Shepard, Charles A. Bartlett, Thomas S. Williams, and John D. Lord was circulated on the heels of this little fight, certifying to the fact that the superintendent's house was old and rotten, and that it was wise to pull it down. Charles Stearns felt called upon to respond, and the quality of the timbers and foundation-stones of the superintendent's house became an issue of prime moment.

The bitter feeling was increased, in January, 1845, by a side issue, — a trial in the United States court at Boston. A strip of ground on Prospect street (since discontinued and now a part of the armory grounds on the west side) had been bought by Charles Stearns of Col. Israel E. Trask in 1827. This strip ran from Byers street due east, and abutted on the then Prospect street, which ran south to

State street, parallel to Byers street. A United States engineer, in surveying the United States lands, found that Prospect street belonged to the government, and Ripley, knowing that Stearns expected to cut up his land into building lots, which would be useless for that purpose unless Prospect street was kept open, put up some sheds in the middle of the street in front of Stearns's property, in order to test the question. Stearns at once ordered his workmen to tear down the buildings and the fence, and remove some lumber there deposited. Mr. Stearns began the work himself by cutting down the first fence-post. When the work was in progress, Major Ingersoll appeared and ordered the Stearns party off. Stearns replied that he thanked God he lived under the Constitution and the law, and refused to stir. Some words passed, but no personal violence was done. This was called, locally, the Stearns riot, for which he and his men were arrested and tried in Boston; verdict, not guilty. There was subsequently another trial at Boston over the title of the land, and Stearns was beaten.

The opposition to Colonel Ripley and a military superintendency culminated in February, 1846, when Adj.-Gen. R. Jones directed a court of inquiry, consisting of Gen. J. E. Wool, Lieut.-Col. N. S. Clark, and Maj. S. Cooper, to examine the charges formally presented by Joseph Lombard, Calvin Shattuck, and many others. R. A. Chapman appeared for Ripley, and ex-Senator William Eaton, of Hartford, and D. H. Dustin for the complainants. There were thirteen counts to the indictment, including the malicious discharge of faithful armorers, the employment of "reckless foreigners" for night watches, the deterioration in the quality of the gun manufactured at an increase of cost, the extravagant building of a new residence, the receiving of commutation for quarters when elegant houses were standing empty, the wanton and illegal fencing up of Prospect street, the swearing out of a warrant for the arrest of Mr. Stearns, and, finally, threatening to discharge armorers if they read certain local newspapers. There were some points of truth and right on both



J. Warriner.

sides ; that is, it was possible for men to honestly differ as to the policy of employing a practical gunsmith or a military officer to run the armory. Men who had grown gray in the service of the gun-shop resented the supervision of a military man who could not put a gun together, or even name its parts with technical accuracy. Upon the other hand, the public demands were clearly against a civilian as commander of a United States arsenal. The day-laborers in the shops had come to think that they had vested rights there. This was their mistake. Springfield had no claim upon the general government. The armory had done more for Springfield than Springfield had done for the armory. The verdict of the court of inquiry was in favor of Colonel Ripley. The Board applauded his administration, honest purpose, and "enlightened zeal for the public interest," and acquitted him "fully and honorably of all the charges."

Time has put these animosities to sleep, and the military superintendent is the adopted policy in United States armories. The cost of the Springfield musket, which, in 1841, was \$13.56, was gradually reduced until, in 1851, it was \$8.75. The average wages of the men were meantime increased from \$37.87 per month, in 1841, to \$38.85, in 1851.

In the political world Springfield had, in 1841, George Ashmun in the Speaker's chair at Boston. Col. Solomon Warriner was made postmaster in the place of Mr. Morgan, in 1842, and during that year John Mills was accused of turning federalist by voting to increase the capital stock of the Springfield Bank. Mr. Mills replied, defending corporations so long as they did not unnecessarily interfere with private enterprise. In April Mr. Mills was secretary of a protective-tariff meeting, presided over by Elijah Blake. Mills, Ashmun, and others made addresses. In 1843 Maj. Charles Howard was made State treasurer, but declined, and became a councillor. John Mills was then elected State treasurer. The regular democrats, who had been disgruntled at Mr. Mills's

business-like attitude toward banks, were by no means pleased at this selection by the Legislature.

In July, 1843, Springfield had a reminder of revolutionary times by a letter from H. A. S. Dearborn, from Roxbury. He said that on June 17, 1843, he heard a fife in the room where the Society of the Cincinnati was assembled (Boston) to observe the sixty-eighth anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, and going up to an aged man who had been playing Washington's march, the following conversation took place: "Were you a fifer in the Revolutionary War?" — "I was." — "In what corps?" — "Nixon's regiment and Nixon's brigade." — "How long did you serve?" — "Three years. I was in the campaigns in the Jerseys, and I was at the execution of Major André." — "How old are you?" — "I am in my 83d year." — "Where do you live?" — "In Springfield." — "What is your name?" — "Thaddens Ferry." For many years Thad. Ferry, with Pierpont Edwards and Major Sanborn, brother of Simon Sanborn, appeared in a carriage on the Fourth of July, these three veterans of the Revolution rousing the memories of '76 as nothing else could. "Thad." Ferry was the best fifer of his day in these parts.

John Quincy Adams lectured before the Mechanics' Lyceum in October, 1843. The most interesting feature of the visit was a dinner at Warriner's United States Hotel, Judge Morris presiding. Gen. George N. Briggs had been nominated by the whigs for governor, and the Boston "Emancipator" said that the reason William B. Calhoun was not chosen was because he was suspected of a want of fidelity to Mr. Clay. — a charge that was resented at the time. It may be noticed here that Mr. Calhoun spoke at an Irish repeal meeting at Cabotville in 1843. He said that he had advocated the cause of Poland and Greece, and for the same reason stood up for Ireland.

The rumor that Royal B. Hinman, of Hartford, was to succeed Major Ingersoll as paymaster and military storekeeper produced loud protests, not only as an injustice to the major, but because it was too evidently a move for the spoils. A loco foco meeting was held at

Union Hall to choose delegates for the State convention, and the Tyler men carried the day. Chester W. Chapin presided, and Mr. Munn, the leader of the administration faction, had little trouble in subduing the Van Burenites.

James Cristy, the Cabotville postmaster, was at this time removed without cause, to make a place for A. W. Stockwell, a loco foco lawyer and the editor of the Cabotville "Chronicle." Stockwell was defendant in a libel suit brought by T. D. Bonner, editor of a temperance paper at Stockbridge. Even the democrats were displeased at the removal of Cristy, and remonstrances went to Washington from both parties. The following week the axe fell at the Centre, Colonel Wariner, the postmaster, being superseded by Col. Harvey Chapin. The former had held the position seventeen months, greatly to the satisfaction of the public. These changes, ordered by an "accident President," by which the men who had elected him were turned into the streets, and loco foco men put in, greatly embittered the politics of that day. Locally, the "Post" had become a Van Buren organ, and the "Democrat" had weekly bouts with the "Post" over the issues inside the party lines. The attempt of the postmaster-general to compel all newspapers to be delivered by mail, and not by express or private messenger, did not mitigate the austerities of politics.

Mr. Calhoun was nominated for State senator by the whigs, but he declined, and George Bliss was substituted. The election was a draw, and was thrown into the Legislature, and Joseph M. Forward declared elected over Bliss.

On New Year's day, 1844, the local district voted the sixth time for congressman, and the whigs tried to elect Osmyn Baker, of Amherst, while Chester W. Chapin was still pushed in the interests of a bankrupt law, an anti-United-States bank, anti-high tariff, and always a simon-pure democracy. Baker ran in on a very narrow margin. The loco focos carried their county commissioners' ticket, on which was Willis Phelps, in 1844. Phelps was made chairman of the

Board. He was anti-Van Buren, however, and many of the democrats were disappointed. Charles Howard, chairman of the selectmen, was summoned (May, 1844) by the commissioners to explain why no licenses were granted to innholders, and he replied that the town had so instructed. The commissioners then decided also not to grant "approbations" to sell liquor. Howard himself believed in a limited license system, but the rest of the selectmen objected. There had been a succession of exciting town-meetings over this issue. The majority "not to approbate" was finally three hundred and eighty-eight: so that the temperance wave had swept everything before it. A citizens' committee of fifty was appointed to prosecute violators of the excise law.

The democrats had a rousing ratification meeting of the Baltimore nomination of James K. Polk at the town-hall in June, 1844. John Mills presided, and Dr. Champion headed the list of vice-presidents. Wells Lathrop, the Baltimore delegate, told how the nomination was brought about, and E. D. Beach introduced the resolutions. A few days later the whigs assembled in the same place, with George Ashmun in the chair and Mr. Vose one of the principal speakers, and ratified the Clay and Frelinghuysen ticket with no less enthusiasm. Mr. Ashmun rebuked the democrats for truckling to the slave power and the Texas party in making up the nominations at Baltimore. So the famous campaign of 1844 was inaugurated in these parts.

The Senate had no notion of swallowing the postmaster nominations. In June both Dr. Elijah Ashley and Ethan A. Clary, subsequently nominated, were rejected. Then Col. Galen Ames was nominated and confirmed. He was removed, however, and Col. Harvey Chapin confirmed. Henry Stearns, who had been appointed by Levi Lincoln inspector of the Boston Custom-house, was removed in July, 1844, for political reasons.

The great whig demonstration of western Massachusetts took place the first week in August, 1844, at Springfield. Round Hill was

transformed into a camp-ground of delegations from a hundred towns, and it was said that no less than twenty thousand people were in sight from the canvas-covered grand stand when the eloquent George Ashmun sounded the whig bugle, and Robert C. Winthrop, Rufus Choate, Daniel Webster, Horace Greeley, Daniel P. Tyler, William E. Robinson, Joseph Hoxie, and others marshalled the whig forces in telling addresses. Springfield probably had never witnessed such a day before.

The democrats responded in a mass meeting at Cabotville the next week ; A. W. Stockwell, Arthur McArthur, and others woke the echoes, and party feeling ran high. A series of meetings was held in the town-hall, and heated debates conducted between David L. Child and George Bradburn on the question whether the local abolitionists should follow Child's advice and support Clay.

The result of the elections was locally close. Polk carried Hampden county, and so did George Bancroft, who ran against Briggs for governor. But Springfield went whig in both cases. George Ashmun made a fine showing, he scoring a plurality of five hundred and more against Chester W. Chapin and others for congressman. Edmund Freeman, whig, was elected to the Legislature ; but there were four vacancies. Chester W. Chapin was subsequently elected. There was no election in the State Senate contest, — J. Abbott and Charles Stearns, whigs, and Forward and Beach, democrats. The Legislature elected Abbott and Stearns.

The loco focus had held the town offices since 1841, and the whigs now made an assault upon them in good earnest. The town meeting of April, 1845, resulted in the choice of William Dwight as moderator, and Austin Chapin, Jr., Allen Bangs, Henry Morris, Titus Amadon, and Adolphus G. Parker, all whigs, were elected selectmen. The selectmen were again instructed not to "approve" any one to sell liquor. A curious episode in party feeling was reported at this time in West Springfield, when about one hundred and forty men and women signed a paper pledging themselves to do all

their mailing business at the Springfield post-office, on account of the appointment of an objectionable postmaster.

In 1846 came the exciting debates in Congress over Mr. Webster's political status and personal character, and our brilliant George Ashmun was the most potent champion against the attack of C. J. Ingersoll. George Ashmun also made a memorable speech on the Mexican War in August, 1846. William B. Calhoun was elected as an anti-war whig State senator in November, 1846. His associate from Hampden failed, but was elected by the Legislature. This was the first time in nine years that a whig senator had been elected by the people, and Mr. Calhoun enjoyed his victory. Springfield's representatives were all whigs. — Henry Morris, Walter Warriner, George Dwight, Timothy M. Carter, and Alfred White.

George Ashmun presided over the whig State convention at Worcester in 1847, when Mr. Webster declared, amid tremendous applause, "I never have, I never shall, I never will vote for any further annexation to this country with a slave representation upon it or in it." George N. Briggs was again nominated, and William B. Calhoun was soon after again running for the State Senate. In the winter of 1848 William Dwight, one of Springfield's representatives in the Legislature, made a notable speech on the Mexican War and slavery, in which he said, "If you summon Massachusetts to conquest, to drive away freemen and put slaves in their places: if you summon her to fight under the black flag of slavery with conquest as her motto, — her heart fails her, and her arms are palsied."

George Ashmun attended the whig Philadelphia convention in 1848, and vainly tried to prevent General Taylor's nomination by working for Webster. He submitted with the better grace because the whigs of the North refused to meet the South by uniting their forces upon one man. The whigs of this section were not so ready to support a general for President, even upon a whig platform. It was the sentiment that called together the anti-Taylor convention at Worcester, in June, in accordance with a call signed by Charles

Sumner, Charles Francis Adams, E. Rockwood Hoar, Francis W. Bird, and others. Allen Bangs, of this town, was on the State committee appointed by the convention. At a mass convention of the Sixth Congressional District, at Northampton, to continue the anti-Taylor movement by sending delegates to Buffalo, some fifty Springfield citizens were present, mainly of the abolitionist stripe. John Mills, who had come out for anti-slavery measures, headed the delegation.

The whig State convention was held in September, 1848, at Worcester, George Bliss, John Howard, and Mr. Vose figuring in the proceedings. In October, Charles Sumner advocated Martin Van Buren's election as an anti-slavery candidate. Ashmun was returned to Congress and Briggs reëlected governor, and the whigs were in clover.

The county commissioners of 1847 granted thirty-six liquor licenses for Springfield, and as Hampden county was the only one in the State with licensed bars, there was much talk. Possibly this was why the various orders of temperance held their national festival in Springfield in that year, which was followed a few weeks later by lectures by John B. Gough.

The body of John Quincy Adams arrived in Springfield in the afternoon of March 9, 1848; all places of business were closed and many buildings draped. Minute guns were fired when the procession passed down Main street, and all the bells were tolled. The military companies, both local and from surrounding towns, were under the command of Colonel Shurtleff, father of Judge W. S. Shurtleff, followed by the congressional and legislative committees, members of the bar, and the clergy, fire department, armorers, and many others. The remains were placed in the broad aisle of the First Church, a funeral car having been built for it by David Smith. The congressional committees stopped at the Union House.

The frequent visits of Daniel Webster to Springfield were probably due in part to the firm friendship subsisting between him and Ashmun, Morris, and several other men of prominence here.

George Ashmun was a man whose companionship was profitable. The town was only too willing to honor him politically. He had been, as we have related, reëlected to the Legislature in 1835 and 1836. He went to the State Senate in 1838 and 1839, and returned to the House in 1841, when he became speaker. If he had given his later years to his memoirs, his incisive style, wide acquaintance, and inside knowledge of State affairs, he would have contributed to the making of a memorable volume of political and social literature. Mr. Ashmun and Daniel Webster had together faced the Southern spirit of aggression, and it was the most dramatic moment in Mr. Ashmun's life when the great Massachusetts senator showed the spirit of concession in reference to the Wilmot proviso as to slavery in Texas. How could it be otherwise with a man who said, as Ashmun did upon the floor of the House a little later (1850), in a debate on the state of the Union: "There is a spring higher up the hill which is the great fountain from which these bitter waters flow. I refer to the annexation of Texas. It was that stupendous scheme for the extension of slavery — conceived in iniquity and brought forth in sin — which fully roused the slumbering anti-slavery feelings of the Northern people"? But in the self-same speech, thus denouncing the conspiracy of slaveholders, Mr. Ashmun's regard for Daniel Webster, and his utter fearlessness of political consequences, led him to defend the senator in these words: "Whether my difference with him [Webster] upon any of the points involved is not more seeming than substantial, I leave for others to decide; but of one thing I am sure, that my tongue shall sooner cleave to the roof of my mouth than it shall join in the temporary clamor which malignity has raised against him. The insects of the hour may strive to fasten their slime-spots upon the fair disk of his fame, but they will disappear, transient as breath-stains upon a mirror. Envy, political hatred, sectional jealousy, and republican ingratitude may disturb the judgment of to-day, but the future is secure."

The friendship which the broadest statesmanship had challenged

and agreeable converse had ripened acted as the cloud that threw Mr. Ashmun into political retirement. Evidences of his power lingered, but the door of a statesmanlike career was closed upon him. Both Webster and Ashmun contributed to the disintegration of the whig party. The course of the latter reveals the impressionable phase of his character. Ashmun was forced into private life by an admiration for Webster's personality, which warped his private convictions. The late Samuel Bowles used to say in private conversation that the only man he ever felt dominate him was George Ashmun, and that the way he measured Daniel Webster was to remember that Ashmun himself had had the same feeling in the presence of the distinguished statesman. We may remark, incidentally, that Dr. Osgood was another chain linking Webster with Springfield. James Osgood, of Fryeburg, father of Dr. Osgood, was the register of deeds referred to in Mr. Webster's autobiography as having employed him. Dr. Osgood became well acquainted with Webster when the latter taught the Fryeburg Academy.

Those who only remember William B. Calhoun as the placid talker at temperance meetings or before agricultural societies, may be surprised to learn that he could fight, when put to it.

"Let us withdraw for consultation," said Mr. Calhoun, in the spring of 1851, when Town-Clerk Joseph Ingraham refused to qualify him, Governor Trask, and Theodore Stebbins as selectmen. They withdrew, and Mr. Calhoun said to the other two, "Now, I propose to tell Clerk Ingraham that if he refuse to swear us, we will go before the justice of the peace and take the oath, and if then he refuse to act as our clerk, we will choose another." Clerk Ingraham gave way.

The complications that led to this conflict are matters of history. It was during the trying hours when the village of Springfield was expiring. There may not have been any connection between the convulsions of the village and its death, but it certainly did die in a spasm. Slavery was the thought of the hour. In February, 1851,

George Thompson, the English abolitionist, who had not been allowed to speak in Faneuil Hall, Boston, was announced to address the friends of freedom in Springfield. A series of meetings had been planned. The local hostility to Thompson was by no means grounded in an anti-slavery sentiment, but in a feeling that British wisdom was not needed to settle a domestic difficulty. The town was up in arms. Thompson was burned in effigy. Unsigned handbills were circulated, exclaiming, "Is it rational, is it reasonable, is it even plausible, that George Thompson, a member of that very British Parliament whose laws have placed the masses of the English and Irish people in a position of such want and oppression that they would gladly exchange their lot for the comparative freedom of the negro slave of the South, can be aught but a paid emissary and spy of England?" Hampden Hall was shut against Thompson; Court square was made dismal with drums, fifes, bonfires, fire-crackers, and a howling mob. There was, however, a Thompson meeting held in a small hall on Sanford street the following night, and the Englishman's departure from the village was a signal for more lurid disturbances. "But what a sad, what a pitiful spectacle it was!" exclaimed Rev. George F. Simmons from his Third Congregational pulpit the following Sunday afternoon (Feb. 23, 1851). "What a mixture of the vulgar, the nonsensical, and the profane! To begin with, those burlesque figures, with which some hopeful citizens saw fit to desecrate the Sabbath, to the scandal of the gathering congregations, that they might insult a stranger and make Springfield a laughing-stock: for the rope that suspended them was round the neck of all of us, and we are still dangling in ridicule before the whole country."

The ugly feeling engendered by these troubles came to the surface at the spring elections. Eliphalet Trask had figured as a vice-president at the Thompson meeting, on Sanford street, and in spite of the hue-and-cry Mr. Trask was the only selectman chosen at the town-meeting, April 7, 1851. Two adjourned meetings were

held, accompanied by the most intense excitement, before the angry elements could come to an agreement as to the election of the rest of the selectmen. On the day of the last meeting, April 28, even the armory was closed, and a frigid stream of surly workmen was thus turned upon the town-meeting. But the staying hand of reason was upon the meeting also, and William B. Calhoun and Joel Brown were added to the list of selectmen. Mr. Brown declined to serve; but Mr. Calhoun did not, and he did his town great service by a firm and dignified bearing in an awkward situation. At a subsequent meeting Theodore Stebbins was chosen selectman, but the town failed to elect the other members. The friends of the Thompson rioters had surrounded Clerk Ingraham and induced him to refuse to administer the oath to this selectmen's board of three, but the demand of Mr. Calhoun could not be resisted. "Hold up your hands, then," said Ingraham. The oath was administered May 5.

The town-meeting called for the 19th of that month assembled, and in great excitement passed a resolution that the "attempt by three individuals to assume control of the public affairs, in direct opposition to the recorded vote of the town, is high-handed and revolutionary, and calculated to seriously embarrass the business of the town; that we deny the right of such persons to act in our behalf, and that their bold attempt can be excused only by the charitable supposition that their eagerness for office made them blind to the rights of the community and the interests of the town."

These resolutions were expunged by a subsequent town-meeting, and the three selectmen had the honor of presiding over the administration of the town affairs during the year.

The resolutions reflecting upon the select board of 1851 were unjust to Mr. Calhoun, if they referred to him as president of the board; for although a public man, and repeatedly honored with political trusts, he was for many years in direct antagonism to the local sentiment on the subject nearest his heart, — popular education, — and never used it to gain an office. Springfield must allow to Mr. Cal-

houn the distinction of sharing with Oliver B. Morris the honor of loyalty to the public schools. Ten years before, when S. S. Green, the first school superintendent in Massachusetts, had presided over the Springfield schools for one year and nine months, Calhoun had stood up in the town-meeting and faced the clamoring tax-payers, who were willing to bank up on their children's ignorance in order to pocket a few shillings tax money. Calhoun lost in the fight, and Green was allowed to go and make for himself a reputation as an educator in Rhode Island.

Erasmus D. Beach, whose prominence in the camp of the democracy we have noticed, was also making his mark at the bar. Mr. Beach was a man of fine presence, — genial, condescending, courtly, and gracious. He was a master of the arts of persuasion, receiving a client with great suavity and consideration; and his power with the jury was a mystery which much better lawyers never fully comprehended. His practice was large, and his office was always well patronized by all classes of litigants. He would listen to the statement of a case with the greatest deference, and would make a client almost feel that it was a positive delight to go to law with such an advocate to represent his interests. If a man came to him with a complicated case he would hear him through, and with a wave of the hand, or a smile of relief, he would give the impression that, after all, the case was not important enough for him to conduct, and that his partner — Gillett, or Bates, or Bond, or Stearns — could give the counsel required as well as more able jurists. As a diplomat of the office, E. D. Beach never had an equal at the Hampden bar; but he knew his limitations thoroughly enough not to appear before a bench of Supreme Court judges. He never was without a strong man as partner, to aid in conducting his large practice. These partners, while wondering at his extended practice, had the deepest respect for him. “Is His Serene Highness in?” William G. Bates would ask in the morning, and this plausible sereneness he never lost nor outgrew. When Mr. Beach bought the “Hampden Whig,” in 1835, he moved

it from the hill to the centre of the village, and changed the name to the "Hampden Post." During the nine years that it was under the management of Mr. Beach, the "Post" grew in importance and influence as the mouthpiece of the democracy for this section of the country.

Mr. Beach was a frequent candidate for local and State offices, but not until 1850 did he score an important victory. This was in the memorable campaign when the whigs were beaten by a combination of the democrats with the free-soilers. The coalition did not care so much for the governor as for the Legislature, and after Mr. Beach's election to the Senate he challenged much personal vituperation by refusing to go with other democrats into the free-soil camp and place Charles Sumner in the United States Senate. Day after day he, with a handful of irrepressible democrats, repulsed every effort to whip them into the Sumner column, and it may be said that this party devotion prevailed with Mr. Beach to the end of his career. He strikingly resembled George Ashmun in personal appearance, and was frequently mistaken for the latter upon the streets. They were occasionally pitted against each other, and while it was not a case of the two Dromios in a court-room, it would indeed have been a remarkable jury that would not have been confused by the suavity of one, the legal *finesse* of the other, and the personal magnetism of both.

Mr. Beach at one time was captain of the Springfield Home Guards, and by a curious coincidence he appeared at the head of this noted organization to do escort duty at a Fourth of July celebration, while his law partner, Ephraim Bond, headed the Light Infantry, which Colonel Thompson had long commanded. This legal firm made a fine appearance as leaders of Springfield's crack companies, and they were the subject of many humorous remarks.

When a loan of \$2,000,000 was proposed, in 1851, for the purpose of tunnelling the Hoosac mountain, Mr. Beach made a very thorough calculation, and showed how small was the amount for the proposed

work, and he was able to forecast very accurately the financial burden involved in such a venture. In speaking of the claims of the Troy & Greenfield road, which sought the credit of the State for \$2,000,000, in order that it might cut a tunnel in from three to five years, Mr. Beach characterized the scheme as thus presented "a wild one, — baseless and visionary as the dreams of childhood."

In John Mills was a democrat of a different stamp from that of E. D. Beach. Schooled to democratic politics, often a standard-bearer with hopeless majorities against him, even accounted worthy to contest a seat in the United States Senate against Daniel Webster, and looked up to as a pillar of the western Massachusetts democracy, he suddenly turned about, in 1848, and advocated a free-soil policy more radical, probably, than even his whig foes would accept. At that early day the men of the Horace Greeley stamp were not prepared to come out in a third-party movement like that which gathered about Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams, not perhaps because they were not as strong in anti-slavery sentiment, but because they had not given up the hope that the work of the great whig fight was ended. The third-party experiment was a perilous one, and it was at this juncture that Charles Sumner withdrew from the whig ranks and joined the free-soilers. Sumner made a memorable speech at Boston before the free-soil convention over which Mr. Mills presided, in September, 1848. This was a few months after the national convention at Buffalo had nominated Van Buren and Adams. The whigs nominated Taylor and Fillmore, as we have seen, and the regular democratic candidate was General Cass. The free-soil ticket for governor was S. C. Phillips, and for lieutenant-governor, John Mills, who was the unanimous choice of the convention. The friendship between Sumner, the whig, and Mills, the democrat, meeting as they did from opposite sides upon the common and inspiring ground of free soil, is worthy of mention. Mr. Mills must have been gratified at the showing of the new party, so far as Springfield was concerned.

At the gubernatorial election Springfield had stood: Whigs, 3,272; democrats, 3,209; while at the November election Taylor polled 3,302; Cass, 3,060; Van Buren, 1,200. And this was in the face of a remarkable series of political orations which the brilliant George Ashmun had delivered through this part of the State. Mr. Mills was an extensive speaker himself, but the demand for him in the eastern part of the State weakened his home canvass.

Sumner wrote the following letter to Mr. Mills, dated Boston, Nov. 19, 1850: "Can't you come to the House of Representatives at Boston this winter? We all feel that your presence would add much to our strength and character. You have already, I know, made sacrifices for our cause; but I have thought that you might serve in our supreme court without any serious inconvenience, while the good to be derived from such service would be incalculable. We need wise, discreet, and just counsels; and I know no person who can give them better than yourself. Our party must now meet the trials of success, which are more dangerous than those of defeat." Mr. Mills obeyed the summons, but owing to a deadlock the town was not represented in the Legislature for two or three years.

Henry Wilson, the Natick shoemaker, another free-soiler destined to rise to senatorial distinction, was another personage that Mr. Mills came in contact with at this time. In his "History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America" Mr. Wilson refers to Mr. Mills as a man "who had long been one of the honored and trusted leaders of the democratic party."

In accordance with a legislative resolution, in 1849, Governor Briggs appointed B. R. Curtis, of Boston, N. J. Lord, of Salem, and Mr. Chapman to draw up a practice act for the courts of justice of the Commonwealth, except for criminal cases. The rules of practice had become involved. No uniform principle was discoverable in the various acts of the Legislature on this subject. At the foundation was the old common-law pleading. Thirteen

years before special pleas in bar had been abolished, but general demurrers, pleas in abatement, writs of error, and other intricate and time-consuming contrivances under the old system were retained. As the commissioners in the report accompanying their draught of a practice act say, he who "surveys what remains, sees every plaintiff left to inhabit the old building, while all others are turned out-of-doors. We seem to be walking for a short distance in the ancient but strongly-built streets of an open town, and all at once to step into the open fields, having here and there a piece of sunken fence or a half-filled-up ditch and some ruins of broken walls, which afford excellent lurking-places for concealment and surprise, but no open highway for the honest traveller." The task of Mr. Chapman and his associates was to build a highway through this ancient legal landscape. How well they succeeded, the unanimous vote of the Legislature adopting their practice act fully attests. It is understood by lawyers that the hand of Mr. Chapman is seen in the blanks or practical forms that constitute a part of the act. The importance of this move of Massachusetts was that it was the initiative in New England towards a reform in procedure, and went upon ground which even New York had not then occupied.

In February, 1842, George Bliss resigned the office of agent of the Western Railroad, and was soon afterwards chosen its president. The completion of the independent road of the Albany & West Stockbridge Company, between Chatham Four Corners and the State line, enabled the Western Company to dispense with the Hudson & Berkshire road. The Western bridge over the Connecticut was considered quite an engineering feat. It had seven spans, one hundred and eighty feet each. It was a covered bridge. The heavy Winans engines had too high chimneys for some of the bridges on the road, and they were lowered, but as this reduced the draught, the lower bridges were raised.

In 1844 the Hartford & Springfield Railroad was opened, joining Springfield with New York, — rail to New Haven and thence by



R. A. Chapman

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steamboat. In 1845 George Bliss declined a reelection as director of the Western road on account of ill-health, and Addison Gilmore was elected president; and he was succeeded, in 1850, by John Gardner, and a year later by Capt. William H. Swift. In March, 1847, the old passenger-house was burned and was replaced by a brick station, four hundred feet by one hundred and thirteen. The shares in the Western Railroad were thus held in 1849: In Boston, 1,095; Roxbury, 43; Charlestown, 42; New York, 11; Springfield, 209; and elsewhere, 549. The Connecticut River road was also well under way. By the consolidation of the Northampton & Springfield Railroad Company and the Greenfield & Northampton Company, the Connecticut River Railroad Corporation was formed in 1845. The road was opened to Greenfield in 1846. The fourth annual report (1849) showed that it was completed to the Vermont line; length, fifty-two miles; total cost to that date, \$1,588,874. The road was originally a Northampton enterprise, but was absorbed by Springfield capitalists.

The railroad era had given Springfield a genuine business boom. In 1840 agriculture was in a flourishing condition, as appears from these statistics: Springfield, — acres cultivated, 6,369; produce, — wheat, 285 bushels; rye, 29,184; corn, 27,095; oats, 18,125; and tons of hay, 2,537.

In the winter of 1842 the wooden buildings opposite Court square, owned by John Childs and George Dwight, and occupied by A. C. Cole & Co., tailors, and Covell & Goodwin, druggists, were burned. It was a big fire, but if it had not been for the admirable work of the fire department it would have been bigger.

Charles Dickens passed through Springfield a month later. Adin Allen, the noted river pilot, piloted the steamer "Massachusetts," in which Mr. Dickens took passage. It was the first trip of the season. Mr. Sargeant suggested to Mr. Dickens that as the roads were bad he had better go by steamer. Accordingly, Mr. Sargeant asked "Kit" Stebbins to captain the "Massachusetts" and Adin Allen to

pilot her. The "Massachusetts" was the largest of the boats then built. It could not go through the canal, and as the canal was still covered with ice it would not have done to send any boat but the "Massachusetts." The "Massachusetts" had a high ladies' cabin built up on the rear of the deck; the steersman stood on top of this cabin (which accounts for Dickens's impression as to the insecurity of the steamer), and Mr. Allen was stationed at the bow while shooting the rapids, and the rest of the time he was in the cabin. When they reached Hartford Mr. Dickens asked Pilot Allen if he chewed tobacco, and a few days later Allen received a package from Dickens enclosing a tobacco-box.

B. M. Douglas, who was an active boatman of that day, and who is occasionally seen nowadays upon the streets of Springfield, describes Mr. Dickens's personal appearance as follows: "The lightweight Englishman wore a swallow-tail snuff-colored coat, short red and white figured vest that was not long enough to reach his pantaloons, which latter were of the true Yankee check, and looked as though they had been bought from a North-street Jew shop in Boston. Another thing I remember, and that was his short, bell-crowned hat."

We might remark here that two years before the visit of Dickens the steamboat "Greenfield" had exploded near South Hadley Falls, killing two men and wounding several others.

The boilers of the "Greenfield" and "Agawam" were made on Mill River by Mr. Lancy, who was killed at South Hadley Falls when the former boat exploded. Still another boat, the "James Dwight," was built by Charles Stearns, at the foot of State street. This boat, in making a return trip from Hartford, hit a rock at the head of the falls. Help was procured from Thompsonville, and Dr. Osgood, Mr. Stearns, and others waded into the water and worked the boat off with levers. Samuel Bowles was on board, with a new font of type for the "Republican."

This was the period, also, of the underground railroad. Mysteri-

ous bands of fugitive slaves were continually passing up the Connecticut valley on their way to Canada. Dr. Osgood's kind offices in furthering this scheme have been referred to. The negroes usually travelled at night, and were sheltered by true and tried friends during the day. The houses of Dr. Osgood, Joseph C. Buell, John Howland, Mr. Church, and others were used as stations of the underground railroad. In 1847 Osgood, Calhoun, Rufus Elmer, and a local negro preacher secured a house situated in the woods at Brightwood, for the shelter of fugitives. Parties had unloaded by night in the Worthington grove, and taken to the Buell house (the Widow Frost place, corner of Spring and State streets) or other houses; but this was considered a dangerous practice, and they were finally sent to the woods of the North End. The negroes never knew the names of the men at whose houses they slept. Mr. Buell was the preacher at the jail for many years.

The population of Springfield in 1843 was 10,985. Among the business events of that year was the opening of the Massasoit Hotel, in July, Mr. Chapin receiving many congratulatory visits, and a good house-warming followed. The Springfield House (corner of Bridge and Water streets), owned by Charles Stearns and leased by Bugbee & Clark, was opened the following year. The Dwight Manufacturing Company had been incorporated in 1841, with a capital of half a million. Some years later it was consolidated with the Cabot Manufacturing Company and the Perkins Mills, making it the largest cotton-mill company in the Connecticut valley.

The public schools were not in the best condition, one would say, when, in 1843, the average attendance was only seventeen hundred out of three thousand children who ought to have been at school. While the town was spending \$10,000 annually upon their schools, they were so bad that no less than one hundred scholars were sent to private schools, at an extra expense of over \$2,000.

On October 13, 1844, Springfield was visited by another destructive fire, which broke out in the shop of E. T. Amadon, in the Frost building

(Main and Sanford streets), and five buildings, including eight stores and shops, were consumed; losses, \$25,000, including Daniel Bontecou's frame building, Main street, in which were Briggs & Forward, dry goods; Smith & Taylor, printers; Cowles & Lombard, barbers and fancy goods; and T. L. Clark, tailor: Joshua Frost's frame building, corner of Main and Sanford streets, in which were Palmer & Clark, ready-made clothing; J. L. Skinner, printer; and William B. Hancock, tailor: Daniel Bontecou's brick building, Sanford street, in which were Henry Adams's meat market and Willis Phelps's wool-room: Dr. Chauncey Brewer's wooden building, Main street, in which were H. & J. Brewer, druggists: Justin Lombard estate's frame building, in which were Rufus Elmer, boots and shoes; F. R. Rider, shoemaker; Simons & Kibbe, confectioners. The buildings of Elijah Blake, Cicero Simons, and Raynolds & Morris were also damaged. The fire spread because there was no water in the town brook, a mill-owner above having shut it off during the night in order to get water for the day. Before the gates were opened the fire had become serious. Three or four small fires that followed led to the general belief that a fire-bug was at work. The armory barracks had been burned in 1842. But these fires seemed to stimulate enterprise. The population passed the fourteen-thousand mark in 1845, which was an increase of over thirty per cent. in five years. The open pastures on the east side of Main street were being filled up. The seven streets open from Main street to the river in 1838 had increased to eighteen by 1845. Chestnut street had been continued through from Bridge street. The burned district had been covered with brick buildings. Cabotville and Chicopee Falls were growing rapidly, and Springfield was being called a "city-like town." There were twenty-two churches, — ten at the Centre. The Dwight & Orne building (Main and Bliss streets), fitted for stores and a hotel, was one of the most conspicuous additions to the street. Mr. Byers was putting up four stores opposite the Alden House. The Brewer & Lombard block was also going up. The valuation of real estate was \$3,861,917,

and personal property, \$1,447,129, — nearly half a million increase in a year. James Byers completed Hampden Hall (opposite the Alden House) in 1846; Chauncey Shepard, architect. The Niagara Fire Company opened this, the largest hall in western Massachusetts, by a ball, in February. Elam Stockbridge completed his block in the rear of the Universalist church in 1846, and many private residences were going up.

At a meeting of School District No. 8, William Dwight, Eliphalet Trask, Simon Smith, John B. Kirkham, and Benjamin Day were appointed a building committee for a school-house on Elm street. The average wealth of Springfield was a matter of remark; the largest estate being in 1846 only \$68,000, and there were but five estates with a valuation of over \$50,000; but twelve exceeded \$40,000, twenty exceeded \$30,000, thirty-eight exceeded \$20,000, fifty-one exceeded \$15,000, and ninety-one exceeded \$10,000; total valuation, \$7,078,500, there being \$5,000,000 distributed among those having less than \$10,000. There were comparatively few poor people in Springfield.

The general condition of the town religiously was perhaps not so good, although the ministers in those days maintained sharper lines of demarcation and made more direct denominational appeals than at present. There were about eighteen hundred families in 1847, divided roughly as follows: Congregationalists, 430 families; Methodists, 250; Roman Catholics, 170; Unitarians, 130; Baptists, 112; Episcopalians, 90; Universalists, 80; Wesleyans, 20; "Come-outers," 14; Lutherans, 4; non-church-goers, 500. Negotiations had been long pending for the purchase of the water-power at Ireland parish and South Hadley Falls. This culminated in 1847, and the work of building a manufacturing city began at once. Men spoke of the "coming city" before a stroke of work had been done.

John Mills bought the Alden (Hampden) House, furnished, in 1846 for \$26,000. He had entered upon a career as real-estate owner, and was in the end crippled by these investments. Homer Foot bought

the United States Hotel property of Jeremy Warriner, in 1847, for \$19,000, and "Uncle Jerry" retired covered with laurels. He, however, could not remain long quiet, but with his brother, Lyman Warriner, took the Union House.

The question was already being asked, "Shall Springfield be a city?" and the setting up of Chicopee as a separate town also became an acute issue. When a proposal for a division was up in the town-meeting, December, 1847, Judge Oliver B. Morris made a strong plea against division. A legislative committee was in Springfield, March, 1848, and listened to arguments, both upon a division of the town and a city charter. At the April town-meeting a pitched battle was waged over division, and the final vote stood: For division, five hundred; against, seven hundred and twenty-two. The legislative committee had, however, already drawn a bill creating a new town out of Cabotville, Old Chicopee, and Chicopee Falls, although there was clearly a majority of the town against it. There were a succession of town-meetings that year, the charter of the Springfield Aqueduct Company and other matters seeming to demand special consideration. The Springfield Gas-Light Company was organized that year.

We will not linger over the struggle attending the division of the town. It was said in 1841 that ten years before Cabotville had been "a wild spot, the habitation of frogs, quails, snipes, rabbits," etc. It had now six cotton mills, eighteen operative boarding-houses, a forge and two machine-shops, the Ames Bell and Cannon Foundry, and several small mills; while the Universalists, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Unitarians, and Roman Catholics had secured lodgments there. The thirty-seven stores and shops and three thousand five hundred population were the nucleus of a village, indeed. "The Cabotville Chronicle" of that day was quite a paper. The question of division had become so heated in 1843 that at the annual meeting the town failed to elect a board of selectmen. The "Cabot folks" renewed the fight in 1844 for their section, which had five

hundred voters, three thousand nine hundred and forty-six population, and a tax-rate of \$5,000.

N. P. Ames, of Cabotville, died in the spring of 1847. He was born near Lowell in 1803. He removed to Chicopee Falls in 1829, and to Cabotville in 1834, and was one of the founders of its commercial prosperity. He visited Europe in 1840 in order to study the mechanical arts for the benefit of the Ames Manufacturing Co., and returned broken in health. He was a dignified, affable, and generous man, and was an active church-member. He gave \$5,000 to build a Congregational church. Among other deaths during this period may be mentioned those of Justin Lombard, October, 1841; Samuel Bowles, founder of the "Weekly Republican," September, 1851; John Howard, lawyer, 1849; and Moses Bliss, merchant, 1849.

The division of the town came in 1848 by a decree of the General Court, and the selectmen's board of Springfield was reorganized as follows: Solomon Hatch, William E. Montague, Philo F. Wilcox, Waitstill Hastings, and E. W. Bond.

The committee of the two towns appointed to divide the property of the original town decided that the surplus revenue was to be divided on the valuation of the two towns, giving Springfield sixty-one per cent. and Chicopee thirty-nine per cent. Chicopee got a little larger share of the school fund and property. The debts of the old town aggregated \$20,000, and Chicopee made a point, as \$8,000 of this was for the two new bridges over the Chicopee river. Springfield took the town farm, town hall, etc., except the old safe, which was to remain with the Springfield town clerk for the preservation of the old records.

But the town, reduced in territory as it was, seemed as gay and full of business and pleasure as it ever was. Trade was good, and we notice that the following January (1849), in one week the Niagara Fire Company had a ball at Hampden Hall; the Campbell minstrels followed; Eastcott gave a musical soirée at Concert Hall, Foot's block; while J. H. Green, the reformed gambler, exposed the secrets

of the profession in so adroit a manner that it is said a clergyman wanted to bet a small amount that a certain card had not changed from one hand to the other.

The introduction of gas, also, was a matter for self-felicitation. "We shook off our suburbs," one man remarked, "and now Springfield is in better shape for becoming a city than ever before."

David Ames died in August, 1847, at the age of eighty-six. He was born at Bridgewater, and became a manufacturer of shovels and guns, supplying both for the American army. Ames was an officer in the Revolution, and in 1794 was appointed by Washington superintendent of the national armory in Springfield. After nine years of service he became a manufacturer of paper, and, in the course of the establishment of the largest paper manufactory in the country, made many inventions and improvements, including the system of "hot pressing," which subsequently came into general use. In June, 1847, came the death of Dr. William O. B. Peabody. He was a son of Oliver Peabody, of Exeter, N.H., twin brother of Rev. Oliver B. W. Peabody, of Burlington, Vt., was graduated from Harvard in 1816, and, as we have said, settled in Springfield in 1820.

Two years later Edmund Dwight, of Boston, died. He was a large owner of the factories at Cabotville and Chicopee Falls, and was one of the first to take up the project of starting a new city at Hadley Falls. He was born at Springfield, was brother of Jonathan Dwight, represented Springfield in the Legislature several years, and was a substantial friend of the Western Railroad.

As to newspapers, it may be noted that the "Republican" became an evening daily in 1844, the first daily paper in this part of the State. It was changed to a morning paper in 1845.

E. F. Ashley & Co. sold out the "Hampden Post" in 1843 to Alanson Hawley, and Mr. Beach retired as editor, after nearly nine years' work, and turned his attention to the law, as has been stated. The local papers at this time were: The "Republican," age, 19; "Hampden Post," age, 14; the "Gazette," age, 12 years; "Cabotville

Chronicle," age, 4 years; "Independent Democrat," age, 2 years; "Hampden Washingtonian," age, 1 year; and the "Olive Leaf" (Cabotville). There were about one hundred and twenty-five papers in Massachusetts at this time. The "Semi-weekly Sentinel" appeared in February, 1847, published by Hawley & Tenney, and edited by Alanson Hawley, of the "Hampden Post;" politics, democratic. William L. Smith began editing the "Post" February, 1848. He started life in the very pit of political contention, never deserted a friend or quailed before an enemy, was honest and capable, and lived to preside over the city of Springfield and to enjoy an age of honorable repose.

Pynchon-street Methodist church was built in 1845. It was dedicated in March, the sermon being preached by Rev. Dr. Olin, president of Wesleyan University. It is to be noted that Dr. Osgood made the concluding prayer. The Baptist church, corner of Main street and Harrison avenue, was completed in 1847, at a cost of \$14,000. In this year, also, Dr. Samuel G. Buckingham began a forty years' pastorate over the South Church. He, as much as any minister known to Springfield, reflected the virtues and softened the austerities of Puritanism. The South Church had been organized in 1842 by thirty-four members of the First Church. The edifice was on Bliss street, and Rev. Noah Porter, Jr., was pastor. It was in 1847, also, that Rev. Mr. Porter preached his farewell sermon at the South Church on Bliss street, and left Springfield to assume the duties of Professor of Moral Philosophy at Yale College.

The high school was completed in 1848, at a cost of \$10,000, the building committee being William Dwight, Chester W. Chapin, Eliphalet Trask, Josiah Hooker, Simon Smith, and Samuel Raynolds; architect, Josiah Allen. Judge Morris denounced the high school as a "palace," but he became reconciled to it. The Springfield Young Men's Institute, which had been an informal association, was incorporated in 1847, and these officers chosen: President, John Mills; vice-presidents, Ariel Parish, E. D. Beach, and Henry Morris; corre-

sponding secretary, E. W. Bond; recording secretary, Samuel Bowles, Jr.

The Hampden House was repaired in 1845 by O. M. Alden, and the name changed to the Alden House. The new hotel below the depot (Pynchon House), built by Chester W. Chapin and kept by Mr. Jennings, was called the City Hotel, in anticipation of a charter.

The work of removing the old cemetery was completed in 1848, under the supervision of Elijah Blake. Some women formed an association in October, 1840, to raise money to be devoted to the project of opening a new cemetery. They opened a fair in September, 1841. Both town and Masonic halls were secured for the exhibition of fancy articles, which were contributed by people of all denominations and classes. The gross receipts were \$1,300, and thus netting over \$1,100.

The concert of Jenny Lind, in July, 1851, is still treasured as one of the happy memories of Springfield. Dr. Osgood's church was filled with music-lovers, and those who had gone to Boston to hear her pronounced her vocalization quite as good as it had been there. She was entertained by a brother of Solomon Warriner, on Howard street. Mr. Goldschmidt, whom she married shortly afterwards, was her accompanist. The school children marched in procession to the Warriner house, just east of Mr. Charles Merriam's residence, and the distinguished singer appeared upon the balcony and acknowledged their attention by bowing.

It was not until 1851 that the directors of the Western Railroad ordered a new depot, but they appropriated the then fabulous sum of \$50,000. Chester W. Chapin, once a driver of an ox-team, as was Willis Phelps, had, by 1851, become the wealthiest man in Springfield. He was president of the Connecticut River Railroad, and had fully George Bliss's faith in Springfield as a railroad centre. As a matter of curiosity we add a few names in the order of worldly possession, as appears by the assessors' books: Chester W. Chapin, James Byers, George Bliss, Jonathan Dwight, James Barnes, M. and E. S. Chapin,

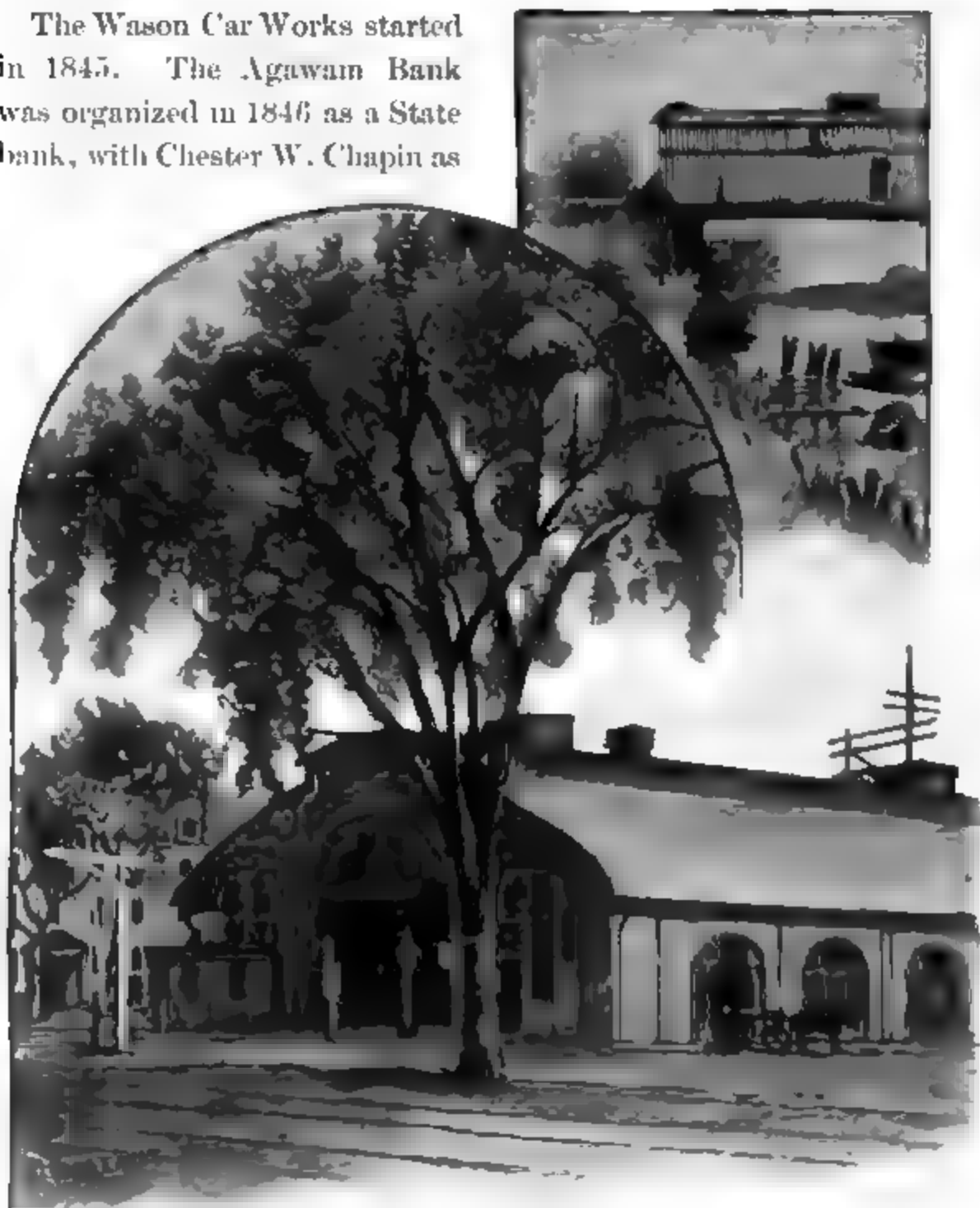


Sept 7 1881

Truly Yours
C W Chapman

George Dwight, Estate David Ames, John Mills, Philo P. Wilcox, John Child, William Howe, James Brewer, Homer Foot, Thomas Bond, Daniel L. Harris, Charles G. Rice, Frederick Dwight, Eliphalet Trask, and so on.

The Wason Car Works started in 1845. The Agawam Bank was organized in 1846 as a State bank, with Chester W. Chapin as



DEPOT AND OLD RAILROAD BRIDGE.

president, in which year also Chicopee was connected with Springfield by telegraph. In 1849 the Springfield Fire and Marine Insurance Company was incorporated, and the year following the John Hancock Bank was organized as a State bank. The Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company was incorporated in 1851, and Caleb Rice chosen president.

In 1850 the temperance men elected their county commissioners, consisting of N. T. Leonard, Melvin Copeland, and William V. Sessions, and also their special commissioners, L. F. Newton and Elizur Bates. N. T. Leonard was made chairman. The old board of commissioners (democratic) caused a great excitement by issuing liquor licenses for one year upon the last day of their term of office, and there was thunder all round the horizon.

The annual April town-meeting did not work smoothly. After the election of Joseph Ingraham, as usual, for clerk and treasurer, and Dr. Osgood as a member of the school committee, it was impossible to go any further, except for minor positions. On the 22d two assessors and seven constables were chosen (whigs), and for the purpose of filling the list a town-meeting was appointed for April 26. The locos, the free-soilers, and the independents ran separate tickets. On the 26th in question, sharp at 12, the appointed hour, a loco foco moved an adjournment without day before the whigs had assembled. Charles Beach was in the chair, and as the motion was carried by four majority, the meeting was declared adjourned. By this stroke the loco foco selectmen of 1849 held over. Application was at once made to the Legislature for power to hold a special town-meeting in May. The General Court met the case by passing a general bill authorizing town elections as late as May. A citizen ticket was at once made up, John Mills being nominated as moderator, and Ephraim W. Bond heading the list of selectmen. The locos nominated a select board, with E. D. Beach at the head. It was a pretty exciting time, party feeling running high. The result was a loco foco victory, the board being:

Ephraim W. Bond (citizen), E. D. Beach (loco), Oliver B. Bannou (citizen), Simon Sanborn (loco, or some called him liberal whig), and Henry Gray (loco). The locos thus had a majority of the board in a ballot larger than any in the history of the town. The whigs were utterly taken aback, while hundreds of loco focos marched through the streets that night shouting the cry of victory. Henry Gray was superintendent of the Western Railroad, and the cry of "corporation influence" was at once raised.

The census of 1850 put the figure for Springfield down at 11,330, showing that it had made no progress since 1848, when the division left a population of 11,328. Of these, in the 1850 census, about one hundred resided on the United States ground, and two hundred and forty-three were colored. The total valuation was \$4,734,050.

Springfield figured prominently in the Webster convention, in November, 1851, at Boston. Henry Vose was temporary chairman, and Ansel Phelps, Jr., chairman of the committee on permanent organization. George Ashmun was made president of the convention, Vose, permanent secretary, and George Bliss was on the committee to prepare an address to the people giving Mr. Webster's claims to the presidency. It was indeed a curious spectacle for a convention; but after the delegates had given nine cheers for Webster, and then for George Ashmun, they added three for the ancient and honorable town of Springfield.

The annual militia reviews were continued during this period. These were famous occasions, next to the Fourth itself, the country companies marching in their best style. How the country looked on these occasions is seen by this passage from Hyde's interesting History of Brimfield: —

"Occasionally the militia companies went as far as Springfield or Hatfield for a grander military display. If, on the march, the toll-gate keeper demurred at giving free passage, the captain had but to say, 'Men, do your duty.' At the word, Hiram Gleason, Warren Nelson, Silas Parker, and Hiram Powers would lift the gate bodily

out of its place, and the company would pass on. These Samsons of Brimfield were equally ready to fight the Philistines in Springfield who jeered at their up-country ways as to carry off the gates that barred their march."

The Hampden County Agricultural Society was chartered in 1844. The St. Paul's (Universalist) Church was built on Main street in 1844, and that year, also, the Trinity Methodist Church was organized, — the Asbury Chapel congregation being transferred there. The place of worship on Pynchon street was dedicated the following year. The North Church was organized in 1846, St. Benedict's (Roman Catholic) Union-street Church was christened in 1847, the Catholic cemetery. Liberty street, opened, and the Baptist church edifice built on Main street. The First Congregational (Evangelical religion) Society of Indian Orchard was organized in 1848. Dr. A. N. Littlejohn, afterward Bishop of Long Island, was made rector of Christ Episcopal Church in 1850.

When, in 1852, it was found that the population of Springfield had reached 12,498, the call for a city charter became irresistible, and at a special meeting, in March, Henry Vose, S. C. Bemis, John Mills, George Dwight, and Henry Gray were chosen to make application for the charter. It was promptly granted, and at a special meeting, April 21, 1852, the town adopted the act according to law by a vote of 969 to 454, and the deed was done.

CHAPTER XX.

1852-1860.

The New City. — Ansel Phelps, Jr. — New Buildings upon Main Street. — The Growth of Holyoke. — Labor Troubles. — The Boston & Albany Railroad. — Kossuth. — Philos B. Tyler. — Retirement of Dr. Osgood. — Gen. Whitney. — Know-nothingism. — Mayor Trask. — Dedication of the City Hall. — The Fremont Campaign. — The City Library. — The Home Exhibition of 1853. — Death of Daniel Lombard. — Panic of 1857. — Failure of the Western Bank. — George Bliss and Benjamin Butler. — Politics. — Dr. Chaffee. — Free-soil Excitement. — John Brown. — The Club. — The Dred Scott Decision and Springfield. — More Politics. — John Brown's Letter to Chapman.

ONE fine evening in May there was a great concourse of people in Howard street, where Caleb Rice lived. He had beaten William B. Calhoun by four votes in the contest for the honor of being Springfield's first mayor. The crowd called for a speech, and got one. Ansel Phelps, Jr., spoke for the crowd, and the new mayor's residence was thrown open to the public. There was no party ticket put up at this election. They were picked men. The first city government was as follows: —

Mayor, Caleb Rice; clerk and treasurer, Joseph Ingraham; aldermen, — S. S. Day, Eliphalet Trask, E. D. Beach, George Dwight, Albert Morgan, Charles G. Rice, Oliver B. Bannon, and F. A. Barton; common council, — J. B. M. Stebbins, Eleazer Ripley, John V. Jones, Warner C. Sturtevant, Francis Bates, Henry Fuller, Jr., Charles Merriam, Willis Phelps, Cicero Simons, Henry Morris, Alexander H. Avery, Benjamin F. Warner, William Hitchcock, H. Q. Sanderson, Nathaniel Cate, Henry Adams, Ezra Kimberly, and Rodney Holt; school committee, — Josiah Hooker, C. A. Winchester, A. S. McClean, George Walker, William P. Bagg, Henry Adams, Marcellus Pinney, and Frederick Holt.

This government was inaugurated on the two hundred and sixteenth anniversary of the settlement of the town. Mr. Calhoun, chairman

of the retiring and final board of selectmen, administered the oath of office to the mayor, who swore in the rest of the city government.

The mayor and aldermen were immediately confronted with the license question. The new license law went into effect on July 22, and, on motion of Eliphalet Trask, who in later times stood, and still stands, as a temperance tower of great strength, moved that licenses be granted to that date. George Bliss opposed this motion, but Mr. Trask gained his point. City Marshal Adams had his hands full before the year closed, raiding saloons and rumholes.

Petitions were circulated in this, the first year of the municipality, for the removal of Postmaster Stowe and the appointment of Charles Stearns. This was called persecution for opinion's sake, Mr. Stowe having been an active military armory superintendent advocate. Both of these gentlemen were whigs. Stearns was in Washington at the time, and upon hearing of the petition requested that his name be withdrawn, and it was.

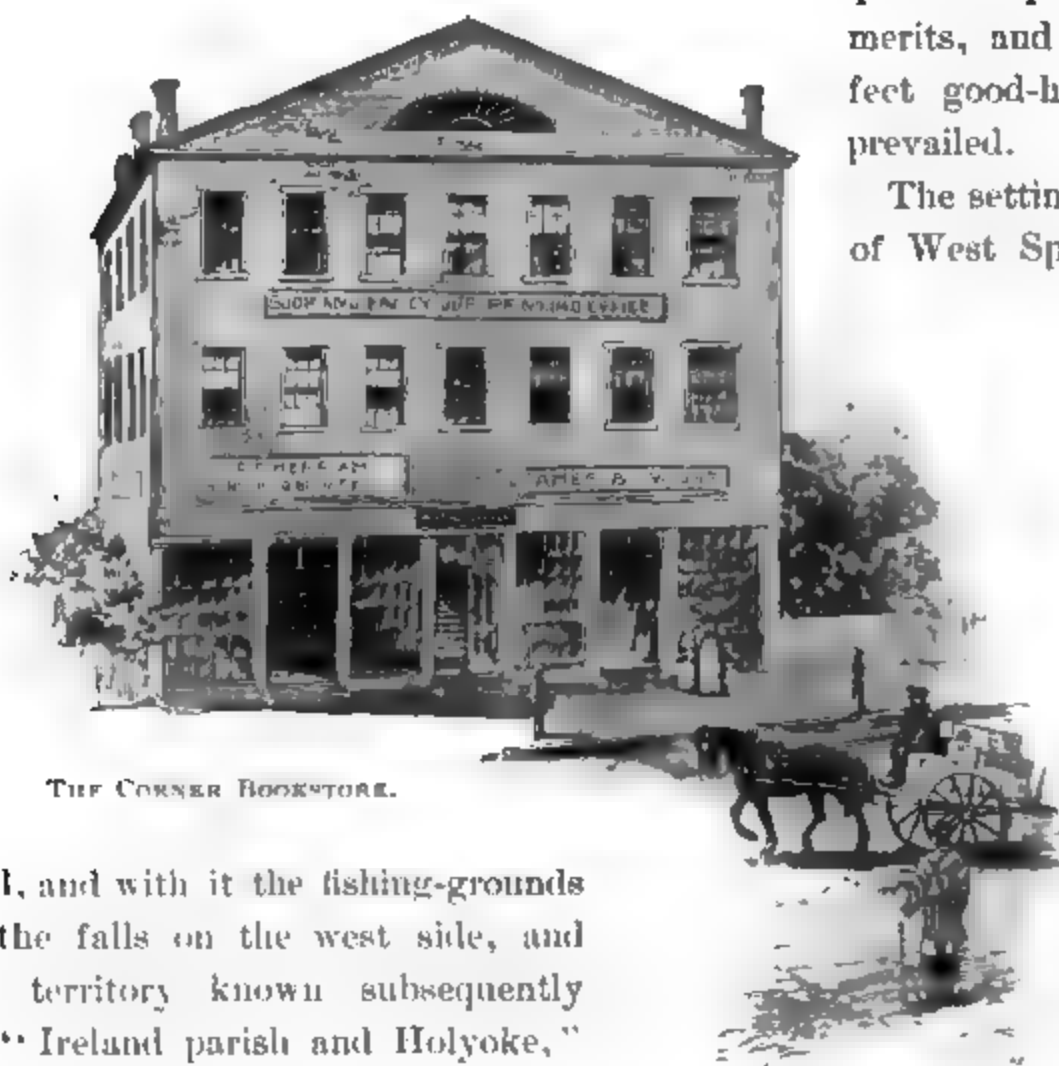
During the last eight years of Springfield's township the business street had undergone, as we have had occasion to note, great changes. In fact, Main street had been largely rebuilt or remodelled. There had gone up the Union House, Burt's block, Foot's block, the burned district buildings, about Sanford street. Hampden Hall block, Goodrich's block, City Hotel block, the new arsenal at the armory, and the John Hancock Bank on the Hill. The corner bookstore of the Merriam's began to take on the dignity of age, owing to these new buildings. There were also four church edifices, as we have noted, — Universalist, Pynchon-street Methodist, the Baptist, and the North Congregational churches. The new block above the depot, with many houses in that region, was a real estate feature of that day. A dozen elegant residences had been built on Maple street, and the railroad buildings were nearly all new.

The new city of Springfield assumed its robes with becoming dignity and good nature, in spite of the misgivings of an influential minority. To William B. Calhoun, John B. Kirkham, Theodore

Stebbins, Joseph Ingraham, and Eliphalet Trask was intrusted the task of laying out the wards and apportioning the members of the common council. It was a good omen that, in all the popular votes attending the granting of a city charter and the municipal organization, there was no division upon party lines. Men considered each

question upon its merits, and perfect good-humor prevailed.

The setting off of West Spring-



THE CORNER BOOKSTORE.

field, and with it the fishing-grounds at the falls on the west side, and the territory known subsequently as "Ireland parish and Holyoke," carried that manufacturing suburb beyond the limits of our narrative; but that section is so connected, commercially, with Springfield, that it should not be ignored altogether. Deeds covering the site of Holyoke were made to Fairbanks & Co., and to George C. Ewing, during 1847. We have stated that the dam and canals were built the following year. Fairbanks & Co. had also secured the property of the Locks & Canal Company at South

Hadley Falls. The failure of D. & J. Ames (1853) and of Howard & Lathrop, and the burning of their South Hadley Falls mills, had only a temporarily depressing effect upon the place. R. O. Dwight, in a series of admirable articles on Holyoke, prepared for the "Springfield Republican," says, in reference to the year 1847: "The Eagle Paper Company, of Northampton, — whose organization was due to the revelations of business profits made to the late Judge Forbes while hearing, as master of chancery, some portion of the endless litigation between the Ames and Howard & Lathrop, — the ancient mill of David Ames at Chicopee Falls, and the recently established Southworth Company at Mittineague, were the only representatives of the industry in the river counties." Holyoke had been incorporated as a town in 1850. Mr. Dwight, in his article above alluded to, gives the following account of labor troubles: —

On June 25, about 9 o'clock in the evening, an outbreak between the rival nationalities occurred at Springfield, near the Hibernian. "a sort of rumhole below the depot," which became a riot. From 10 to 12 the church bells were rung and an immense crowd gathered. For an hour no carriage could pass along the street, and a foot-passenger only with serious danger. Finally Sheriff Caleb Rice arrived on the scene and dispersed the mob. They had their labor riots also in those days. The men at work for Boodly & Stone on the canals at Ireland Depot struck on New Year's day, 1848, because their pay had been reduced from 75 and 77 cents a day to 70 cents. For a week the works were at a standstill. Then a dozen men went to work at the reduction, under protection of the company's engineer, Anderson, and Constable Theodore Farnham. The strikers, "armed with clubs and other weapons of Irish warfare," at once attacked them. The constable, while attempting to arrest some of the leaders, was knocked down and trampled upon until nearly senseless. Mr. Anderson was struck with a rail and received a bad gash in the cheek. The windows of a temporary grocery, kept by a Mr. Day, were smashed, but the shanties were not torn down, as had been threatened. At last one of the ringleaders was captured and sent to Northampton jail by a train which happened along opportunely. As soon as the news reached Northampton Sheriff Wright, with 25 men of the militia company, armed with muskets, hastened by special train to the scene of disturbance. They, however, found all quiet and returned at 2 o'clock A.M. Tuesday morn-

ing came Sheriff Rice from Springfield, with a Catholic priest, who guaranteed that there should be no trouble that day or the next night. Wednesday, bright and early, Sheriff Rice returned with a posse and made three arrests. In the afternoon Sheriff Wright took another man at the depot. Thursday morning the six men were examined before Justices Bridgman and Hooker at Springfield, and Thomas Long, Michael Brown, and James Connolly discharged, while James Faherty, Thomas Fitzgerald, and Jeremiah Bresson were held in \$60 each to appear before the grand jury. After peace had been thus established the Springfield papers came near reawakening the sounds of strife on the banks of the Connecticut by innuendoes and sly allusions to a military company which went 9 or 10 miles at midnight to quell a riot without taking any flints for its guns.

Meantime the process of railroad consolidation had gone on, and by 1855 the Legislature passed an act authorizing the Western, the Albany, the Hudson, and the Boston companies to unite, under the corporate name of the Boston & Albany railroad, and business was such that each year large sections of the road was being double-tracked. The controversy attending the freight apportionment between the Western and the Worcester roads does not properly concern us here, but this angry contest delayed the consolidation for nearly ten years.

In April, 1852, Kossuth visited Springfield, coming directly from New York. There were quite five thousand people present at the depot to welcome him, and the constables had much trouble in clearing a way for his passage to the Massasoit Hotel, at the balcony of which the distinguished Hungarian presently appeared and made a short speech. On the day following a public reception was held in Dr. Osgood's church. His name thus appears in the registry-book at the Massasoit, — "L. Kossuth and Lady," and under the column of residence he wrote "Nowhere"; then followed the names of his suite — "P. Hajnik, Homeless; Capt. George Grechenek, Homeless; Therese Pulszky, Homeless; Francis Pulszky and servant, Homeless; W. T. Coggeshall, Homeless."

George Merriam and two members of his family gave Kossuth

substantial aid. The patriot's address at the old First Church was elaborate and eloquent. It was his first sight of Massachusetts, and his tongue was loosened: "With you, citizens of Massachusetts," he exclaimed, "the love of liberty is more than affection — it is principle," and he added: —

One of my companions stopped here in New England, in the house of a workingman, who labors hard at the wages of \$2 a day, and he found in the modest but neat and comfortable house besides the bible and newspapers, a translation of some Roman classics, Bentham and Patrick's history of the United States. Now, gentlemen, where the workingmen draw spiritual life from divine revelation by private judgment and converse daily with Roman classics — those ever-fresh sources of generous sentiment — and are familiar with Bentham's Analysis of Diet, philosophical utilitarianism, and draw daily inspiration of philanthropy and of their country's history, there I easily can understand how the heart of man remains generous in common national prosperity and wraps itself not up in the selfishness of undeserved happiness.

Rev. Francis Tiffany, of Baltimore, was ordained as pastor of the Unitarian church, in December, 1852, Dr. G. W. Burnap, of Baltimore, Md., preaching the sermon. The Hampden Savings Bank was organized at this time.

The Springfield City Guard, in 1852, elected these officers: Captain, John B. Wyman; first lieutenant, Timothy D. Pelton; second lieutenant, Joseph C. Pyncheon; third lieutenant, James Kirkham; fourth lieutenant, Burton M. Ford. In the autumn of 1852 Richard Walkley, Jr., was tried for the murder of his father, Augustus L. Soule and William G. Bates defending him, and District Attorney Sumner was assisted by Attorney-General Clifford. He was convicted.

The legislative committee reported favorably in April (1853) a bill chartering a branch of the Canal Railroad, to be called the Springfield & Farmington Valley Railroad. This was secured after a long contest which had entered into most of the local elections in this region for some time. The Senate, however, killed the measure,

through the Westfield influence. The road was incorporated in 1856.

R. A. Chapman and Charles Stearns were once more pitted against each other in 1853 over the armory superintendency matter, the President of the United States having appointed a commission of military men and citizens to investigate the merits of both systems. After many weeks of labor the commission was suddenly called to Washington, and a report of the Secretary of War showed that the government was determined to stand by military superintendents. Abijah W. Chapin, son of Col. Harvey Chapin, was made postmaster in 1853. The Pynchon Bank was organized this year. The Springfield Society of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian) was organized. In the spring the "Connecticut Farmer and Mechanic" was started, and also the "Chicopee Weekly Journal." In 1854 the Springfield Five Cents Savings Bank was organized.

The State temperance convention met in Hampden Hall June, 1853, and was presided over by Dr. Edward Hitchcock, of Amherst College. This convention, while it believed in moral suasion, had still greater faith in the "necessity of legal action." The municipal elections of December, 1853, at the close of Caleb Rice's second term of office generated into party strife. The dream of non-partisan contests was indeed too good. A workingmen's caucus was called to nominate a mayor, and Philos B. Tyler was nominated. The democratic caucus, a few days later, made the same nomination. The whigs then nominated Col. James M. Thompson. Persons dissatisfied with these nominations met in the police court-room, but it was claimed that they were outvoted by machine-shop workmen, and Tyler was nominated. The animus of this charge, whether true or false, lay in the fact that Tyler was president of the American Machine Works. Many prominent citizens, free-soilers and temperance whigs, turned to Caleb Rice, and he was put up again. Some independent workingmen set up a ticket with Charles Stearns at the head, and the bolting democrats nominated E. D. Beach. The polling stood as follows:

Total vote, 1,763 ; necessary for a choice, 887 : James M. Thompson, whig, 510 ; Philos B. Tyler, democrat, 707 ; Caleb Rice, citizens' union, 348 ; Charles Stearns, independent workingmen's, 109 ; E. D. Beach, bolting democrat, 68 ; scattering, 21 ; no choice. Eliphalet Trask was the only whig alderman elected, and Roderick Lombard the only democrat. The second election was also futile. Tyler leading with 806 votes, and Thompson and Rice holding the majority from him. On the 9th of January, 1854, however, the democrats carried their point, and Philos B. Tyler was elected over the Eliphalet Trask citizens' ticket.

Dr. Osgood retired after a ministry of forty-five years, and was succeeded by Rev. Henry M. Parsons, of East Haddam, who had been brought up a Presbyterian. He had just graduated from the Connecticut Theological Institute, and came to Springfield through the encouragement of his relative, Aaron Colton, and walked into the First Church pulpit over the aspirations of no less than seventy-four candidates, young and old. The retirement of Dr. Osgood should not pass without another tribute to his stalwart character. A glance through the early records shows that Dr. Osgood (he was made doctor of divinity by Princeton in 1827) was especially active in the cause of temperance, coöperating with Reuben A. Chapman and others in beating back the fearful habits of rum-drinking, so common at that time. He was for many years a member of the school board, and he was also an important factor in formulating the anti-slavery sentiment of this valley. He first joined the Colonization Society, and opened his church for its meetings, and as this did not meet with satisfactory results, he came out as an anti-slavery man, but not as an extreme abolitionist. If the duties of his profession had not prevented, Dr. Osgood would have had a prominent place among the anti-slavery leaders of the Republic. His eloquence was undoubted, he was a natural leader of men, and he had many of the minor qualifications of an effective speaker, — ready wit, graphic descriptive powers, and a deep knowledge of human nature.

Springfield was completely taken aback by the action of Congress, in the summer of 1854, which decreed that civil superintendents should be appointed at Springfield and Harper's Ferry. After so long a dispute the local heart of anti-militarianism palpitated with delight. Among the names mentioned for the Springfield appointment were Mayor Tyler, Otis A. Seamans, and John Chase, of Chicopee. Master Armorer E. S. Allin was placed temporarily in charge of the armory (August, 1854) after the removal of Colonel Ripley by Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War. When General Whitney had received the appointment, a rousing civilians' jubilee was planned. It was the beginning of November. A procession was formed at the Pynchon-street Church by City Marshal Churchill. In line conspicuously placed were the aged armorers who had been discharged, as well as three revolutionary veterans, — Reuben Burt, age ninety-three; John S. Edwards, age ninety, and Jonathan Smith, of Chicopee, age ninety-three. The procession brought up at Hampden Hall, where a banquet was spread. Mr. Tyler sat at the head of the table, and among the vice-presidents were Stephen C. Bemis, Charles Stearns, S. R. B. Lewis, Seth B. Bliss, John C. Stebbins, Dr. J. Hooker, G. W. Harrison, and Lewis Foster. The toastmaster was Grove H. Loomis, of the Boston Custom-house, and among the speakers were ex-Governor Steele, of New Hampshire; ex-Alderman Whiting, of Boston; Superintendent Whitney, Dr. Osgood, Charles Stearns, who might have been called "The Happy." He, by the way, secured from Congress, in 1856, his long-sought indemnity for losses resulting from "the riot." In the evening the rejoicings were renewed in the City Hall. The ladies of Springfield gave Mr. Stearns a silver pitcher, and the civilians' jubilee closed with speech-making and general felicitations. The next week Mr. Stearns' friends put him up for Congress, and he accepted it on the armory issue.

In the fall of 1854 came the Know-nothing whirlwind. Eliphalet Trask was put up by the Know-nothings for Mayor, and was over-

whelmingly elected. Mr. Trask had been alderman every year since the city started, and his intimate knowledge of local affairs eminently fitted him for the position. The aldermen elected with him were James

M. Blanchard, W. C. Sturtevant, David Smith, Daniel Reynolds, William E. Montague, Henry Adams, James P. Chapman, and Harvey Foster.

The local democrats organized in August, 1855, for the campaign by appointing a city committee, with William Patton, chairman.

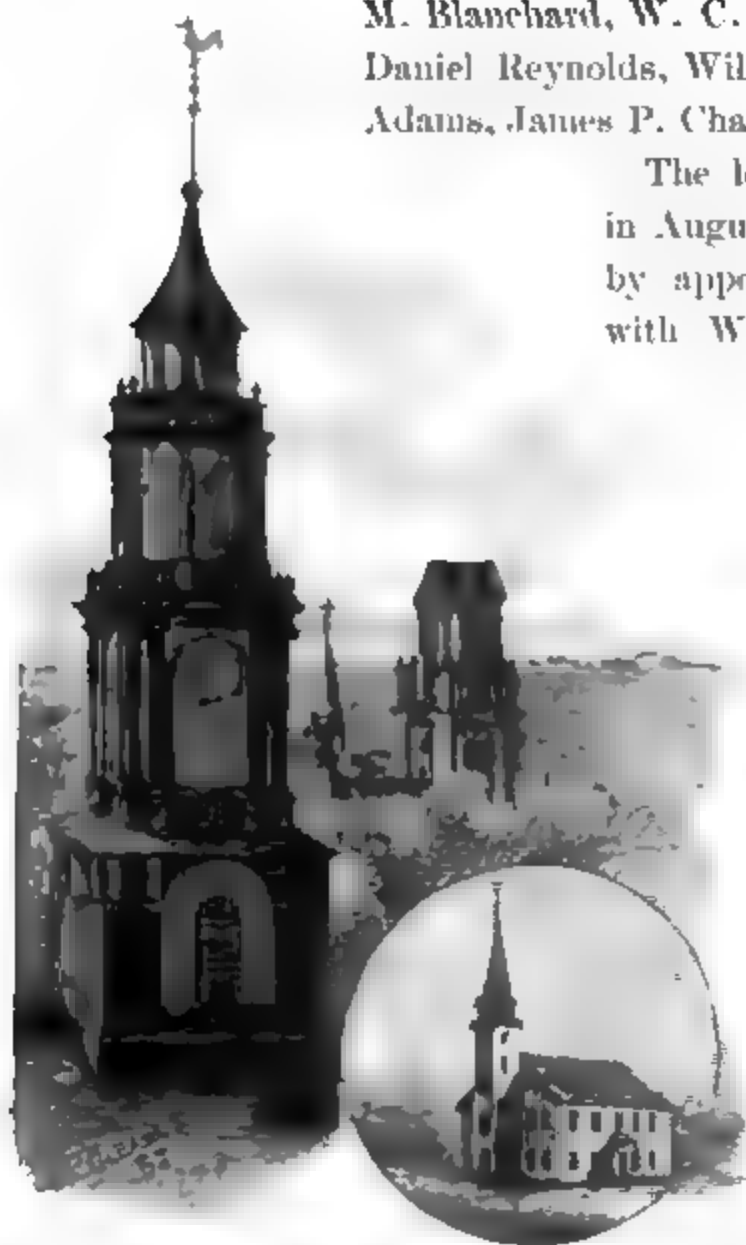
Ansel Phelps, Jr., announced himself a convert to the administration.

The city appropriations for 1855 were about \$65,000, and the debt about \$100,000, mainly due to the new City Hall account. Springfield had now reached 13,780 in population.

Ansel Phelps had announced his political conversion in the nick of time.

The democrats put him up for mayor

and elected him in December, 1855, with a vote of 884, the Know-nothings being completely routed. Mr. Trask received 665 votes, and George Bliss 209. The aldermen were Samuel S. Day, Henry Fuller, Jr., Edmund Freeman, Stephen C. Bemis, Thomas H. Allen,



CITY HALL TOWER AND CHURCH SPIRES.

Henry Alexander, Jr., Henry Reynolds, and Samuel Webber. All of these were democrats but Mr. Webber, who belonged to the American party.

The new City Hall was dedicated Jan. 1, 1855. The architect was Leopold Eidlitz, of New York; Baker & Graves, masonry contractors. Chauncey Shepard did the carpenter and joiner work, and Almon Parker built the foundations. The corner-stone had been laid June 4, 1854, by Mayor Tyler and by Mayor Rice; Judge O. B. Morris delivered an address. Mayor Trask, who had been a member of the building committee, had energetically pushed the work forward, but it was found that the city had a \$100,000 building rather than a \$40,000 structure, as first planned. On the dedication night, with a hall over-warmed through the zealous concern of the janitor, Mr. Trask and Mr. Rice, and Dr. Osgood and Dr. Holland, and members of the city government, all on the platform, proceeded with the programme.

Dr. Holland, the historian-orator of the occasion, was introduced by Mayor Trask, and after the dignified hour had passed there was dancing until a late hour, while in the basement-rooms refreshments were served. The City Hall was considered an architectural triumph in its day, and the tower was a fit companion to the First Church spire, both of which are destined to stand for some time.

The new city government was organized with no incident of note, except it was a little struggle for the presidency of the common council, which fell to James Kirkham, who received the votes of all the democrats, and of Dr. Nathan Adams, a hunker whig, thus beating George Walker, republican.

People on the Hill and at the Watershops and Indian Orchard wanted to separate and form the town of Delano, in 1856; E. A. Fuller circulated a petition to that end, and public meetings were held at Gunn's Hall, on the Hill. A committee (Otis A. Seamans, Joseph Lombard, Nathaniel Cate, Lyman Wolcott, and John Brooks) was

even appointed to carry on the agitation. The special grievance was the heavy taxes.

After the exciting Fremont campaign in 1856 the local leaders anticipated an easy time in electing their candidate, N. A. Leonard, mayor of Springfield; but Ansel Phelps, Jr., had made a good mayor, and he was elected to a second term. Charles O. Chapin that year came very near beating Joseph Ingraham for city clerk. The aldermen were reelected except the fifth, sixth, and seventh wards, where Joseph Hannis, James Warner, and Henry Pomeroy, democrats, were victorious. The common council organized with George Walker as president and Charles O. Chapin clerk. Mr. Phelps was reelected mayor in December, 1857, George Bliss, the republican candidate, not being able to take a popular position on the subject of free rum. The venerable William B. Calhoun was placed in the mayor's chair in 1859, an honor to which his distinguished services had entitled him.

The City Library Association was formed in 1857. The libraries of the Young Men's Literary Association and of the Young Men's Institute formed the foundation of the City Library. This library is interesting to students of municipal government from the fact that it is really an independent association, recognized by the city, which makes annual appropriations, and at the same time receives gifts and bequests from private persons. The experiment is a perfect success in this regard. Rev. William Rice was the first, and thus far has been the only, librarian. He combines the rare qualifications of wide reading, good executive ability, and perfect devotion to the institution. The Springfield Public Library, in fact, will be his monument.

The western Massachusetts editors organized themselves into an association about 1853, and their annual dinners were occasions of cordiality and good cheer and wit. The dinner of 1856 was held at Worcester, and Samuel Bowles was made president. They called themselves "Editors and Printers' Association."

The American Institute of Instruction held its annual session for 1856 at Springfield in the latter part of August, presided over by John Kingsbury, of Providence, R.I. William B. Calhoun was its first president. The American Association for the Advancement of Science met in the City Hall the first week in August, 1859. Prof. Stephen Alexander, of Princeton, president. Mayor Calhoun welcomed the learned body in an address, and some of the most prominent scientists of the country took part in the deliberations.

Rev. Mark Trafton left the Pynchon-street Methodist Church in 1859. He had been a candidate for Congress on the American ticket.

The militia of the five western counties of Massachusetts encamped at Hampden park in September, 1858, some one thousand three hundred strong. Among the Springfield officers may be noticed Col. Horace C. Lee, of the Twelfth Regiment; Aid-de-camp William L. Smith, Lieut.-Col. Charles L. Shaw, Adj. A. S. Haven, Quartermaster A. P. Galpin, Paymaster S. D. Bowers, Surgeon W. G. Breck, Surgeon (mate) George O. Otis, Sergt.-Maj. P. A. Rockwell, Capt. John Taylor (Co. B), and Capt. C. A. Baxter (Home Guards).

A national horse exhibition was held in Springfield October, 1853. The first proposition came from George W. Atwater to the Hampden County Agricultural Society, and a committee headed by William Pynchon took the matter in hand. George Bliss was finally made president of the board of managers, and Chester W. Chapin headed the general committee. Through the influence of Marshall P. Wilder, President of the United States Agricultural Society, that organization was enlisted in the enterprise. Colonel Ripley gave the use of the ground east of the armory. A tight board fence, ten feet high, enclosed the entire grounds at that time. A grand stand with four thousand seats was built on the west side, while a banquet-tent and booths and lunch-stalls added to the impressiveness of the occasion. October 19, 20, and 21 were red-letter days in these parts. Over half-a-dozen governors and five times as many distinguished

men, and four hundred and seventy-five distinguished horses graced this occasion.

Hampden park was inaugurated with imposing ceremonies in October, 1857. The procession included all the military, fire, and civic organizations of the city. Col. Solomon Warriner directed the choristers in singing Dr. Holland's hymn —

Thou who didst bless the garden land.

George Bliss, Henry Ward Beecher, and Mayor Phelps made addresses. James K. Lombard, teacher, wrote a hymn which was sung upon this notable occasion. The park, it may be stated, was a part of the ancient "three-corner meadow" bounded by the river, the End brook and the upland. It included the forty acres originally assigned to William Pynchon, Jehu Burr, and Henry Smith for their extra charges in allotting the settlement of Springfield plantation. General Amherst's army encamped there for a week, during the French war, while going to Canada.

Daniel Lombard died in May, 1856 at the age of ninety-two. Mr. Lombard was thirty-six years old when Colonel Worthington died, and thus he was acquainted with the revolutionary generation. He was a soldier on the right side in the Shays's rebellion, and we have seen that he was postmaster, merchant, and a man of wealth. When Daniel Lombard was taken away, the people of Springfield thought, indeed, that the age of '76 had passed into history.

The general financial distress had its effect upon Springfield. Several failures had taken place. The deposits in the Springfield banks, in January, 1856, were : Agawam, \$86,189 ; Chicopee, \$90,178 ; John Hancock, \$17,932 ; Pynchon, \$31,295 ; Springfield, \$38,437 ; Western, \$20,097. In the dismal winter of 1857 provisions were unusually high. The factory had been developed at the expense of the farm. Provisions were coming in from the West, and the Connecticut valley was not feeding itself. The city debt was, in 1857, up to

\$123,000, and the taxes high. There was a deal of grumbling about the way things were going. By November the depression in manufacturing in Springfield was very marked. Over one thousand mechanics were discharged between September and November. The railroads discharged many men. Bemis & Co. (locomotive works), Wason & Co., and the American Machine Works on the Hill discharged over half their men. The armory, however, maintained a payroll of over \$20,000 monthly in gold. A number of miscellaneous companies like Bailey, Trask, & Co. (sash and blinds); James B. Rumrill & Co. (gold chain factory, Maple street), Harris & Colton (planing mill), had shut down. The height of the panic was reached by October, it was thought. By November the Western Bank's notes were discredited, and were bought in Boston at twenty cents on a dollar. In December the Western had \$337,591 loans and discounts, less than \$6,000 in specie, and less than \$3,000 deposits. Things rapidly grew worse, and in January, 1858, Judge Merrick, of Boston, granted an order suspending the bank. The depression was only temporary, however. The Wason Car Company had successfully appealed to Egypt for orders. In 1857 Horace Smith, of the firm of Smith & Collins, formed a partnership with D. B. Wesson, of New Haven, and began the manufacture of pistols in W. L. Wilcox's building on Market street. Shops and factories were soon running again, and confidence was restored.

In the broad field of politics Springfield had not been a mere spectator. During the Scott campaign of 1852 the whigs wanted to put up George Ashmun for governor, but he declined positively. George Dwight was running with E. B. Gillett, of Westfield, as the whig senator for Hampden, in 1852. Mr. Dwight had voted against the Maine law, but had concluded to oppose its repeal, as it was desirable that it should be fairly tested. He so declared, and was elected on that issue. George Bliss was made Speaker of the Legislature in 1853. Mr. Bliss presented, in January, 1853, the names of George Ashmun for the position of United States Senator at the

whig legislative caucus, and Ashmun received fifty-four votes, but Edward Everett's ninety-eight was a majority over all the opposition candidates. Much was said at the time about the pious desire of Benjamin F. Butler, during the secret ballot debate in 1853, to "knife" George Bliss. The position was briefly this: The whig majority desired to repeal the secret ballot law, which attempt the anti-whigs opposed on general principles, and also because the election of delegates to the constitutional convention was about to take place. The House, on the 19th of February, held an exciting session which was protracted late into the evening, the majority being bent upon passing the bill at once, and the opposition filibustering for delay. The repeated rulings of the Speaker declaring dilatory motions out of order was the occasion of Mr. Butler's knifing desire. When the circumstance was subsequently printed, an explanation was published to the effect that Butler simply meant that he should "like to put the knife to the rulings of the Speaker." When the roll had been called, late on the eventful February 19, by the use of the previous question, and the bill had been passed and the House adjourned, Mr. Butler sought out Mr. Bliss and said, "You will be sorry for your action this day to the longest day you live." The Speaker replied, "I have not many years to live." "Thank God for that," was the excited rejoinder of Butler.

When the State Constitutional convention of 1853, of which E. D. Beach was a member, had long passed into history, Henry Wilson said, with much irony, that not one in fifty could remember whether Beach was or was not a member, so insignificant a part did he form of its deliberations. The record does not bear out the distinguished republican's sarcasm. Mr. Beach joined in the debate on several subjects, and made the motion to limit the representation in the Lower House, on which there was a heated discussion. His associate from Springfield, Chester W. Chapin, was the silent member of the delegation. The struggle over the basis of representation culminated over the plan of Benjamin F. Butler, which was described as a com-

promise between town representation and the district system. This, in the opinion of Mr. Beach, surrendered into the hands of less than a third of the people the right to elect a majority of the Representatives. Mr. Beach made a motion that the House should consist of two hundred and sixty-one members, divided according to the number of "legal voters," and in his speech he said, "What is the proposition proposed to be submitted to the people? Not the surrender of a mere privilege, but of a great political right. To abrogate, not in terms, but in fact, the ninth article of the Bill of Rights, which declares that all the inhabitants of this Commonwealth have an equal right to elect officers and to be elected to public employments. Do you think, sir, the people of Massachusetts are prepared to abolish from the Bill of Rights this article, and to surrender the great political right of electing and being elected? If they are just and true to themselves, they will not. I go farther, sir, I maintain that we have no right, moral or political, to make this surrender for ourselves, — much less for our children and their posterity. I am aware that gentlemen have again and again declared on this floor that political inequality is not injustice, is not anti-republican, is not violation of the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and our Bill of Rights. If it be so, then, sir, I have learned my moral and political creed to no purpose."

The local free-soilers supported Henry Wilson for governor in the fall of 1854. At a free-soil rally in Hampden Hall, during that campaign, John Mills was on the list of vice-presidents, and Judge O. B. Morris made an address. He had attended the Worcester convention in the hope that whigs and free-soilers would unite in checking the power of the slaveholders of the South. But this union had not taken place, and the judge concluded not to turn back. The candidates for governor that year were Emory Washburn, whig; Henry Wilson, free-soil, or republican; Henry W. Bishop, democrat; and Henry J. Gardner, know-nothing. Springfield had its place upon these tickets. Stephen C. Bemis was democratic candidate for Congress, and James M. Blanchard, whig, was on the

know-nothing ticket for Congress. He declined, and the name of Henry Morris was substituted, beating Edward Dickinson, of Amherst, whig; Stephen C. Bemis, democrat; and Charles Stearns, by a large majority. Mr. Stearns polled five votes. But Stearns was consoled in the following January when he received eight votes for United States Senator against Henry Wilson.

The ministers of Hampden county held a meeting in Springfield, in March, 1854, presided over by Dr. Osgood, to protest against the Nebraska bill, and a political gathering followed at Boston, in August, 1855, to secure a union of the anti-Nebraska and anti-administration elements. Samuel Bowles headed the committee to draw up resolutions, which expressed alarm at the encroachments of slavery. Both Mr. Bowles and George Bliss were on the committee to issue a call for a convention.

The extent of the movement may be judged from the names upon the address to the people, which included Samuel Hoar, H. L. Dawes, Charles Francis Adams, George Bliss, and Samuel Bowles. Congressman Henry Morris also came out for the new party. The date of the convention was September 20, and Worcester was the place decided upon. Morris, by the way, did not take his seat in Congress, on account of a judicial appointment.

Mayor Trask headed the delegation from Springfield to Worcester. He figured as a vice-president, Mr. Hixon as a member of the committee on credentials, George Bliss as a member of the committee on resolutions and future organization, and Charles R. Ladd as a member of the State committee. When (Gardner know-nothing) led the informal ballot, a resolution was passed by know-nothings in Springfield which seemed to imply that if Gardner was not nominated the know-nothings would bolt, and this, with the uneasiness of some who were *not* enemies of E. D. Beach, the democratic nominee for governor, produced a change of sentiment, and so Julius Rockwell was promptly nominated. The straight whigs put up Samuel H. Walley, of Roxbury, and the American party Mr. Gardner. Reuben A.

Chapman was Secretary of State on the Walley ticket. It was a famous campaign, when men agreed upon denouncing the ethics of slavery, and differed to the core upon public policy. The sentiment that dominated the new movement is reflected in these lines of J. G. Holland : —

God give us men ! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands ; —
Men whom the lust of power does not kill ;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy ;
Men who possess opinion and a will ;
Men who have honor ; men who will not lie ;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking, —
Tall men, sun crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and private thinking ;
For while the rabble with their thumbworn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo ! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land and waiting Justice sleeps !

The democratic nominee for Congress in the tenth district was H. H. Chilson, of Northampton, while no less than three men were running in opposition to the administration, — C. C. Chaffee, of Springfield, American ; John W. Foster, of Monson, republican ; and Edward Dickinson, of Amherst, straight whig. Mr. Bowles addressed ardent private appeals to these gentlemen to unite upon one man. Colonel Foster promptly agreed to withdraw in favor of Erastus Hopkins, William Hyde, or any other competent man. Dr. Chaffee declined to follow this example, but said he would withdraw in favor of Alanson Hawley, of Northampton. Colonel Foster in turn declined, and the proposal failed. Well, Gardner was re-elected governor, and Dr. Chaffee went to Congress. The Congressional election was a special one, owing to Henry Morris's resignation.

Dr. Chaffee soon offended his party by supporting Mr. Banks for Speaker of the House of Representatives. At a tenth district convention a resolution applauding Dr. Chaffee's course was tabled upon the ground that Banks was a "black republican," and an unfit man for the American party to support.

The Fremont campaign had opened with a whirl in this part of the State. In June, George Dwight, chairman of the citizens' committee of arrangements, and William S. Shurtleff, president of the Young Men's Fremont Club, invited the friends of "Fremont and Freedom" in western Massachusetts to gather at Springfield, in mass convention, on the fourth. A huge tent was pitched near the railroad on Chestnut street. George Bliss, who presided, announced a reconsideration in the House of Representatives of the vote against the Free State Kansas bill. Julius Rockwell, Judge E. Rockwood Hoar, A. O. Brewster, of Boston; Congressman Stanton, of Ohio; Senator James Dixon, of Connecticut; and General Pomeroy and William J. Calhoun, of Kansas, spoke.

An American State convention had occupied the City Hall on the Tuesday previous with Thomas Colt, of Pittsfield, in the chair. By a large majority the Fremont ticket was applauded and support pledged. The minority bolted, and then the convention selected its presidential electoral ticket, Mr. Trask being chosen for the tenth district.

Springfield's part in the Kansas struggle was not inconsiderable, and requires a word. In the first place, John Brown had been in business here, — a member of the wool firm of Perkins & Brown, and the course of the first victim of the slave power was watched with substantial and prayerful interest. Among the Springfield men who went to Kansas was a Charles Stearns, who settled at Lawrence. His theory was that the doctrine of peace would prevail, but after being there for a while he wrote to his mother here: "I have actually bought me a rifle, and shall fight if the crisis demands it." He detailed the fights between the free-state men and these ruffians, and

added: "In one of these skirmishes the free-state men lost several who were taken prisoners by the ruffians, among them John and Jason Brown, formerly of Springfield, where John Brown, the father, was once in the wool business. He is one of the most valiant men we have. His other son, John, Jr., is still a prisoner and insane. I saw Jason Brown, the son, released with his father, last night, and another son several days ago. I saw the chains which were put upon them, and by which the father was chained to his insane son."

The American party, with Millard Fillmore at the head, was held together under stress of weather, but was destined to break up, as the issue was reduced to slavery. The local Fillmore club organized with these officers: President, Homer Foot; vice-presidents, James D. Brewer, D. H. Brigham, Deacon Clark, Dr. John Hooker, and John V. Jones; secretaries, Horace C. Lee and S. E. Church. It might be said that Mr. Trask led the Fremont and Dr. Hooker the Fillmore sections of the party.

The position of the Northern men in Congress was most exasperating. Mr. Brooks, of South Carolina, took offence at a speech of Burlingame, of Massachusetts, and a duel was on the tapis; but, thanks to the firm hand of the brave George Ashmun upon the shoulder of Brooks, an affair of honor was avoided.

The Executive, following the policy of crippling the United States armories, had discharged two hundred and fifty-seven armorers in Springfield, leaving only the superintendent, paymaster, master armorer, a clerk, and seven watchmen in charge of the Federal arsenal. Men gathered around Frank Sanborn, who arrived from Kansas in August (and Kansas then was twenty days from Chicago), to hear the particulars of the outrages in that unhappy skirmishing-ground just before the great issue was joined, and the slave's friend and the slave's master tried conclusions in open war; and as the story of the border life, ruffian, and freesoil emigrant was unfolded on these streets by the new arrival, and men thought of the pro-slavery administration, the empty armory, and a rampant dominating Southern

planter element in Congress, the temper of the community grew to a white heat.

We do not know how widespread was the local resentment of the armorers at Dr. Chaffee, whose vote and influence, it is claimed, might have saved the appropriation bill; but an objectionable Kansas provision had been attached as a rider, and, moreover, it should be remembered that Dr. Chaffee introduced a resolution in the House to the effect that so much of the armory bill providing for the expenses of the war department proper, including arsenals, armories, surveys, armament, and fortifications, without reference to army operations, be passed. But objection was made and leave was not granted; so Congress adjourned without making the regular appropriations. An extra session was immediately called, the Kansas proviso was voted down and the supplies granted. The republicans had been defeated, but had put themselves on record. The armorers out of work may have looked upon Dr. Chaffee's action with pardonably narrow irritation, but as a public act the Springfield Congressman stood upon firm ground. The dismal state of affairs in Kansas, in the autumn of 1856, should not be forgotten. "I went for the scalp of a damned abolitionist, and I got one," said a Leavenworth ruffian, after murdering Mr. Hopps, brother-in-law of Rev. Ephraim Nute, who wrote the full particulars to Rev. Mr. Tiffany of this city. David S. Hoyt, of Deerfield, was decoyed by a Freemason a few miles from Lawrence and murdered in cold blood. There was a rally, and in a few days his murderer was captured. He begged for mercy on his knees, and for some reason or other he was not hanged on the spot.

John Brown had settled in Springfield in 1846. "Say to Ruth," he wrote that year to his son John, "to be all that to-day which she intends to be to-morrow." Such was the keynote of this extraordinary character, whose life of applied morality was a rebuke to the theoretical ethics of the world. Windsor, Conn., was the home of his ancestors. He was, as we have said, a member of the firm of Perkins & Brown, wool merchants, dealing directly with the wool-



JOHN BROWN ORGANIZING A SECRET LODGE AMONG THE SPRINGFIELD NEGROES, 1851.

growers of Ohio and the West. Perkins & Brown rented the upper part of John L. King's warehouse, near the depot, and worked with his men daily, in sorting wool. He had changed to Chester W. Chapin's new block, south of the railroad office, in 1848. The firm, which owned fine flocks of sheep in Ohio, had been sent to Springfield to represent the Western wool-growers in New England, where their wool was to be graded. It worked well the first year, but failing markets, a want of proper coöperation in the West, and not over commercial methods of business on the part of Brown himself, contributed to financial disaster. He did over \$50,000 worth of business, however. Among John Brown's visitors at this time was Frederick Douglass, who was surprised to find him living in a small wooden house on a back street, furnished in a way to "almost suggest destitution." In an attempt to save his fortunes Brown sent the whole output of wool to Europe in 1850. He refused local offers of sixty cents per pound, and away it went over the waters. A few months later Mr. Brown stood in a Springfield freight-house and saw the self-same wool, which had come back from London, sell for fifty-two cents!

John Brown was in the Adirondack wilderness in 1851. It was while visiting Springfield that year that he organized the "Springfield Gileadites," a "branch of the United States league of Gileadites," an order among colored people to resist the capture of fugitives. No less than forty-four negroes joined this league. B. C. Dowling headed the list, and in the list was J. N. Howard, the honored sexton of the South Church. His stories of slave-life were of the "Uncle Tom's Cabin order," and when he was gathered to his fathers a link connecting us with the slave-masters' era was broken.

Curiously enough Reuben A. Chapman, who was not a freesoiler in those days, was Mr. Brown's attorney, and Chapman was always enthusiastic in his tributes to Brown's integrity and sense of justice. Mr. Chapman's character is well illustrated by a remark of his some time after Congress had passed the fugitive slave law, which imposed upon judges and the United States commissioners the duty of issuing



David P. Smit

PROFESSOR OF SURGERY IN YALE COLLEGE.

NEW YORK: J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO. 1877.



warrants for the arrest of escaped slaves, and denied the negroes at the hearings the right to testify in their own behalf. The local feeling among the ultra abolitionists ran high. Springfield became a very important way station on the underground road which ran from Southern bondage to Canadian freedom, and the Emigrant Aid Society was generously supported here. Mr. Chapman was a United States commissioner, and great pressure was finally brought upon him to resign, that he might escape the offensive duty of restoring fugitive slaves to their masters, as he was not then a freesoiler. "I refuse to resign," was his determined reply. When an explanation of his real position was demanded, he said, in the event of the pursuit of a slave to Springfield, "As officer of the Emigrant Aid Society I would forward the fugitive to other parts; as United States commissioner I would then issue a warrant for his arrest."

There was flourishing in those days a Springfield organization known as "The Club." It had no written constitution and no archives; it met on every other Monday night, and was a medium of communication on public topics among prominent citizens. Mr. Chapman is credited with the honor of having originated 'The Club. At a Monday meeting, during the Kansas troubles, some member asked what was to be done with Kansas. Mr. Chapman replied, "We will send on emigrants there; we will send rifles with them. I will furnish one gun." "And I another," said Samuel Bowles. "And I another," said Daniel L. Harris. "And I another," said the good and true Dr. Buckingham. So the offers went round the room. Mr. Chamberlain, now of Hartford, and then a law partner of Mr. Chapman, hesitated for some reason, not, however, because he was hostile to the free-soil sentiment, and Mr. Chapman noticed the fact, and said, with as much vigor as he ever displayed on any subject, "And I will give a second gun for the credit of the firm." Mr. Chamberlain, it may be stated, now tells this anecdote on himself. The rifles were all duly furnished, taken apart, and sent in separate boxes and by different routes to Kansas.

The Buchanan democrats of Springfield raised a hickory pole on the Hill, near the Rockingham house and the Wait monument, with O. A. Seamans, E. D. Beach, and William J. Smith as orators. The whigs put up Robert C. Winthrop for governor upon a Fillmore plat-

form, placing our fellow-citizen, Homer Foot, beside him as lieutenant-governor. The Buchanan democrats met in Springfield, in the City Hall, and with Ansel Phelps, Jr., in the chair put up their war steed, E. D. Beach, for governor. Superintendent Whitney of the armory figured as peace-maker



THE WAIT MONUMENT

in the convention, and General Butler, with "rolled-up coat cuffs" and "tipped-up visage," started

the party enthusiasm. A flag with sixteen stars was suspended across the hall, but soon torn down. "The flag of our Union!" exclaimed Mr. Beach, after his nomination, and the response was quick and spontaneous. It may be said that later, when Mr. Beach had beaten Benjamin F. Butler in the democratic State convention of 1858, he



THE ROCKINGHAM HOUSE.

said to that body, "I have no new pledges to make to you, no new theories to advance, no new principles to follow. The principles I maintain to-day I have maintained always. They are as old as Jefferson's."

General Whitney was bitterly taken to task for refusing to reemploy armorers who had applauded Dr. Chaffee's course in opposing the use of United States troops in suppression of the Kansas freesoilers. This was used as a Fremont cry in the town with some effect.

At one of the largest Fremont gatherings in this memorable campaign, Mr. Patterson, fresh from the Missouri, exhibited on the platform the very chain with which John Brown was led for thirty miles in a hot sun after his capture. Its clankings touched a cord, and the City Hall was thundrous with emotion.

One hundred women had formed a sewing club with Mrs. George Bliss president and Mrs. Charles Merriam treasurer, for the purpose of preparing clothing for the emigrants there. The first meeting was held in the Unitarian Chapel, and pins and needles were enlisted for the cause.

But the decree of the nation was for Buchanan and democracy. Springfield's share was small. Mr. Beach polled about 40,000 to over 92,000 for Gardner, the Fremont candidate for governor. Congressman Chaffee was triumphantly returned to his seat. The Fillmore ticket flatted out. Homer Foot, the candidate for lieutenant-governor, ran over 8,000 ahead of the Fillmore ticket. W. S. Shurtleff, Fremont candidate for register of insolvency, ran about 4,000 votes ahead of H. B. Lewis, in Springfield, and was elected. The Fremonters elected as Representatives Henry Vose, Eliphalet Trask, Daniel L. Harris, and John H. Fuller.

If Springfield, by the incident of John Brown's wool agency, was connected by special and local ties to the Kansas embroglio, an odd incident linked her with the equally famous Dred Scott decision. This negro and his family had been the slaves of Dr. Emerson, a United States Army surgeon. After Dr. Emerson's death, Dred

Scott brought suit against John F. A. Sanford, the administrator of the estate, claiming that he and his family had been carried across the border of the slave region into Illinois and Missouri, and still compelled to suffer a slave's burden. The decision of the United States Supreme Court upon this question amounted to nothing short of nationalizing slavery, and its announcement was really the beginning of the slaveholders' rebellion, as Northern revulsion from this political theory and principle was deep and unalterable.

Mrs. Emerson, the owner of Dred Scott, had married, after the doctor's death, Congressman Chaffee, of this town, and Mr. Sanford, the administrator of the Emerson estate, was the brother of Mrs. Chaffee, *née* Emerson. Mr. Chaffee's political enemies were not slow in piling the dry fagots of insinuation under his reputation and lighting a blaze. He was charged with the intent of making money out of the very slave system which upon the floor of Congress he had condemned. With a twenty years' honorable record as an anti-slavery man, he was compelled to deny these strictures, and to say in public, "There is no earthly consideration that could induce me to exercise proprietorship in any human being; for I regard slavery as a sin against God and a crime against man," and he added, "If, in the distribution of the estate, of which this decision affirms, these human beings to be put, it appears that I, or mine, consent to receive any part of the thirty pieces of silver, then, and not till then, let the popular judgment, as well as the public press, fix on me the mark of a traitor to my conscience."

Dred Scott said that the suit had cost him "a heap o' trouble, and if I'd a known it was gwine to last so long I'd wouldn't a started it." When the decision went against him he simply laughed at "de fuss dey made dar in Wash'nton 'bout de old nigger." But the North did not laugh. It was a dark day; the Chaffees did not take advantage of their decision and claim him as their property. The charge that Dr. Chaffee did actually profit pecuniarily by the Dred Scott decision makes a further statement necessary. Reuben A.

Chapman was called in by Dr. Chaffee for advice, and he drew up a legal document, in the form of a quit-claim, of all interest, or supposed interest, in Scott and his family, authorizing Taylor Bloom, of St. Louis, to draw up manumission papers. If the United States Supreme Court had put a further stamp of bondage upon this unfortunate family the historical paper signed by Mrs. Chaffee, Dr. Chaffee, and Miss Emerson expunged the mark, and the negroes continued, as for years they had practically been, free residents of St. Louis.

Dr. Chaffee was ignorantly and unjustly denounced from one end of the country to the other for this alleged traffic in human beings, but the hue-and-cry was of short duration. The facts became known, and, moreover, the man who liberated Dred Scott stood on the floor of Congress shortly afterward, during the Kansas debate, and during a long and masterly argument spoke as follows: "Are you, the conservative slaveholders of the country, willing to allow the institutions of your section to become the cause and instrument of the future aggrandisement of this administration, — of building up and further extending the power and rule of the African democracy of this country who seek by their policy to Africanize the productive industry of the country? I tell gentlemen plainly that while chivalry once had a name and a prestige, yet in these African democratic lands its gold has become dim and its lustre is faded; and unless it is speedily rescued, its glory will have departed forever. Sir, the civilized world cannot and will not look on complacently and see this great and monstrous wrong consummated upon this people."

Eliphalet Trask accepted, in June, 1857, the nomination of the American State convention for lieutenant-governor upon the Banks ticket, and in his letter of acceptance Mr. Trask said that he did so upon the belief that the party's aim was to consolidate the American and anti-slavery sentiment of Massachusetts. Banks was also nominated by the republicans a few weeks later at Worcester, but Oliver Warner, of Northampton, was given the second place on the ticket. Mr. Beach was again the democratic standard-bearer. By

a subsequent arrangement Mr. Trask was made the candidate for lieutenant-governor on the Worcester ticket, and Oliver Warner Secretary of State. Springfield was also represented that year by George Walker on the republican senatorial ticket, and William L. Smith, his democratic opponent, and Heman Smith, American candidate, for county commissioner. R. A. Chapman supported the Banks ticket, and his old partner, George Ashmun, came out strong for Banks also. Banks was elected, and so was Walker. In the legislative contest Marvin Chapin and Henry Vose, republicans, and Hiram Q. Sanderson, democrat, were elected.

The whole Banks ticket was renominated in 1858, and reëlected. So was Senator Walker. The most important local item in the November election was the defeat of William Rice, who for over a quarter of a century had been register of deeds or county treasurer. He was defeated by James E. Russell, democrat. Mr. Norton, a son-in-law of Mr. Rice, withdrew from the office of county treasurer at the same time, so that the change was the more marked. Mr. Rice had been first chosen register in 1830. There were heard upon all sides hearty tributes to Mr. Rice's fidelity and efficiency in the public service, and he was followed into private life by the honor and respect of all. Mr. Russell, who succeeded him, was for many years a conductor on the day express between Boston and Springfield, and had been the popular landlord of the Russell House. Mr. Russell always has shown an intelligent interest in Springfield history, and he has a fund of stories which then, as now, was a source of entertainment to his friends. One of his best relates to Daniel Webster, who was a passenger on the Boston & Albany Railroad one day when Mr. Russell was conductor. The distinguished statesman lost his hat out of the window, and he remarked to Mr. Russell that he would have some trouble in getting another large enough. When the train stopped at Palmer Mr. Russell stepped off, and approaching Bill Childs, the station agent, who had the largest head in the county, asked, "What will you take for that hat?" Childs named his price

with a smile. Russell handed the astonished agent the money, seized his hat, and carried it to Webster. It was a perfect fit. Daniel Webster still owes Mr. Russell for that hat.

E. D. Beach refused to run a fifth time for governor, and this opened the door for Benjamin F. Butler, as the democratic standard-bearer, in the exciting elections of 1859. Springfield still had a place on the ticket, however, Stephen C. Bemis being candidate for lieutenant-governor. A Stephen A. Douglas resolution, presented by ex-Mayor Phelps, was tabled by the convention. General Whitney was in those days an active politician, and had much to do in pouring oil upon the troubled waters. He was assisted by Postmaster Chapin in the convention. The republicans put up Banks and Trask again, and A. N. Merrick was made a member of the State Central Committee.

At the time of John Brown's attack upon Harper's Ferry, the superintendent of Harper's Ferry was the guest of Major Ingersoll in Springfield. Brown had been in Springfield the year previous, and was free to talk to his friends about running off slaves. While the judicious urged caution, they could not but pay him the tribute of religious courage of conviction, and respected him even in his contempt of statute law. Men went to the polls here as in other Northern cities ready to fight as they voted. Governor Banks's vote reached nearly to 60,000; Butler about 35,000, and Briggs (American whig) 14,000, in round numbers. Springfield elected Daniel Gay and Richard Bliss, republicans, and Ezra Kimberly, democrat, to the Legislature.

The republicans also had their own way in the city elections, electing Daniel L. Harris mayor. Col. Horace C. Lee also defeated Mr. Ingraham, as clerk, the latter having held that position in town and city for seventeen years. He had been a faithful, painstaking officer, but the desire for a younger man had asserted itself. The new board of aldermen were Edmund B. Haskell, Erastus Hayes, Franklin Chamberlain, John W. Hunt, William Hitchcock, John G. Capron, William Foster, and George W. Holt, — all republicans.

If a man loves another for the qualities he himself has not, the friendship between Reuben A. Chapman and John Brown is explained. for they were not of kin in any quality of character save the courage of conviction and the root-sentiment of humanity and equal rights. Mr. Chapman heard Mr. Brown talk about the negro's wrongs, which he had made his own, collected Brown's wool bills for him, and acted generally as legal adviser. When John Brown was finally in the hands of the law in Virginia, his first thought was of the cool, judicious Reuben Chapman, of Springfield, and he appealed to him for legal assistance in the following letter, now in the hands of Mr. Chapman's daughter, Mrs. T. M. Brown, of this city : —

CHARLESTOWN, JEFFERSON COUNTY, VA..

October 21. '39.

HON. REUBEN CHAPMAN, Springfield, Mass. : —

DEAR SIR. — I am here a prisoner with several sabre cuts in my head and bayonet stabs in my body. My object in writing you is to obtain able and faithful counsel for myself and fellow-prisoners, five in all, as we have the faith of Virginia pledged through her governor and numerous other prominent citizens to give us a fair trial. Without we can obtain such counsel from without the slave States neither the facts in our case can come before the world, nor can we have the benefit of such facts as might be considered mitigating in view of others upon our trial. I have money in hand here to the amount of \$250. and personal property sufficient to pay a most liberal fee to yourself or to any suitable man who will undertake our defense if I can have the benefit of said property. Can you or some other good man come immediately on for the sake of the young men prisoners at least? My wounds are doing well. Do not send an ultra abolitionist. Very respectfully yours.

JOHN BROWN.

This letter was dictated, but is signed by Brown with a firm, plain hand. Mr. Chapman was about starting on court business, and could not go to Virginia, but he gave his imprisoned friend what advice he could by letter.

One cannot renew acquaintances with the records of these terrible times, — the legal murder of John Brown, the heart of flame that burned with patriotic indignation in the North, the natural apprehension for the future that faded before loyalty and a national sentiment — without the deepest consternation at the political blindness that impelled President Buchanan to urge in his message to Congress: “I firmly believe that the events at Harper’s Ferry, by causing the people to pause and reflect upon the possible peril to their cherished institutions, will be the means under Providence of allaying the existing excitement and preventing further outbreaks of a similar character. They will resolve that the Constitution and the Union shall not be endangered by rash counsels, knowing that should the silver cord be loosened or the golden bowl be broken at the fountain, human power could never reunite the scattered and hostile fragments.”

So the year 1860 drew on under a lurid sky. A resolve was indeed made, — not the resolve of Buchanan and human slavery, but the nation’s resolve, that the golden bowl should not be broken, — and it was not.

CHAPTER XXI.

1860-1886.

The War and Politics. — Springfield in the Chicago Convention. — Lincoln's Letter to George Ashmun. — City Politics. — Union Rallies. — Activity in Real Estate. — Various Enlistments. — A Record of Springfield Soldiers who died in Battle and in Hospital. — Fires. — Newspapers. — The Death of Samuel Bowles. — His Character as a Journalist. — Theology at Indian Orchard. — Rev. James F. Merriam.

DANIEL L. HARRIS, republican, was mayor of Springfield during the troublous year of 1860, having beaten William L. Smith, democrat, by a vote of 1,179 to 883. In June, 1860, John B. Floyd, secretary of war, appointed Col. I. H. Wright superintendent of the armory. He was surrounded by Southern friends, and naturally excited the suspicion of the loyal people. It would not have been a difficult thing to blow up the armory. No one suspected Wright himself, but he had men about him quite capable of it. In 1864 an attempt was actually made, but the infernal machine deposited in the main arsenal was discovered in time to prevent an explosion. Wright had been here but a few weeks when a self-constituted committee of citizens watched the armory closely in order to frustrate the designs of any Southern agents or spies. "There is the slavery question," exclaimed Carl Schurz, at Hampden Hall, in January, 1860, — "not a mere occasional quarrel between two sections of a country divided by a geographical line, not a mere contest between two economical interests for the preponderance, not a mere wrangle between two political parties for power and spoils, — but the great struggle between the human conscience and a burning wrong, between advancing civilization and retreating barbarism." Thus was the grand issue made up in spite of the efforts of some to foist a constitutional

hypothesis into prominence by pleading the doctrine of extreme State rights.

We have no space to deal with the multitudinous incidents that added to the local tension of the year 1860, — the private gatherings of loyal citizens, the personal encounters of political enemies, the feuds that disturbed clubs, churches, nay, even the family itself. A copy of the "Springfield Republican" mailed to a man in Georgia was returned by the post-office department, stamped "Incendiary document."

In making up the list of delegates to the Chicago national republican convention that was destined to nominate Abraham Lincoln for President, in May, 1860, the name of George Ashmun was proposed; but the latter considered himself in permanent political retirement. He finally consented to go, however, provided Governor Trask would accompany him. Even then, he did not agree to sit in the convention.

Samuel Bowles, whose organizing genius came into play when a political or patriotic sentiment moved him from the strict path of journalism, had gone on with a large Massachusetts delegation before Ashmun and Trask had perfected their arrangements. The latter overtook them at Niagara Falls. During the journey Mr. Bowles hit upon the idea of presenting George Ashmun as the candidate of Massachusetts for permanent president of the convention. It was



ENTRANCE TO U.S. ARMORY.

thoroughly talked up on the train. The delegates began instinctively to treat Mr. Ashmun as the coming man, and thus it was that the eloquent advocate of Webster, Springfield's fallen whig leader, started West as an almost unwilling spectator, and arrived at Chicago the representative man from Massachusetts. The great wigwam, designed by Architect Boyington, — formerly a resident of Springfield, by the way, — was thronged with an excited crowd. The Massachusetts plan was at once laid before the leaders of the party. "Slavery is sectional; freedom is national!" exclaimed David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, the temporary chairman, and shortly afterward the convention gave six tremendous cheers as the old Springfield whig was conducted by Carl Schurz and Preston King to the chair, the permanent president-elect. Mr. Ashmun's speech was short but warm, with something of his old oratory.

Mr. Bowles accompanied Mr. Ashmun and the committee of the convention to Springfield, Ill., to deliver to Mr. Lincoln the great message of the party. Mr. Bowles stood near Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Ashmun while they were making their formal speeches, and after the ceremony he wrote of Mr. Lincoln: "His face, which in repose seemed of bronze, was at the instant of speaking lighted up by an unmistakable fire of intelligence; and as soon as it was subsequently relaxed by the gentle and rapid question and reply of conversation, the warmth of a great heart shone out of every feature."

Some debate having arisen in the papers about Mr. Lincoln's first name, he sent Mr. Ashmun the following letter: —

SPRINGFIELD, ILL., June 4, 1860.

HON. GEORGE ASHMUN: —

MY DEAR SIR. — It seems as if the question whether my first name is "Abraham" or "Abram" will never be settled. It is "Abraham," and if the letter of acceptance is not yet in print, you may, if you think fit, have my signature thereto printed "Abraham Lincoln." Exercise your judgment about this.

Yours, as ever,

A. LINCOLN.

But Mr. Ashmun had still an important service to perform after Mr. Lincoln's election. Thousands of men were waiting to hear from Stephen A. Douglas. Mr. Ashmun was a friend of both. It fell upon him to make the convincing appeal to Mr. Douglas's patriotism. It was a long struggle. The two men debated until late at night; and when at length Douglas determined to stand by the Lincoln administration, he urged Ashmun not to wait until morning, but to hasten to Mr. Lincoln, who learned it before he slept, and the papers of the land had it the next morning. It is a fact that has escaped notice that Mr. Douglas stood immediately back of Lincoln on the platform during the delivery of his inaugural address, and held the President's tall hat for him, as there was no place to put it.

Mr. Lincoln was just starting for Ford's Theatre on the fatal night when Mr. Ashmun called. He pencilled on his knee as he was about to take the carriage the following note: —

Allow Mr. Ashmun and friend to come in at nine A.M. to-morrow.

A. LINCOLN.

Judge C. P. DALY, of New York.

This note, the last words written by Abraham Lincoln, is now in the possession of George A. Morton, of this city, who also has Lincoln's letter accepting his first nomination for the presidency.

Ashmun's old law partner, Reuben A. Chapman, was chosen a Lincoln presidential elector. He had received a handsome vote for attorney-general in the republican convention which nominated John A. Andrew for governor; but a better position was open to him, and, in October, 1860, he was duly qualified judge of the Supreme Court.

The Massachusetts democrats turned to E. D. Beach once more for governor. The Bell and Everett convention put Henry Morris on its ticket as attorney-general. Stephen C. Bemis was a Douglas and Johnson elector, and Chester W. Chapin a Breckinridge and Lane elector. Homer Foot was a councillor on the Douglas

ticket, and J. W. Crook a councillor on the Breckinridge ticket. Springfield also furnished these candidates in that famous campaign: State Senate: O. A. Seamans (Douglas); Luther Upton (Breckinridge); Timothy W. Carter (republican). Representatives: Samuel Smith, Dennis Hubbard, and Henry Reynolds (Breckinridge); William B. Calhoun, Simeon Newell, and Oliver Bannon (republican). County commissioner, William Pynchon (Douglas).

The Springfield Wide-awakes organized with Hosea C. Lombard as captain, and A. N. Merrick, C. R. Ladd, A. G. Sinclair, George S. Haskell, Henry S. Lee, and A. J. Plummer, the executive committee. At a grand Wide-awake meeting in Springfield, in September, Henry Wilson said, "On the slavery question the democratic party has divided; the head is with Breckinridge in the South; the tail is floating round with Douglas at the North."

In spite of the stress of national politics the city went democratic a few weeks after the general election. The first election was a tie, Mayor Daniel L. Harris, republican, and Stephen C. Bemis, democrat, receiving each 889 votes. The contest was not strictly political, the question of free rum having come to the surface. Mr. Bemis secured a majority of 90 at the second election, December 19.

Mr. Harris had made a courageous, business-like mayor. He was in no sense a politician. If he had looked to political preferment with the care he showed in securing a favorable balance-sheet for the city during his administration, his reelection would probably have been assured. Springfield entered the war period with growing democratic proclivities. Henry Alexander, Jr., who was probably one of the best political managers of that day, was pitted unsuccessfully against Mayor Bemis in 1861. The condition of the police department was the local issue in that campaign. S. B. Spooner, Jr., was elected clerk and treasurer without opposition. Col. James M. Thompson was elected to the State Senate in November, and Theodore Stebbins, William L. Smith, and Nathaniel Howard, to the Legislature. Postmaster Chapin retired in May, after eight years'

faithful service, and was succeeded by William Stowe, who was at that time clerk of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

Capt. George Dwight superseded Colonel Wright as superintendent of the armory in the spring of 1861.

The time had now come for the expression of substantial patriotism, and the sons of Springfield forgot their party differences in the common cause. The War Department, just before the storming of Fort Sumter, ordered away from Springfield a lot of guns, an act that roused a deep feeling of resentment. Dr. C. C. Chaffee was consulted as to the best plan to pursue, and he intimated that it would take a long time to pack those guns properly. The hint was taken. The slowest workmen were detailed to box the weapons. The impatient authorities repeatedly asked why the arms had not been shipped. That boxing job was not finished until the "boys in blue" were ready to use them.



THE OLD COUNTY JAIL.

Judge R. A. Chapman called to order the first grand war rally in Springfield, in April, 1861. "I believe," he exclaimed, with an animation quite uncommon with him.—"I believe in nothing but the unconditional surrender of the rebels. I would have that, or hang every man of them." Mayor Bemis presided at this meeting. A large glee club of patriotic men and women furnished the music. The stately and venerable William B. Calhoun offered the resolutions, and William L. Smith was the first to support them, with the sentiment that the government should and would "go through Baltimore to Washington." This committee of finance and information was appointed: James M. Thompson, John L. King, Charles L. Shaw, Henry Alexander, Jr., F. A. Barton, and George R. Townsley.

The city government promptly voted \$30,000 for volunteers. Springfield was an active place, and the whole community kept a close eye on government property. A Boston reporter came up to Springfield to see the Desmarteau hanging in the spring of 1861 at the jail, and he was overhauled upon suspicion of being a spy. Strangers were seen prowling about the water-shops, and a sentry sent a ball whistling by their ears.

Otis Childs was appointed United States deputy marshal and William L. Smith United States commissioner. In June, 1861, Hampden park was turned into a military camp. There was the usual friction between the raw recruit and the mess-room. One hundred volunteers mutinied on account of inferior rations, but Lieutenant Lombard's company prevented their running the guard.

On the last Sunday in June Dr. Tiffany's Unitarian church was flooded with soldiery. Muskets were stacked before the pulpit and decorated with flowers. The sacred edifice shook with the thunderous strains of the "Star-Spangled Banner," and Dr. Tiffany's sermon was pitched upon that deep, patriotic key.

The matrons and sisters of this community were soon enlisted in the work of contributing to the comfort and convenience of the soldiers. It was a time for picking lint, knitting mittens, and fur-

nishing extra clothing; and, after the solemn farewells, this service of the home groups made very touching pictures.

The destruction of the Harper's Ferry armory left the Springfield arsenal the main resource of the government for a time. Superintendent Dwight was turning out three thousand five hundred muskets per month, some of the departments running the full twenty-four hours. The large arsenal, emptied of arms, was fitted up for a workshop. The new fence about the armory grounds was completed in the autumn. The material was secured from condemned cannon. Superintendent Dwight was superseded by Capt. A. B. Dyer, U.S.A., in August, 1861, in accordance with a vote of Congress for military men as superintendents. Captain Dyer held his position until 1864.

About one hundred and fifty small dwelling-houses were put up in Springfield in 1862. D. W. Barnes built the Main-street block bearing his name. Day & Jobson added a block above the depot. Wilkinson & Cummings built near the corner of Main and Taylor streets. Private residences were erected by William Gunn, Gurden Bill, Dr. Holland, T. M. Walters, Dr. Brooks, and many others. The present court-house was built in 1874. The appearance of the river has been much changed since the building of the iron railroad bridge in 1873, the north end bridge in 1877, and the south end bridge in 1878. With the opening of the latter the career of the ferry-boat "Agawam" came to an end.

The Springfield banks suspended specie payment in January, 1862, in accordance with a general movement. They were doing a good business, however.

In the fall of 1862 Henry Alexander, Jr., was elected mayor over Willis Phelps, democrat. A. T. Folsom did not get the republican nomination for city clerk, but the democrats accepted him, and he was elected. Mr. Folsom has proved by long and faithful service one of Springfield's best clerks. He overhauled and filed the documents and loose papers of that office, and after months of dreary

sorting the papers were put in packages and boxes in chronological and topical order. To Mr. Folsom's methods and industry is due the present admirable condition of the city clerk's office.

The local canvass of the autumn of 1863 was very much mixed in reference to representatives. The attempt to return Trask, Harris, and Mosely to the Legislature failed. In Ward 4 Warner C. Sturtevant, republican, and E. W. Bond, democrat, were tied. Daniel L. Harris ran in Ward 5 as an independent republican, and Titus Amadon, republican, was elected in Ward 6. Sturtevant was subsequently elected. In the city elections, a few weeks later, ex-Mayor Bemis undertook to take the mayoralty away from Henry Alexander, Jr., and failed to do it, by five hundred votes. Mayor Alexander had favored macadamized streets and more school-houses, and as there was a bolt in the republican ranks, led by D. L. Harris, Mr. Alexander's reelection was a genuine triumph. The aldermen elected were: N. W. Talcott, William Patton, N. D. Briggs, F. H. Harris, Charles Barrows, W. H. Wilkinson, Virgil Perkins, and H. E. Mosely.

William S. Shurtleff was appointed judge of the Court of Probate and Insolvency in the place of Judge John Wells, resigned, in September, 1863. Mr. Shurtleff had made a good record as register of the court for several years. We will speak presently of his command of the Forty-sixth Regiment, which had just left the service. Samuel B. Spooner succeeded Shurtleff as register.

A. D. Briggs, republican, was elected mayor in 1864 without opposition. Henry Alexander, Jr., was elected State senator, and Horace J. Chapin, Charles A. Winchester, and L. H. Taylor were sent to the Legislature. A. N. Merrick was elected county commissioner, Charles R. Ladd, county treasurer, and James E. Russell, register of deeds.

Lewis H. Taylor, a "profunder," made an unsuccessful attempt in 1865 to prevent Mayor Briggs's reelection; and Willis Phelps was quite as unsuccessful, the next year, to prevent a third term for Mr.

Briggs, who commanded the general confidence of the business community, and he was also a man of substantial personal qualities.

The Baptists held a semicentennial celebration in May, 1861. The Baptist Church was organized in 1811, at the residence of Solomon Chapin, at the water-shop, with nineteen members. The first edifice was built in 1821, near the water-shops, Rev. Allen Hough,



"AGAWAM" FERRY-BOAT.

pastor; the second, at the corner of Maple and Mulberry streets, in 1836; and the third, on Main street, was dedicated in 1847. In 1861 Dr. Ide was the Baptist apostle in these parts.

Three full regiments were organized at Springfield during the War of the Rebellion. The Tenth Massachusetts Volunteers was one of the first enlisted, and mustered for three years' service. It was composed almost entirely of the militia companies of western Massachusetts, reorganized to meet the requirements of the national service. It encamped on Hampden park, the first companies arriving

on the 31st of May, 1861, the others following within a few days. The Springfield City Guard formed one of the companies, and in the organization of the regiment was known as Company F. Its officers were : Captain, Hosea C. Lombard ; 1st lieutenant, Hiram A. Keith : 2d lieutenant, George W. Bigelow. The other officers of the regiment from Springfield were : 1st lieutenant and adjutant, Oliver Edwards : chaplain, Rev. Frederick A. Barton : captains, Frederick Barton, Joseph K. Newell, George W. Bigelow, Homer G. Gilmore, and Edwin L. Knight ; 1st lieutenants, Byron Porter, L. Oscar Eaton, Edwin B. Bartlett, and Levi Ross ; 2d lieutenants, James Knox, Henry E. Crane. In the non-commissioned staff were E. K. Wilcox and Roslin W. Bowles, serving as sergeant-majors. Lieutenant Bartlett was killed on the 18th of May, 1864, at Spottsylvania. The regiment was reviewed by Governor Andrew and staff on the 10th of July, and five days later was presented with State and national colors of unusual magnificence by the ladies of Springfield : Mrs. Barnes, the wife of Gen. James Barnes, making the presentation.

Next day the regiment took cars for Medford, where, in Camp Adams, on the Mystic river, it found very agreeable quarters, in which, perfecting itself in drill and discipline, it remained till the 25th, when it left the State for Washington.

The Twenty-seventh Regiment was made up from the four western counties of the State, under the call for five new regiments, issued the 1st of September, 1861, which later formed the Massachusetts quota of the "Burnside Expedition." The duty of recruiting and organizing the command was assigned to Horace C. Lee, of Springfield, who had had large experience in militia matters. He had just before been offered the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Twenty-first Regiment, then in camp at Worcester. Accepting instead the wider field of usefulness, Mr. Lee caused recruiting offices to be opened in ten of the principal towns of the district on the 10th, and in a few days several of the companies were well filled ; and Camp Reed, at Springfield, — so named in honor of Quartermaster-General Reed, of Massa-

chusetts, — situated a mile east of the national armory, was appointed as the place of rendezvous. Two companies arrived on the 19th, others followed in a day or two, and the regiment rapidly took form, the last of the companies reporting on the 24th.

In the organization of the regiment Springfield furnished the following officers : Colonel, Horace C. Lee ; surgeon, George A. Otis ; captains, Gustavus A. Fuller, Walter G. Bartholomew, and Horace K. Cooley ; 1st lieutenants, John W. Trafton, Peter S. Bailey, Edward K. Wilcox, and George Warner ; 2d lieutenant, W. Chapman Hunt. Ira B. Sampson, William A. White, and William H. Cooley were subsequently commissioned second lieutenants in the regiment. Many of the line officers received promotion, Captain Bartholomew becoming lieutenant-colonel. Edward K. Wilcox, having attained the rank of captain, was killed at Cold Harbor on the 3d of June. He was at the time on staff duty, but seeing his regiment about to engage in a desperate charge on the enemy's works, he sprang in front of the line, cheering them forward, but meeting a soldier's fate in the act of scaling the enemy's works.

The regiment was reviewed on the 1st of November by Governor Andrew, and the next day camp was broken, a train of twenty-one cars taking the command westward over the Boston & Albany Railroad at four o'clock in the afternoon.

The Forty-sixth Regiment, recruited for the nine months' service, in the autumn of 1862, was composed of Hampden county men, and gathered at Camp N. P. Banks during September and October, the camp being commanded by Colonel Walker, of Springfield. Company A was a Springfield organization, and was officered by Capt. Samuel B. Spooner, 1st Lieut. Lewis A. Tift, and 2d Lieut. Daniel J. Marsh. It was in some respects a notable organization, being largely made up of young business men of the city.

Another company was organized in the summer of 1864 for the one hundred days' service, and was attached to the Forty-sixth

Massachusetts Regiment as Company A, having as officers Capt. Lewis A. Tift, 1st Lieut. Gideon Wells, 2d Lieut. Chauncey Hickox, all of Springfield.

William S. Shurtleff went out as lieutenant-colonel of the Forty-sixth, becoming colonel in January, 1863, on the resignation of Colonel Bowler. In fact, the regiment was under his command during most of its term of service, and to his ability owed much of its excellent reputation. Colonel Shurtleff was well qualified to have filled a position of greater importance. He enlisted as a private in Company A, Forty-sixth Regiment, was chosen first lieutenant on the organization of the company, was made lieutenant-colonel before taking the field, and colonel upon the resignation of Colonel Bowler. At the time of his promotion Captain Spooner was made major. Henry M. Morehouse, of Springfield, was quartermaster during the regiment's service. The regiment, being filled to its maximum, was ordered on the 1st of November to prepare for departure, and left on the 5th for Boston, whence it at once sailed for North Carolina.

The Thirty-seventh Regiment, although organized at Pittsfield, drew largely from Springfield for its officers and men, Company I being wholly and Company K largely recruited from the city. Of its officers, Col., afterward Gen., Oliver Edwards, Maj. Eugene A. Allen, Capts. Hugh Donnelly, John B. Malloy, George B. Chandley, Francis E. Gray, 1st Lieuts. William A. Calhoun, J. Newton Fuller, Charles Phelps, and James O'Connor, and 2d Lieuts. Michael Harrigan, Robert A. Gray, and Joseph Follansbee were from Springfield. The last named was the only one of this number to die in service, he being mortally wounded in the battle of the Wilderness. On its return from service after the close of the war this regiment received a fitting ovation at the City Hall, on its way to be mustered out at Readville.

There were, besides, several companies in other regiments principally or largely made up of Springfield men. Such was Company H. of the Eighth Regiment, which served from Oct. 30, 1862, to Aug.

7, 1863, Capt. George R. Davis and 1st Lieut. William J. Landen being from Springfield, while the enlisted men were about equally divided between that city and Boston. The same company, re-organized, went out again for one hundred days, from the 20th of July to the 10th of November, 1864. Its commissioned officers at that time were Capt. William J. Landen, 1st Lieut. Charles R. Wood, and 2d Lieut. John Thayer, — all of Springfield. Company H, Forty-second Regiment, Capt. George M. Stewart, for the one hundred days' term, was recruited here. The Thirteenth Unattached Company, Heavy Artillery, — afterwards Company I, Third Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, — which served from Feb. 10, 1864, to Sept. 26, 1865, was made up of Springfield mechanics, and after joining the Army of the James served as a special engineer corps, being in charge of one of the ponton trains. Of its officers, Capt. Oliver J. Bixby, 1st Lieut. John F. E. Chamberlain, and 2d Lieut. Charles H. Ladd, were Springfield men. The Thirtieth Unattached Company Heavy Artillery, which served from Sept. 1, 1864, to June 16, 1865, was raised at Springfield, the officers from that city being 1st Lieut. Morrill Prescott and 2d Lieut. Samuel R. Siskron.

Of Springfield officers serving in other commands the following may be mentioned: Col. James Barnes, Surg. David P. Smith, Asst. Surg. Edwin F. Silcox, Capt. James D. Orne, and 2d Lieut. John D. Isbell (died in service July 16, 1862), of the Eighteenth Regiment; 1st Lieut. Wells Willard (afterward captain in the Thirty-fourth), 1st Lieut. Asa E. Hayward, and 2d Lieut. James W. Hopkins, of the Twenty-first Regiment; 1st Lieuts. Joseph L. Hallett and Frank A. Cook (died at Baton Rouge, Aug. 6, 1863), and 2d Lieut. Martin M. Pulver, of the Thirty-first Regiment; Capt. George W. Thompson (killed in action, Sept. 19, 1864), and 2d Lieut. J. Austin Lyman, of the Thirty-fourth Regiment; Capt. Watson W. Bridge, of the Fifty-fourth Regiment; Capt. Robert J. Hamilton and 1st Lieut. Charles W. Mutell, of the Fifty-fifth; Asst. Surg. Jerome E. Roberts, of the Fifty-sixth; 2d Lieuts. Henry B.

Fiske and George S. Greene, of the Fifty-seventh; Asst. Surg. Albert R. Rice, of the Forty-ninth; Capt. Ira B. Sampson, 1st Lieuts. Alfred H. Kinsley and Horace L. Clark, of the Second Heavy Artillery; 2d Lieut. Willard Holden, of the Third Heavy Artillery; Asst. Surg. Homer H. Warner and 2d Lieuts. Horace M. Butler, George Howe, and George D. Davis, of the First Cavalry; 2d Lieut. Henry M. Phillips, of the Fourth Cavalry.

Brevet Brig.-Gen. Horace C. Lee was city clerk and treasurer of Springfield at the breaking out of the Rebellion, and his eminent military capacities, by which he had several years before risen to the rank of colonel and acting brigadier in the State militia, made it desirable that his services should be secured for his country. On the 23d of August, 1861, he was offered the second place in the field of the Twenty-first Regiment, then being formed, and went to Boston to accept it, when he was given authority to raise, in western Massachusetts, one of five regiments which had just been authorized. This he did; and on the 20th of September was commissioned colonel of the Twenty-seventh Regiment, forming a part of the Burnside expedition to North Carolina. He ably commanded the regiment at the battles of Roanoke Island and Newbern, and until July 4, 1862, when he took command of the brigade, leading it in the Trenton, Tarboro', and Goldsboro' expeditions, and winning praise for the able handling of his troops in repulsing General Clingman's attack at the latter place. He was recommended by General Foster for promotion to the rank of brigadier; but the commission was not granted, on account of the number already given to Massachusetts officers. On the departure of General Burnside he was appointed provost-marshal-general of North Carolina, and, later, of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, and acted in that capacity until the office was abolished by General Butler, in January, 1864. He then served upon commissions and court-martial until the opening of the campaign, in May following, when he resumed command of his regiment, leading it at Walthal Junction, Arrowfield Church, and Drewry's Bluff. In

the latter engagement he was made prisoner with a large portion of his command, and was confined in Libby prison and at Macon, Ga. From the latter place he was removed, June 10, and, with many other Union officers of like rank, placed under the fire of Federal batteries at Charleston, S.C. Being exchanged, on the 2d of August, 1864,



OLD ELY TAVERN AND BLAKE HOMESTEAD, DWIGHT STREET.

he went North on a month's furlough, but returned to Fortress Monroe in time to intercept his regiment, then under orders for North Carolina, and procured the return to Massachusetts of those whose time was about to expire. He was mustered out of service with them, September 27, 1864, and for meritorious service received a well-deserved brevet of brigadier-general, dating from March 13, 1865. He then served four years in the Boston Custom-house, and twelve years as

postmaster of Springfield, dying June 22, 1884, soon after vacating the latter office.

Brevet Maj.-Gen. James Barnes, of Springfield, was graduated from the Military Academy, West Point, in the class of 1829. He passed a year there as assistant instructor, took part in the Black Hawk expedition of 1832, and during the nullification controversy, soon after, was stationed at Charleston harbor. He then returned to West Point as assistant instructor, and served three years, when he resigned his commission in 1836. He became noted as a civil engineer and a builder of railroads, and was engaged in large business enterprises when the war broke out. But neither his business interests nor his advancing age and the comforts of home life could stand between this pure-minded patriot and the service of his country, and, at the age of fifty-five, on the twenty-sixth of July, 1861, he was commissioned colonel of the Eighteenth Massachusetts Volunteers. He commanded his fine regiment with signal ability until after the close of the Peninsular campaign, when he succeeded to the command of Martindale's Brigade of the Fifth Corps, and, dating from the 29th of November, 1862, was promoted to brigadier-general of volunteers. He was in command of the brigade during the Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville campaigns, and at Gettysburg had risen to the command of the First Division, Fifth Corps. Leading his command to the relief of the Union left, near the close of the second day's battle, he was wounded, and did not again return to active duty in the field. After the battle he was placed in charge of the defences at Norfolk, Va., and vicinity, then, in succession, of St. Mary's District and the encampment of Confederate prisoners at Point Lookout, Md., where he remained till the close of the war, receiving the brevet of major-general of volunteers, from March 13, 1865. He remained in commission until January 15, 1866, when he was mustered out, and returned to his home, but never regained his health, dying there on the 12th of February, 1869.

Brevet Maj.-Gen. Oliver Edwards entered the service as adjutant

of the Tenth Regiment, but was soon detailed as senior aide on the staff of Gen. D. N. Couch, commanding the division, in which capacity he served with distinction until early August, 1863, when he was commissioned major and directed to organize the Thirty-seventh Regiment, of which he was made colonel. He served in that capacity until May 9, 1864, when he was given command of his brigade, which he retained from Spottsylvania to Petersburg. On the 6th of July the remnants of the brigade were transferred to the Third Brigade, First Division, Sixth Corps, Edwards still retaining the command, and with this force he fought at Fort Stevens and Opequan in the campaign against Early. At the latter battle Edwards commanded the division after the death of General Russell and the wounding of General Upton, and in recognition was made post commandant at Winchester, with his brigade and some other troops as garrison. This position he retained for some time after the return of the Sixth Corps to Petersburg to rejoin the army of the Potomac, and was offered by General Sheridan the position of provost-marshal-general on his staff; but Edwards preferred the command of his old brigade, to which, at his own request, he was returned in February, 1865. In the assault of April 2, on the lines at Petersburg, his brigade took an important part, being the first to break through the Confederate works, and next morning General Edwards received from the mayor of Petersburg the surrender of the city, very soon after its evacuation by General Lee. For his services at this time he received the commission of brigadier-general, to date from May 19, having been brevetted for his gallantry at Opequan; and in the sharp fight at Sailor's Creek, April 6, he won the brevet of major-general. On the 15th of January, 1866, he was honorably discharged from the United States service.

The hospitality of the people of Springfield was continued throughout the war. The crowning effort in that direction was the great Soldiers' Fair, held in City Hall, December 22, 1864, when the people of the city, joined by all the neighboring communities, made a lavish

outpouring of their means to help carry on the great work of caring for the soldiers' needs. In this connection it may be mentioned that during the entire period of the war no body of soldiers was allowed to pass through the city, no matter whence they came, or what their destination, without receiving such food and care as their circumstances might require. An especially notable incident of this nature was the passing through the city, on the 8th of October, 1861, late in the evening, of the troops under command of Senator Wilson, consisting of the Twenty-second Regiment, of which he was colonel, the Third Battery, and the Second Company of Sharpshooters. — all of which had been recruited at Readville under his personal supervision. The enlisted men were fed in the cars, the officers at the Massasoit Hotel, and from the balcony there Colonel Wilson, introduced by Mayor Bemis, addressed the immense gathering of people, after which the train proceeded on its way.

The home demonstrations were many of them notable. On Washington's birthday, 1862, Mayor Bemis, in the City Hall, produced the rebel flags captured by Colonel Lee's regiment at Roanoke Island. Then Judge Chapman read Washington's farewell address.

But the most memorable days were those when Springfield welcomed back from the field of war her broken regiments.

The first to return was the Forty-sixth Regiment, which after its nine months' service came back to Springfield on the 21st of July, 1863. It was welcomed by Mayor Henry Alexander, Jr., Colonel Shurtleff responding, and a collation was served at City Hall, the regiment being mustered out a week later at Hampden park. It was almost a year before the shattered remnant of the Tenth Regiment arrived, June 25, 1864, its three years of service having been honorably filled. It received a very enthusiastic reception at Court square, being welcomed by Mayor Alexander, Colonel Parsons responding, and the usual collation being furnished in City Hall. The Twenty-seventh came on the 26th of September following, and its reception was of a similar nature, General Lee and Lieutenant Colonel Bartholomew re-

sponding to the welcome by Mayor Alexander and ex-Mayor Bemis, and a hundred and fifty young ladies singing songs of welcome. The Thirty-seventh, its period of service ended by the closing of the war, passed through the city on the 24th of June, 1865, on its way to Readville, to be mustered out; but with Springfield's pride in the regiment it was not allowed to pass without a rousing reception. Alderman N. A. Leonard made the speech of welcome, in the absence of the mayor, General Edwards responding, and a collation following at the City Hall.

After the war the fraternal feelings of the soldiers of the city and vicinity found expression in the organization of E. K. Wilcox Post, No. 16, Grand Army of the Republic, on the 9th of August, 1867. This post, ranking among the largest and most efficient in the State, has remained the sole organization of its kind in the city, embracing also in its field a large number of the surrounding towns. It has at the present time an active membership of over five hundred members, and is well equipped for its work. Its commanders have been: H. C. Lee, L. A. Tift, H. M. Phillips, J. L. Rice, S. C. Warriner, E. A. Newell, A. H. Smith, J. L. Knight, S. B. Spooner, J. O. Smith, E. W. Lathrop, J. W. Hersey, C. H. Allison, J. H. Hendrick, Charles H. Rust, and James L. Bowen. In connection with the Post is an efficient Woman's Relief Corps and a prosperous Camp of Sons of Veterans.

We close this record of Springfield in the war with the losses she sustained upon the field of battle and in the hospital and camp:—

Second Regiment. — Henry O. Howard, Company G, killed, Cedar Mountain; George A. Smith, Company K, killed, Cedar Mountain; John Costello, Company I, missing, Antietam; Rufus A. Parker, Company I, died of wounds, Gettysburg.

Ninth Regiment. — Francis Ash, Company E, killed, Spottsylvania.

Tenth Regiment. — Lieut. E. B. Bartlett, killed, Spottsylvania; Alonzo C. Brewer, Company D, killed, Spottsylvania; Thomas F. Burke, Company F, killed, Malvern Hill; Thomas S. Gleason, Company F, killed, Fair Oaks; Silas L. Putnam, Company F, killed, Fredericksburg; Asa C. Merrill, Company H, killed, Fair Oaks; John E. Casey, Company I, killed, Wilderness; Sergt. Alva C. Phillips,

Company E. died of wounds. Gettysburg: Corp. Christian Lortscheve, Company E. died of wounds. Fair Oaks; Charles M. Hall. Company E. died of wounds. Marye's Heights: George G. Strickland. Company F. died of wounds. New York: Elmer Crawford. Company E. died. White House, Va.: Quintain Jameson. Company E. died. Washington, D.C.: Mark C. Barnard. Company F, died. Washington, D.C.: Henry M. Hunt. Company F. died. Washington, D.C.; John C. Squires. Company I. died. Washington, D.C.

Eleventh Regiment. — Leonard Lewis. Company H. died. Andersonville.

Fifteenth Regiment. — George Walker. Company I. missing. Ball's Bluff.

Eighteenth Regiment. — Lieut. John D. Isbell. died: Thomas Donovan, Company A. killed. Fredericksburg: Jackson W. Stebbins. Company K, killed. second Bull Run.

Nineteenth Regiment. — Benjamin R. Nichols. Company G. died of wounds, August 14, 1864.

Twentieth Regiment. — Sergt. John T. Burke. Company K. killed, June 20, 1864.

Twenty-first Regiment. — John Dunn. Company B. died of wounds, May 1, 1862; George W. Mixer. Company B. killed. Bethesda Church: Daniel Pine. Company B. died. Richmond, Va.

Twenty-second Regiment. — Corp. Eben B. Upton. Company B. killed. Wilderness: Wesley Shultz. Company G. died. Washington, D.C.; John Davidson. Company D. died. Richmond, Va.: William A. Hart. Company E. died of wounds. White House Landing.

Twenty-fourth Regiment. — Lawrence Doyle. Company D. died, Newbern, N.C.: Timothy Hayes. Company D, died. Newbern, N.C.: Frank C. Brown, Company F. killed. Newbern, N.C.

Twenty-sixth Regiment. — William L. Weston. Company B, died, Wilmington, N.C.

Twenty-seventh Regiment. — Killed. Capt. Edward K. Wilcox. June 3, 1864. Cold Harbor: Rodolphus L. Baker. Company E. Cold Harbor: Joseph Doyle, Company F, Drewry's Bluff: Reuben A. Richards. Company F, Cold Harbor. Died of wounds, — Nathaniel P. Manley. Company D. Fort Monroe; Frederick Gutberlet. Company K. Washington, D.C.: Jonathan D. Miller, Company K, Fort Monroe; Dennis Sullivan, Company K, Newbern. Died, — John Donovan, Company A, Andersonville; John R. Burgess, Company B, Annapolis; Alfred E. Manley. Company D. Newbern: Edward G. Kellogg. Company G. Andersonville; William D. Smith. Washington; William H. Davy. Company I, Andersonville; Sylvester Oliver. Company I. Washington, D.C.; Albert W. Vaughn, Company I, Washington, D.C.: Thomas C. Allis, Company K, Savannah;

Joseph Day, Company K, Millen; James B. Hills, Company K, Newbern; John McGowan, Company K, Andersonville; Samuel L. Sherman, Company K, Aug. 18, 1864; Thomas Sullivan, Company K, Newbern; John M. Whipple, Company K, Newbern. Missing, — Robert McDonald, Company K, May 16, 1864.

Twenty-eighth Regiment. — Andrew Garvey, Company H, died, Richmond.

Twenty-ninth Regiment. — Emile Taubert, Company C, died, Arlington, Va.

Thirtieth Regiment. — William Brady, Company I, died, New Orleans.

Thirty-first Regiment. — Sergt. William Patch, Company G, died, New Orleans; Thomas Agin, Company G, drowned May 9, 1865.

Thirty-second Regiment. — James A. Putnam, Company G, died of wounds, May 13, 1864; John Quinn, Company I, died; Albert P. McCann, died, Washington, D.C.

Thirty-fourth Regiment. — Capt. George W. Thompson, killed, Winchester, Va.; John M. Winans, Company D, killed, Cedar Creek; Thomas Gormley, Company D, died of wounds, Annapolis, Md.; William Henry, Company D, killed, Hatcher's Run; Frank L. Kimball, Company D, killed, Piedmont; John M. Roach, Company D, died, Danville, Va.

Thirty-seventh Regiment. — Killed, Vincent H. Tanner, Company G, Winchester; William Whitney, Company G, Wilderness; Josiah B. Hawks, Company I, Spottsylvania; William C. Stockwell, Company I, Petersburg; Clarkson H. Decker, Company I, Cold Harbor; George P. Edwards, Company I, Petersburg; Edward S. King, Company I, Spottsylvania; Augustus E. Pease, Company I, Winchester; Erastus B. Pease, Company I, Cold Harbor; Edwin O. Wentworth, Company I, Spottsylvania; Michael Freeman, Company K, Spottsylvania; Timothy McNamara, Company K, Wilderness. Died of wounds, — Lieut. Joseph Follansbee, May 23, 1864; Edward M. Morley, Company A, City Point; Dennis Driscoll, Company K, Washington. Died, — Alpheus D. Lathrop, Company G, Washington; Martin Luther, Company I, Springfield; Albert F. Brown, Company I, Hagerstown; William Daley, Company I, Brandy Station; Edward Dunn, Company I, Harper's Ferry; James O. Lee, Company I, Fort Hamilton; Charles E. Stockwell, Company I, Washington. Missing, — Henry M. Clark, Company A, since May 6, 1864.

Thirty-ninth Regiment. — Charles Swan, died, Salisbury, N.C.

Fifty-fourth Regiment. — Peter B. Johnson, Company A, missing in action, July 18, 1863; Ralsez R. Townsend, Company A, missing in action, July 18, 1863.

Fifty-seventh Regiment. — Killed, Waldo Sherman, Company C, Spottsylvania; Thomas Farrell, Company E, Wilderness; Robert McCoy, Company E, Wilderness; John E. Tuttle, Company G, Wilderness; William Day, Company G,

Wilderness; Thomas Conway, Company I, North Anas river; Albert W. Dow. Company K, Wilderness. Died of wounds. — Dennis Lee, Company G, Washington, D.C.; George W. Benton, Company K. May 12, 1864. Died. — Michael Powers, Company C, Danville, Va.; John Donnelly, Company D. Beverly. N.J.

Fifty-eighth Regiment. — Francis P. Lemon, Company G, killed. Petersburg.

Sixty-first Regiment. — Edward M. Bent, Company F, died. Washington; Simon P. Shepardson, Company F, died. August 23, 1865.

Forty-sixth Regiment. — Died. — Dexter C. Allen, Company A, Baltimore; Henry D. Bartlett, Company A, Newbern, N.C.; George D. Kingsley, Company A, Newbern, N.C.

First Regiment Heavy Artillery. — Abril Farrer, Company M, died, field hospital.

Second Regiment Heavy Artillery. — Missing in action. — Michael Flavin, Company, D, February 2, 1865; James Scaulan, Company G, April 20, 1864. Died. — Mark Nalor, Company D, Florence, S.C.; Frederick Osborne, Company F, Newbern, N.C.; Henry M. Barden, Company G, Florence; Albert W. Brewer, Company G, Andersonville; Levi G. Harvey, Company G, Andersonville; John Hilpold, Company G, died, prisoner; William H. Leonard, Newbern; Charles Seymour, Company G, Andersonville; George H. Phetteplace, Company H, Newbern.

Third Regiment Heavy Artillery. — Alexander Coates, Company E, died. Springfield; Albert H. Wood, Company I, died, Richmond, Va.; John W. Thomas, Company I, drowned in Appomattox river.

First Regiment Cavalry. — Killed. — William Maguiness, Company A. Aldie; Daniel F. Milton, Company A, Aldie; James W. Kearney, Company I. Vaughn road. Died. — William Allen, Company A, Potomac Creek; Leander F. Pierce, Company D, Potomac Creek; Reuben S. Bemis, Company E, Aquia Creek; William H. Church, Andersonville; William S. Fuller, Company E, Annapolis; Gilbert L. Miller, Company E, Andersonville; Charles H. Putnam, Company E, Springfield; Robert A. Remington, Company E, Andersonville; John Kirkland, Company F, Baltimore; Perry O. Merrill, Company I, Florence; David Millard, Company I, Washington; Jacob Pinseno, Salisbury; William Collins, Company K, August 31, 1864; Leonard Dinkel, unassigned recruit, November 6, 1864; John L. Harris, unassigned recruit, Washington. Missing in action. — Livingston Babcock, Company F; Irving R. Cheeney, Company F.

Third Regiment Cavalry. — Joseph H. Sargent, Company A, died, Annapolis.

Fourth Regiment Cavalry. — Henry T. Morgan, Company B, died, Richmond; Frederick Hale, Company G, died, Fort Magruder, Va.

Fifth Regiment Cavalry. — Isaac H. Dorsey, Company D, died, New Orleans; Howard Long, Company F, died, Fort Monroe; Elisha Gaskins, Company G, died, Point Lookout, Md.

Recapitulation. — Killed, 59; died, 88; died of wounds, 18; missing 10; drowned, 2; total, 167.

We have now reached a point in our long story where it is customary for historians to pause. The immediate past is fresh in the mind; many of the figures are still with us, and the obvious obstacles in dealing with this period is apparent. We have already transgressed somewhat the rule by speaking of many who still live; but this seemed excusable in order to cover, in some small measure, the period of the great war. It is only meagrely presented, and much is left for the next generation to arrange and select for preservation.

What remains to be said is soon told. Springfield's mayors and the dates of their elections were, successively: Charles A. Winchester, republican, 1867, 1868; William L. Smith, democrat, 1869, 1870; Samuel B. Spooner, republican, 1871, 1872; John M. Stebbins, democrat, 1873; Emerson Wight, republican, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877; Lewis J. Powers, democrat and citizens' ticket, 1878 (republican ticket), 1879; William H. Haile, republican, 1880, 1881; Henry M. Phillips, republican, 1882, 1883, 1884; Edwin D. Metcalf, republican, 1885, who thus was in office during the Springfield May celebration of 1886.

There were two serious fires in the month of July, 1864, one at the water-shops, the forging-shop being consumed, at a loss of \$50,000. On the 24th of July fire broke out upon Main street, and the following buildings were destroyed: The Music Hall block, corner of Main and Pyncheon streets; the adjoining wooden buildings occupied by Geo. M. Law and E. Malley; the stables of the Thompson Express Co.; the American Hook and Ladder Company's building; and the Hitchcock block, corner of Main and Pyncheon streets; loss, \$122,000; insurance, \$80,000. The loss fell the heaviest upon Tilly Haynes, the

owner and builder of the Music Hall block, and a very popular, public-spirited, and enterprising citizen.

The most extensive conflagration of this period took place Sunday afternoon, April 29, 1875, it being within a few weeks of the two hundredth anniversary of the burning of Springfield by the Indians. The fire started in the planing-mill of H. M. Conkey & Co., Taylor street, swept away \$181,100 worth of property on that street, devoured \$75,000 on Worthington street, cut a \$191,200 hole out of Main street, and careened into Bond place on a \$16,250 errand ; made Wight avenue \$24,800 the poorer : levelled dwelling-houses in Vernon street to the tune of \$99,350, and exhausted its strength on Water street with a wind up of \$8,200 ; total, \$596,300 ; insurance, \$445,270. Total buildings lost, 50, of which 30 were dwelling-houses. The losses of \$20,000 and over are here added : Merriam & Frost, \$40,000 ; Stebbins Manufacturing Company, \$27,000 ; Wason Manufacturing Company, \$25,000 ; A. B. Abbey, \$30,000 ; McKnight, Norton, & Hawley, \$25,000 ; J. S. Hurlbut, \$20,000 ; C. S. Hurlbut, \$40,000 ; Livermore, Swan, & Co., \$45,000 ; Joseph Shaw estate, \$40,000.

Upon Washington's birthday, 1876, an elaborate Washington party was held in the old Parsons tavern now on Court street. The building was filled with ancient furniture and bric-a-brac, and the actors generally appeared in costumes of the past.

Several changes in newspapers took place after the war. Henry M. Burt, who started the "New England Homestead," at Northampton, moved the paper to Springfield in 1867, and subsequently published the "Evening Telegram." In 1872 the business interests of the "Springfield Republican" were reorganized. Clark W. Bryan and Mr. Tapley left the firm, taking the job printing, and forming the Clark W. Bryan Company. They bought of Lewis H. Taylor the "Springfield Evening Union," founded in 1864 by Edmund Anthony, of New Bedford. William M. Pomeroy was made managing editor, and E. H. Phelps local editor. The "Union" developed marked

ability, especially as to local news, much above the usual run of provincial evening papers.

In 1881 Dea. Joseph L. Shipley became editor of the "Union," and soon afterward secured a controlling interest in the company. Mr.



PARSONS TAVERN AS IT APPEARED IN 1886.

Shipley is a hard worker within the lines set by his party, and has fully maintained the reputation of the paper in the local field. Mr. Bryan had left the company, and after a short journalistic experience in Berkshire, established a printing-house in Holyoke, which so grew upon his hands that he was forced to bring his business to Springfield. The "New England Homestead" was bought in 1878,

by E. H. Phelps and H. H. Sanderson, and a city edition was started a few months later. The Phelps Publishing Company was organized in 1880, and the "Farm and Home," an agricultural paper, was started about the same time. Both this paper and the "Homestead" have proved great financial successes.

E. and C. J. Bellamy started the "Daily News" in 1880, and the latter subsequently secured his brother's interest. Three years later the daily "Democrat" was started by a company, with Lawson Sibley as president, but it was short-lived. In 1878 Edward Merriam started a magazine in Springfield called the "Sunday Afternoon." Rev. Washington Gladden, editor. It had a short and brilliant career.

There is one man who for over thirty years was an essential part of Springfield, but who, from the nature of the case, can command but comparatively small space in this history. The thought of Samuel Bowles was the thought of thousands of men at each breakfast table, and the irritation of other thousands. He was a politician and the foe of politicians; he was a man of deep religious perceptions and a frequent combatant of religionists; his literature was the record of the hour, and his rhetoric the elegance of exactness and terse detail; his phrases were modelled by the exigencies of rapid preparation and a busy constituency. He was a lover of good men and the companion of men of action, but an incorrigible belligerent when the judgment or character of friend or foe fell below his standard. Party ties were as nothing, neighborly feeling was as nothing, when battling for a public policy or principle. A member of the Cobden Club, he argued for a graduated protective tariff; a charter member of the republican party, he struck that organization a full blow in the face when its standard fell below his. He grew and broadened and mellowed with each experience in life. Brilliant and aggressive in his youth, stern and cosmopolitan in middle life, he was fast maturing to one of the most admirable characters of his day, when death deprived him of an age of distinction and wisdom.



Sam I Groves

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Sam J. Jones



and usefulness. But his life can best be written as George S. Merriam has written it, — in the setting of his country's history.

For many years there was not a session of the Legislature or of Congress that was a stranger to the figure of Samuel Bowles. The corridor, the club, the banquet board, the conference-room, in fact, the resorts of public men, were his resorts; he aided in planning campaigns, forming tickets or public measures, and carried his sharp lance so far to the fore-front that he was sometimes unhorsed, like other bold riders. "This was not alway the case," he said, when subscribers complained because republican postmasters would not deliver the "Republican" after it had come out for Horace Greeley for President. "But the paper will recover its influence," he added; and it did.

A more dramatic discomfiture, but one challenging deep sympathy, he had experienced some years before. It was in December, 1868, while Mr. Bowles was talking with Murat Halstead of the "Cincinnati Commercial," at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, that an officer arrested him and hurried him off with unnecessary rudeness to Ludlow-street Jail. Many prominent men, like Chester A. Arthur, Hugh Hastings, and others, were refused admission to the jail, and the sheriff carried out the plan of the journalist's enemies by obstructing all efforts for securing his release on bail that night. This was the hour of Jim Fisk's triumph. He had jailed a New England editor, but at 11 o'clock next morning Mr. Bowles regained his liberty. A wide newspaper and lawyer's discussion followed this extraordinary episode. Mr. Bowles, by his brave course in attacking Fisk, and continuing to attack him, had earned the right to say editorially: "We find some consolation, however, in the aroused spirit of the press and people, which gives promise of greater courage and foresight hereafter in counteracting the selfish schemes of adventurers and demagogues." Over fifty of the foremost citizens of Boston sent a formal request to Mr. Bowles for his presence at a dinner in his honor. Mr. Bowles followed his natural instinct and declined; but he took

occasion to write a fine letter on journalistic ethics, which contained this passage: "My own observation is that the press rarely does injustice to a thoroughly honest man or cause. It may be deceived with regard to a private individual, and misrepresent him for a time, but with reference to public men and measures its knowledge is more intimate and complete than that of any other agency possibly can be; and I know that it withholds unjustly to the public one hundred times when it speaks wrongly once of the individual."

After the death of the great journalist, his son, Samuel Bowles, became editor and publisher of the "Springfield Republican." For several years, owing to the precarious health of his father, he had been called upon to follow very closely the course of public events, and to inspect his father's wide political correspondence, and this, with his business aptitude and industry, gave him a good equipment for his heavy responsibilities. After a short interregnum the editorial force of the "Republican" was organized, with Solomon Bulkley Griffin as managing editor, and the late Wilmot L. Warren and Charles Goodrich Whiting as his two important assistants in the fields of finance and literature. All three had won their spurs under the exacting conditions and trying ordeal of Mr. Bowles's supervision, and were notably well equipped to carry on the great work given the "Republican" to do.

The churches of Springfield enjoyed a steady growth during this period, quite up to the material increase of the community. There was but one incident that commands special attention, and that was the refusal of a Congregational council to install Rev. James F. Merriam over the Indian Orchard Church, November 7, 1877. A question of orthodoxy was involved. Mr. Merriam, in his declaration of faith, had said: "In regard to the matter of the eternal punishment of those impenitent at death, I believe the Bible does not teach it; nor do I believe it teaches the contrary." The Indian Orchard affair gave rise to a long newspaper discussion that spread all over the country, and now forms a chapter of the religious

history of the land. A local paper sent out these questions to the ninety-six Congregational ministers of the four western Massachusetts counties : —

1. Do you teach that endless conscious suffering awaits the impenitent? 2. Would you have voted to install Rev. Mr. Merriam? The answers were: Question No. 1 — Yes, 41. No, 4. Question No. 2 — Yes, 7. No, 27. No questions were sent to the Springfield ministers. They stood, however, five to two against installation. Many ministers, it will be seen, chose not to reply, and some who did, made it a condition that their names should not be published.



CHAPTER XXII.

MAY 25, 1886.

Preparing to Celebrate the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Town. — The Citizens' Committee. — Service of Praise at the First Church. — The Loan Exhibition. — Tuesday's Ceremonies. — Band Concert. — Judge Henry Morris's Address. — Judge William S. Shurtleff's Ode. — The Banquet at the Massasoit Hotel. — Interesting After-dinner Speeches. — Letters of Regret. — A Brilliant and Remarkable Occasion.

THERE are few memorial occasions which Springfield can look back upon with deeper feelings of pride and felicitation than the quarter-millennial celebration, May 25 and 26, 1886. All classes of citizens responded cordially to the call. The city government made a generous appropriation; and during the two days, when the city was overwhelmed with honored guests, interested spectators, and patriotic and curious crowds, there was not a single incident, except an accident to a boy, which interrupted the current of general rejoicing.

Mayor Phillips, in 1885, had placed the matter of a celebration in the hands of an advisory committee, of which the late William L. Smith was chairman. As the appropriations would have to be made by the succeeding city government, nothing definite was done thus early beyond drawing up a petition to the Legislature for permission to appropriate \$10,000 for the celebration. Upon the election of Edwin D. Metcalf as mayor plans took definite shape. The mayor appointed a committee of fifty citizens to take entire charge of the memorial services, and to expend, at their discretion, \$9,500. The committee of fifty organized with Wm. L. Smith as chairman, and to his executive abilities and good sense was due much of the success of the anniversary. It was the last service Mr. Smith ren-

dered the city which had often trusted and honored him. He kept a careful eye upon the general proceedings ; and the committee supplemented this by faithful service in elaborating the details of the programme. The full committee of fifty was as follows : —

William L. Smith, chairman ; C. C. Spellman, secretary : W. H. Haile, treasurer ; W. S. Shurtleff, H. S. Hyde, H. M. Phillips, L. J. Powers, E. Morgan, Jas. A. Rumrill, A. B. Wallace, R. F. Hawkins, H. E. Ducker, C. E. Brown, E. H. Lathrop, S. C. Warriner, Daniel J. Marsh, J. D. Gill, E. P. Chapin, J. B. Carroll, Theodore Geisel, Milton Bradley, C. J. Goodwin, C. W. Mutell, E. H. Phelps, R. O. Morris, L. C. Hyde, George H. Bleloch, T. O. Bemis, S. B. Spooner, F. W. Dickinson, Edward Pynchon, F. H. Stebbins, Dr. C. D. Brewer, Willmore B. Stone, P. S. Bailey, E. C. Rogers, H. S. Lee, Geo. H. Queen, E. C. Washburn, J. D. Safford, Geo. A. Morton, E. A. Newell, Frank D. Foot, J. J. Toomey, C. C. Merritt, A. H. Goetting, Nathan D. Bill, F. A. Judd, Jas. McKechnie, Henry W. Blake.

This committee apportioned the work among themselves as follows : —

Executive Committee. — Wm. L. Smith, chairman ; W. H. Haile, H. S. Hyde, L. J. Powers, Jas. A. Rumrill, H. M. Phillips, Elisha Morgan, Nathan D. Bill, F. W. Dickinson, D. J. Marsh, W. S. Shurtleff, C. W. Mutell, R. O. Morris, R. F. Hawkins, Geo. H. Bleloch, Milton Bradley, L. C. Hyde.

Committee on Parade. — D. J. Marsh, chairman ; S. B. Spooner, C. W. Mutell, R. O. Morris, R. F. Hawkins, Elisha Morgan, Geo. H. Bleloch, H. S. Hyde, Milton Bradley.

Committees on the Various Periods Represented in the Parade. — 1600. R. O. Morris, chairman ; F. W. Dickinson, C. J. Goodwin, E. H. Phelps, W. H. Haile.

1635-1735. R. F. Hawkins, chairman ; C. C. Spellman, S. C. Warriner, J. D. Gill, E. P. Chapin, F. H. Stebbins, E. C. Rogers, Geo. H. Queen.

1735-1835. E. Morgan, chairman ; S. B. Spooner, C. W. Mutell, L. C. Hyde, P. S. Bailey, E. A. Newell, F. A. Judd, H. S. Lee, Geo. A. Morton.

1835-1860. G. H. Bleloch, chairman ; H. M. Phillips, A. B. Wallace, E. H. Lathrop, T. O. Bemis, Dr. C. D. Brewer, Edward Pynchon, A. H. Goetting, Frank D. Foot.

1860-1886. H. S. Hyde, chairman ; L. J. Powers, H. E. Ducker, C. E. Brown, Theodore Geisel, J. J. Toomey, E. C. Washburn, N. D. Bill.

1935. Milton Bradley, chairman; W. S. Shurtleff, J. B. Carroll, Wm. L. Smith, C. C. Merritt, W. B. Stone, H. W. Blake, Jas. McKechnie.

Finance. — W. H. Haile, chairman; H. S. Hyde, L. J. Powers.

Banquet. — L. J. Powers, chairman; J. D. Safford, P. S. Bailey, Jas. McKechnie, Henry W. Blake.

Invitations. — Jas. A. Rumrill, chairman; C. C. Merritt, Willmore B. Stone, J. J. Toomey, E. A. Newell.

Reception. — H. M. Phillips, chairman; E. H. Lathrop, H. S. Lee, S. C. Wariner, F. A. Judd.

Printing. — Nathan D. Bill, chairman; E. C. Rogers, C. E. Brown, F. H. Stebbins, G. H. Queen.

Ball. — E. Morgan, chairman; F. D. Foot, G. A. Morton, Edward Pynchon, E. C. Washburn.

Decoration. — L. C. Hyde, chairman; J. D. Gill, H. S. Hyde, C. E. Brown, A. H. Goetting.

Music. — C. W. Mutell, chairman; L. C. Hyde, F. D. Foot.

Press. — Henry W. Blake, chairman; E. A. Newell, H. S. Lee.

Literary. — F. W. Dickinson, chairman; E. H. Phelps, Milton Bradley, A. B. Wallace, L. C. Hyde.

A large honorary committee was chosen, as well as the following committee from the outlying towns: —

Agawam. — J. Henry Churchill, Reuben De Witt, Rev. Ralph Perry, C. C. Wright.

Chicopee. — George M. Stearns, L. E. Hitchcock, J. B. Wood, Matthew Ryan, T. W. Carter, Rev. R. K. Bellamy, Harrison Munger, F. H. Morton.

Hampden. — Decius Beebe, Simeon Smith, A. C. Burleigh, Dr. George T. Ballard.

Holyoke. — W. A. Chase, W. B. C. Pearsons, William Whiting, W. S. Loomis, J. J. O'Connor, Timothy Merrick, James H. Newton, R. B. Johnson.

Longmeadow. — Oliver Wolcott, T. F. Cordis, James Bliss, A. H. Calkins.

Ludlow. — B. F. Burr, L. H. Brigham, C. F. Grosvenor, Rev. M. P. Dickey.

Southwick. — Joseph W. Bicknell, John Boyle, Charles D. Abell, George W. Hamilton.

Westfield. — E. B. Gillette, L. N. Clark, L. F. Thayer, M. B. Whitney, L. B. Walkeey, J. R. Dunbar, Henry Fuller, H. W. Ely.

West Springfield. — R. N. Bagg, E. C. Brooks, B. F. Trask, George L. Wright.

Wilbraham. — J. W. Bliss, F. E. Clark, M. F. Breck, Ira G. Potter.

Enfield. — J. L. Houston, Samuel Hathaway, Joseph Allen, Thompson Grant.

Somers. — W. B. Woods, S. M. Billings, H. R. Kibbe, D. B. Pomeroy.

Suffield. — J. Luther Sherman, W. L. Loomis, A. C. Allen, H. K. Wright.

The ceremonies really began on Sunday, the 23d, when all the churches took occasion to recall the past by appropriate exercises. It had been the intention of the historian to give extracts from the various anniversary sermons, both here and in the surrounding towns. After collecting over thirty abstracts of sermons, however, the plan was abandoned on account of the lack of space. The Sunday exercises that attracted the greatest interest took place in the evening at the First Congregational Church. The age of that organization is practically that of the town. Here is the programme. It may be added, that the tunes were taken from "The Springfield Collection," by Solomon Warriner, published in 1810, or the "Musica Sacra; or, Springfield and Utica Collections United," by Thomas Hastings and Solomon Warriner, published in numerous editions from 1816 to 1829. The dates mentioned with the tunes are believed to be approximately correct:

INVOCATION.

CONGREGATIONAL TUNES, —

JUDGMENT HYMN (Hymn 1247, "Songs for the Sanctuary," two verses).

"Great God, What do I See and Hear?" *Martin Luther, 1530*

EVENING HYMN (Hymn 154, two verses). "Glory To Thee, My God, This Night." *Tallis, 1556*

SCRIPTURE.

ANTHEM, — "Glory Be To God On High." *Bird, 1565*

PRAYER.

CHOIR TUNES, —

CANTERBURY. — "O Thou, From Whom All Goodness Flows,"

Ravenscroft, 1633

PALMYRA, — "That Once Loved Form, Now Cold and Dead,"

Buononcini, 1685

BURFORD, — "O Sun of Righteousness, Arise,"

Purcell, 1695

DUNBAR, — "When Overwhelmed With Grief,"

Corelli, 1700

LETTER from Rev. THOMAS R. PYNCHON, D.D.

CONGREGATIONAL TUNES, —

ST. ANN'S (Hymn 230, first and last verses). "The Lord, Our God, Is Full of Might." *Dr. Croft*, 1720

SHIRLAND (Hymn 881, two verses). "Our Heavenly Father Calls,"

Stanley, 1734

CHRISTMAS (Hymn 281, two verses). "Awake, Awake the Sacred Song,"

Handel, 1740

CHOIR TUNES, —

TRURO, — "With All My Powers of Heart and Tongue," *Dr. Burney*, 1750

PROTECTION, — "Up to the Hills I Lift Mine Eyes,"

Haydn, 1760

WESTMINSTER, — "Blest are the Sons of Peace,"

Dr. Boyce, 1760

PASTORAL HYMN, — "The Lord My Pasture Shall Prepare," *Dr. Arne*, 1762

TUNBRIDGE, — "There Is a Fountain Filled with Blood," *Dr. Hayes*, 1765

HISTORICAL PAPER, — "Solomon Warriner, and the Music of His Day,"

Eduard Morris

CONGREGATIONAL TUNE, —

ST. MARTIN'S (Hymn 110, omit second verse). "Lift Up to God the Voice of Praise." *Tansur*, 1766

CHOIR TUNES, —

BLENDON, — "Jesus, My All, to Heaven is Gone,"

Giardini, 1770

HINTON, — "With All the Powers of Heart and Tongue,"

Richard Taylor, 1779

REVIEW, — "Methods of Church Support,"

E. C. Rogers

ANTHEM, — "Lord of All Power and Might,"

William Mason, 1782

CONGREGATIONAL TUNE, —

BRATTLE STREET, — (Hymn 225). "When All Thy Mercies, O My God!"

Pleyel, 1785

CHOIR TUNES, —

CLAPTON, — "Thy Name, Almighty Lord,"

Rev. W. Jones, 1786

WAREHAM, — "Soon As I Heard My Father Say,"

Dr. Arnold, 1788

ST. PHILIP, — "Join All the Glorious Names,"

Levesque, 1790

ADDRESS, — "Springfield Memories,"

J. L. Johnson

CHANT, — "Gloria Patri,"

Battishill, 1790

CHOIR TUNES, —

FLORENCE, — “Come Thou Fount of Every Blessing,” *Viotti*, 1795

FUNERAL HYMN, — “The Righteous Souls that Take their Flight,”
Dr. Edward Miller, 1795

CAMBRIDGE, — “Come Sound His Praise Abroad,” *Robert Harrison*, 1795

REMARKS BY THE PASTOR.

HYMN-ANTHEM, —

DENMARK, — “Before Jehovah's Awful Throne,” *M. Madan*, 1799

PRAYER AND BENEDICTION.

The choir performers were: Director and organist, Edward H. Phelps; soprano, Miss Fannie B. Chamberlain; alto, Mrs. J. C. Ingersoll; bass, George R. Bond; tenor, J. C. Ingersoll.

Monday was the busy day of the week. Decorators were at work upon all the principal buildings of the city. Two hundred and fifty electric lights were placed among the branches of the elms on Court square, and the carpenters were at work upon the arch that spanned Main street, opposite the square, as well as upon the various floats and exhibits for the great procession. Springfield never presented such a brilliant appearance. The chapel of the First Congregational Church was being meantime turned into an antiquarian museum of great interest, citizens generally contributing of their ancient bric-à-brac and heirlooms. The loan exhibition committee was divided up into the following sub-committees: —

Executive committee. — Charles Marsh, chairman; Edward Ingersoll, V. N. Taylor, advisory; E. P. Chapin, E. C. Rogers, E. C. Pierce, J. D. Gill, Charles H. Southworth, Mrs. R. F. Hawkins, Mrs. W. L. Smith, Mrs. P. P. Kellogg, Mrs. N. W. Fisk, Mrs. L. J. Powers, Mrs. W. S. Shurtleff, Mrs. G. W. Tapley, Mrs. H. J. Beebe, Mrs. Heman Smith, Mrs. N. C. Newell, Mrs. Ellen A. Chapin, Miss Elizabeth Ames, Miss Mary L. Jacobs.

Historical paintings and pictures. — James D. Gill, O. B. Ireland, W. W. Colburn, E. C. Pierce, J. W. Cumnock, Mrs. P. P. Kellogg, Mrs. A. J. Smith, Mrs. William Whiting, of Holyoke; Mrs. N. C. Newell, Mrs. W. H. Wesson,

Mrs. E. W. Bond, Mrs. J. A. Rumrill, Miss N. Homans, Miss S. Manning, Miss M. Benton, Miss M. Bradford, Mrs. H. Kibbe, of Somers; Mrs. A. F. Gaylord, of Chicopee; Mrs. R. H. Seymour, of Holyoke; Mrs. L. H. Brigham, of Ludlow; Mrs. D. L. Gillett, of Westfield; Mrs. J. W. Cumnock, of Chicopee.

Textile fabrics, including costumes, laces, table and bed covers, needle-work, etc. — Mrs. W. L. Smith, Mrs. L. J. Powers, Mrs. A. A. Packard, Mrs. E. P. Chapin, Mrs. J. H. Carmichael, Mrs. H. S. Hyde, Mrs. T. F. Breck, Mrs. G. C. McLean, Mrs. A. B. Harris, Mrs. J. S. Hurlbut, Miss Sarah P. Birnie; Miss M. K. Ely, of West Springfield; Mrs. T. B. Wattles, of Chicopee Falls; Mrs. L. Whitman, of Agawam; Mrs. James Bly, of Chicopee Falls; Miss Kate Woods, of Somers; Miss Louise Dunbar.

China, glass, pottery, etc. — Mrs. W. S. Shurtleff, Mrs. W. B. C. Pearsons, of Holyoke; Mrs. Homer Foot, Jr., Miss Ida Southworth, Miss Mary Bradford, Miss Maria Foot, Miss Grace Dwight, Mrs. J. E. Russell, Mrs. E. C. Pierce, Mrs. D. E. Taylor, Mrs. W. C. Simons, Mrs. F. W. Chapin, Mrs. Ellen H. Chapin, Mrs. G. W. Tapley, Mrs. T. O. Bemis, Mrs. W. M. Collins; Mrs. R. Bagg, Jr., of West Springfield; Mrs. C. S. Miller, of Southwick; Mrs. O. K. Merrill; Mrs. A. Bush, of Westfield; Mrs. Myron Bliss, of Wilbraham.

Furniture, cabinets, musical instruments, clocks, etc. — J. P. Harding, George D. Pratt, Mrs. A. T. Folsom; Mrs. C. W. Ranlet, of Holyoke; Mrs. H. J. Beebe, Miss M. L. Jacobs, Mrs. E. C. Rogers, Mrs. T. B. Walker; Mrs. A. Aitcheson, of Wilbraham; Mrs. F. L. Gunn, Mrs. A. J. Pease; Miss Hannah Bliss, of Longmeadow; Mrs. L. E. Hitchcock, of Chicopee; Mrs. E. Sproul, of Southwick; Mrs. G. O. Kingsbury; Mrs. A. F. Gaylord, of Chicopee; Mrs. W. Austin, of Agawam; Mrs. J. L. Houston, of Enfield.

Books, manuscripts, papers, deeds, maps, and autographs. — Mrs. Heman Smith, Mrs. Mary Calhoun, Mrs. R. O. Morris, Miss E. Mills, Miss Stella Warren, Miss M. R. Leonard; Miss A. Noble, of Longmeadow; Mrs. Dr. Foskit, of Wilbraham; Mrs. Dr. Ballard, of Hampden; Mrs. T. J. Pease, of Enfield; Mrs. George R. Dickinson; Mrs. Charles Grosvenor, of Ludlow; Mrs. J. R. Dunbar, of Westfield; Mrs. J. V. Wolcott, of Agawam; Mrs. A. F. Webb, of Southwick; Miss I. T. Jones, of Ludlow.

Curios, bric-à-brac, jewellery, plaques, coins, etc. — E. S. Brewer, C. P. Nichols, C. D. Brewer, Mrs. R. F. Hawkins, Mrs. O. B. Ireland, Mrs. F. R. Hayes; Mrs. E. B. Hooker, of Longmeadow; Mrs. R. H. Seymour, of Holyoke; Mrs. N. W. Fisk, Mrs. C. P. Nichols, Miss Elizabeth Ames, Miss Mary Bill, Mrs. J. J. S. Bagg; Miss Alice Pendleton, of Willimansett; Mrs. F. Carleton, of Southwick; Mrs. F. Gallup, of Ludlow; Mrs. H. A. Gibbs, Miss Annie T. Covell.

Mrs. J. W. Kirkham; Mrs. A. B. West, of Chicopee Falls; Mrs. L. R. Norton, of Westfield; Miss Ambia Harris, Miss Belle Newell, Mrs. R. D. Whitney.

Armory exhibit and Civil War. — Captain Starin, Captain Heath, Lieutenant Clark, Capt. E. C. Pierce, Maj. H. G. Gilmore, E. C. Rogers.

Catalogue. — Fred L. Gillett, G. D. Dutton, G. D. Pratt, F. B. Marsh, J. W. Kirkham, H. G. Chapin.

Show cases. — C. P. Nichols, J. D. Gill, V. N. Taylor, C. H. Southworth.

Transportation. — A. B. Harris, N. D. Bill, C. E. Brown, T. O. Bemis.

Police. — E. P. Chapin, H. G. Gilmore, E. C. Rogers.

The formal programme of the quarter-millennial was begun at noon on Tuesday, when Captain Starring ordered a salute of fourteen guns, at the armory in honor of the fourteen towns situated within the original limits of Springfield, and this was followed by the national salute and the ringing of all the church bells of the city.

It is not permitted us to give in detail the numerous scenes of graphic interest upon these two days in street and hall, but it would not do to pass by the gathering in the City Hall upon the afternoon of Tuesday. It was not the brilliant decorations that charmed, for that hall had been brilliantly decorated before; nor the music, and one might almost say, nor the ceremonies either. The unique feature of the occasion was the audience itself. This generation never witnessed a gathering like it. Such a number of rare old faces, so many Yankee eyes, dimmed in brilliancy by time, but Yankee eyes all the same, such odd characters peering about the audience as if making comparisons between the high life of the present and the homely glories of the past. In fine, to one who took the trouble to make the circuit of that audience and to study it from every side, it seemed for all the world as though the garrets had been swept for precious remnants of humanity to be sprinkled through a congregation of fashion. Particularly did the address of Governor Robinson warm the blood of the true and tried lovers of old Springfield, the city of homes. That remarkable crowd of distinguished and obscure men, — the busy and leisurely men, those who had had borne burdens and those who had taken their places, were in touch with the gov-

ernor, and were frequent and hearty in their response and applause.

The literary exercises in the hall, upon this remarkable Tuesday, were preceded by a concert by Gartland's Tenth Regiment Band of Albany, N.Y.

The president of the day and the vice-presidents were as follows :—

President of the day, Dr. Joseph C. Pynchon. Vice-presidents, Springfield. William L. Smith, Judge M. P. Knowlton, Judge Gideon Wells. E. B. Maynard. Eliphalet Trask, Homer Foot, Maj. Edward Ingersoll, Henry Fuller, Jr., Harvey Sanderson. Bishop P. T. O'Reilly. Agawam, E. K. Bodurtha. Chicopee. George S. Taylor. Hampden, W. R. Sessions. Holyoke, Oscar Ely. Longmeadow, Stephen T. Colton. Ludlow, Marvin King. Southwick, Joseph N. Forward. Westfield, Samuel Fowler. West Springfield, Aaron Bagg. Wilbraham, John M. Merrick. Enfield, Charles Brisco. Somers, Amos Pease. Suffield, H. S. Sheldon.

At 2.15 ex-Mayor WILLIAM L. SMITH, the chairman of the Citizens' Committee, arose and said : —

Ladies and Gentlemen, — The Committee of Arrangements for the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Springfield had selected to preside at these exercises a lineal descendant of the man who stood foremost among the original settlers of the plantation of Agawam, and who, by his prudent and able administration of the affairs of that little colony, transformed it into a permanent and prosperous community. We recognize the distinguished services of the fathers of the city by honoring their worthy representatives. By the inability of Dr. Joseph Pynchon to be present here to-day by reason of infirmity of health, a matter, of course, of regret to all of us, the Committee of Arrangements have invited Marcus P. Knowlton, who has consented to act as presiding officer; and I accordingly have the honor now to introduce to you Judge Knowlton, the acting president of the day.

JUDGE KNOWLTON. — *Ladies and Gentlemen.* — It is not expected that I shall detain you with an address to-day. It is more fitting, in view of the feast to which you have been invited, that I should not delay you, but begin at once the exercises which you have come to hear. We shall commence our exercises with prayer, which will be offered by the Rev. Dr. Buckingham.

After Dr. Buckingham's prayer came music, the male chorus of the Orpheus Club singing the "Chorus of Pilgrims," from Tannhauser.

JUDGE KNOWLTON. — The town of Springfield, adopting the fashions of modern times, has become a city, and she boasts a mayor, a board of aldermen, and a common council, which administer her government wisely and honestly. She will now speak words of welcome by the lips of her mayor, Edwin D. Metcalf.

MAYOR METCALF. — *Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,* — Two hundred and fifty years ago, after braving the dangers of the unbroken wilderness that separated the Massachusetts bay and the rich valley of the Connecticut, a colony, small in numbers, but strong in hope and courage, began the settlement of Springfield. Surrounded by inhospitable forests and hostile savage tribes, amid want, danger, hardships, and sore privations, these early colonists founded here a community that has changed the aspect of nature, filled this valley, and covered these hills with a numerous and happy people, rich in all those possessions and blessings which flow from industry, good government, universal education, deep and abiding principles. All that we enjoy is fruit from the seed they planted. It is to their courage, their industry, their love of freedom, their faith in and reverence for God and his word, that we in a large measure owe our abundant prosperity.

In grateful recognition of our many obligations to them, to give public expression of our respect for their virtues and achievements, to show our devotion to the principles they illustrated, to quicken our zeal for future endeavors, and refresh the recollections of the history of the past, our citizens have assembled for the second time in this century to celebrate the anniversary of its settlement, and welcome home all its sons and daughters.

It is not Springfield's anniversary alone. Many other towns are entitled to share with us in all these hallowed memories. For more than a century Springfield exercised jurisdiction over all the territory originally assigned to her first settlers; but in process of time, as new centres of population were formed and new interests developed, new towns were organized, so that Springfield now covers but a small portion of its original territory. All these towns, though independent of us, are yet closely bound to us by the ties of a common origin, a common history, and common interests. They have gone forth, as the grown-up daughters of a house, to establish new homes and new centres of growth, and their progress has been watched by us with such care and interest as only a mother can have for her children, and now it is with great pleasure that we

welcome them all, to partake with us in the memories and festivities of this occasion, as to a family festival — Enfield, Suffield, and Somers, early wooed and won by a neighboring State; Longmeadow, the gem and type of all that is loveliest and best of New England villages; Agawam, West Springfield, Wilbraham, Ludlow, Hampden, and Southwick, farming communities, strong in those industries and virtues, inherited from a common ancestry, which have made rural New England the source from which has ever flowed the best and most healthful influences in American civilization; Westfield, Chicopee, and Holyoke, busy manufacturing towns, whose enterprising and ingenious citizens have taken possession of the streams and rivers, where once the Indians fished, dammed up their swift-flowing waters, and led them into various channels of usefulness, and made their latent powers mighty factors in our development, filling all these valleys with the cheerful music of busy and prosperous industries. It is with special pride that we have witnessed the increased population and wealth, and the development of all the resources at their command. All are indeed welcome. Though geographical lines divide us, our interests are one, and together we will review the ways in which Providence has led us through the difficulties which we have passed, thereby strengthening our mutual dependence and helpfulness.

We extend a cordial welcome to those, and the descendants of those, who in the years that are past, animated by the spirit and imbued with the principles of the first settlers of Springfield, have gone forth from this valley to aid in building up new States and founding new towns, and implanting in them that love of order, industry, and respect for the rights of others, which characterize every community in which New England influences prevail. To these, and all the sons and daughters of Springfield, who have returned to unite with us in celebrating the event which we here commemorate, we give a hearty and generous welcome.

To Your Excellency, as the representative of the Commonwealth, as united to us by many ties of interest, of kindly association and honorable service in our behalf, and to all who by their presence on this occasion have contributed so much in making it memorable in the annals of the city, we extend a sincere welcome.

On rare occasions, it is the custom in European cities for the mayor, with elaborate and imposing ceremonies, to give the freedom of the city, as an especial honor, to the city's most distinguished guests, and now, in the name of this municipality, I would bestow the freedom of this, our city, upon all who are our guests, not with the pomp and ceremony of those older cities, but in plain New England fashion, as becomes the descendants of the Puritans, by bidding you all a most hearty and cordial welcome.

JUDGE KNOWLTON. — The governor and his associate executive officers, bringing the congratulations and representing the power and protection of this ancient Commonwealth, our mother Springfield greets with profound respect and deferential loyalty. For our chief magistrate himself she entertains a warmer feeling. Since his home is in the family of one of her municipal daughters, she calls him her son by adoption, and with parental pride claims a share in the distinguished honor which he has won for himself and conferred upon his kindred. I present you His Excellency the Governor.

GOVERNOR ROBINSON. — *Mr. President, Fellow-Inhabitants of Springfield, and all interested in the delights of the present occasion,* — So gracious and cordial a welcome as has been extended by the chief magistrate of the city can only be met with the most grateful acceptance; and so, for so much as has been given to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, I do, with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, being present, here and now accept it all heartily. (Laughter.) It was a welcome that touched not alone the citizens of the present Springfield, but as well the residents in the numerous progeny of towns that started out from the impulse of the first settlement and have grown and thriven almost beyond calculation or belief, and it reached even beyond these to the thousands upon thousands, some of whom may have come back here to-day, and others, who from distant homes are casting their hopes, and their thoughts, and their aspirations, their longings and their loves, back here, to their home, and with you are deeply sympathetic in the aspirations of this joyous occasion. And it goes wider, I think, and it takes in the whole people of our beloved State, from one boundary to the other.

How delightful, indeed, it is to gather with you at this anniversary of your natal day. To run the thought back; to brighten in memory the evidences that reach to the beginning of this settlement: to note the struggle and the contest, the endurance and the patience, the fortitude and courage, that began this town of Springfield; to note the progress of your development; to stand and watch as generation after generation has come upon and passed from the stage, and now, to-day, with prophetic eye, to look down into the future, and to imagine, as far as we can, what it shall bring to this community, and what the fruitage shall be of the effort that we put forth in her behalf! One may almost wonder, if the little band of early settlers could with mortal eye look in here to-day, what would be their expression, and whether they would, after all, have so generous a welcome for such an assemblage as the mayor has given. What if they were to look you over in your dress; look at you in your homes; at these decorations; consider your follies and frivolities, your waywardness and your wickedness and your

What wonder, then, that we observe the accomplishments of to-day? Why, from that class of men and from that character flowed inevitably the current of life that has marked the development of American freedom; just as naturally as the breath in the living human body came the great advance in our history. It would have been impossible that there should have been no Lexington, no Bunker Hill, no Concord. It would have been impossible that whenever the cry to arms came the people should fail. It could not have been that when the Union itself was endangered and liberty threatened, that the young men, valiant and strong, would skulk in their homes. It is not surprising that yonder monument points to heaven, and points also to the character and inspiration of the men who, true to the deeds of the fathers, were willing to save for the future what had been guaranteed to them. Massachusetts would fail to express the force of her presence if she did not recognize her obligation to be here, and to express her full, cordial, and abundant salutation to Springfield. Wherever the good people of the State come together, to greet each other eye to eye, grasp each other in friendly hand; wherever the town and city and the people are striving and uplifting the whole; wherever human rights are regarded; wherever the people are vigilant that none, even the humblest and weakest, shall suffer, there is the inspiration of Massachusetts, true to her past, and there should be her presence in full power.

What shall be written of the next two hundred and fifty years? We shall not be here to witness their close. A few more mounds by the hillside will testify of us. One after another is gathered to the dust of the valley; but pity, indeed, it is if that is all we leave for testimony. Though we may not be present, Springfield will be here; Massachusetts assuredly will come, and the great Union of America in benignity and prosperity will regard with glorious benediction the triumphs won. It shall be for you, as far as lies in your power, to write the page of history, and it is your duty to make it now. The present is all we can touch, and doing our duty properly in the present hour, seeing to it that we set as high an appreciation on private and public virtue as our fathers did; regarding personal character as of the highest importance in the estimate of citizenship; remembering that the country will ever set a high value on purity, honesty, cleanness and squareness of demeanor and conduct, and that truthfulness to one's word, fidelity to man and to God, are yet a power, and are yet of saving influence, and constitute the abundant guaranty of the future.

JUDGE KNOWLTON. — Springfield, like many another matron, is proud of her grown-up daughters. This is her day of thanksgiving, and gathered around her hearthstone she sees them all — West Springfield, Westfield, Agawam, South-

wick, Holyoke, Chicopee, Ludlow, Wilbraham, Hampden, Longmeadow, Somers, Enfield, Suffield. She would hear of their prosperity and their progress, and whether they often think of the days of their childhood, when they sat by her fireside and were folded in her embrace. I call upon Hon. John L. Houston, of Enfield.

MR. HOUSTON. — *Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,* — When the invitation of your committee came over the border to me, a few days ago, urging me to come and take part in the literary exercises of this occasion, my first feeling was one of wonder and astonishment that they should request a native and citizen of Connecticut to take a formal part in a local celebration in Massachusetts. But a little reflection satisfied me that there might be method in this seeming madness, and that there were, at least, plausible reasons why the Connecticut town of Enfield should receive such an invitation. For, in recounting the historical events, traditions, and reminiscences of Springfield, the name of Pynchon be a name to “conjure with,” as it certainly is, then may we, natives of the river border of Enfield, well lay claim to be “sons of the soil.” We were born and have lived upon, and the ashes of our dead are mingled with, the soil once owned and dominated by Pynchons. One of the earliest wonders and mysteries of my childhood was the grist-mill located near my birthplace (where it still stands doing its useful work to-day), the lineal descendant, if I may so speak, of the grist-mill erected by Major Pynchon sometime during the seventeenth century. The extensive manufacturing corporation with which I am officially connected traces the title to its real estate back to the days and the persons of the Pynchons; and the control which it exercises over the stream on whose banks its manufactory is located, and which is essential to its operation, is based upon a grant given by the plantation of Springfield to Major Pynchon more than two centuries ago. Certainly, in all the early historic events and traditions to which Springfield so fondly clings, we natives of the town of Enfield cling as fondly and share as full an interest in as do you.

But I must not forget that my duty here and now is to respond, very briefly, to the warm and generous words of welcome just uttered by his Honor the Mayor, so far as they apply to the thirteen towns that have, first and last, during the past two and a half centuries, been carved from the territory of old Springfield. Springfield has indeed been a bountiful mother, and has given to each one of her children a magnificent dowry; and they, emulating her thrifty example, have each and all made good use of their heritage. Time will not permit, and if it did I am not capable of doing justice to the distinguishing traits of each one of these

offshoots from the parent stem; but as a group, and especially as associated with the mother town, they together make up one of the noblest garden spots of the world.

A territory watered by noble streams, covered by a rich and responsive soil, displaying nearly all varieties of scenery to charm and delight the senses, dotted all over with churches, school-houses, and institutions of beneficence; with numerous busy hives of industry whose productions, useful and beautiful, are known as widely as civilization extends; and more and better than all, a territory abounding in the happy homes of an industrious, self-respecting, intelligent, and virtuous people. — truly can we all say that “our lines have fallen to us in pleasant places.” and “we have a goodly heritage.”

Mr. Mayor, in behalf of these thirteen outlying towns, I beg to assure you that we all reciprocate the feelings that prompted you to utter your words of hearty and sincere welcome to us, and we here and now join with you and the beautiful city over which it is your high duty to keep watch and ward, in acknowledging the debt of gratitude we all owe to those early colonists who, through hardships, the story of which has been but half told, and through great tribulation, redeemed this fair heritage of ours from savagery, and dedicated it forever to freedom and the blessings of a Christian civilization.

The relation of the Springfield of to-day to these outlying towns is aptly characterized, I think, by the simile you have yourself so happily chosen. — the simile of a queenly mother to her fair and comely daughters; and on this most interesting occasion, this two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, we, the daughters, gather from all points on the outer circle at this maternal home to say Hail! and God bless! — not to a venerable and wrinkled dame, stricken in years or by decrepitude, but rather to a stately matron, clothed to-day with more queenly grace and beauty than ever before, and still blooming with virginal charms.

And if continued lack of appreciation at the White House in Washington shall forever debar this good old mother town of ours from becoming a port of delivery; if no stately custom-house is ever to vie in goodly proportions with the great arsenal on yonder “heaven kissing hill”; if no dignified collector of the port is ever to become a prominent figure in her social circles; yet she will ever have the fuller satisfaction, one that no veto from any quarter can ever deprive her of, that she is surrounded with a galaxy of thirteen beautiful and dutiful daughters, all proud of her honorable history, all jealous of her good name and fair fame, and who will ever affectionately regard her as the peerless queen of the Connecticut valley.

This anniversary hymn, written by E. Porter Dyer, was then sung by the Orpheus Club: —

O God of our fathers! Their guide and their shield,
Who marked out their pathway through forest and field,
We stand where they stood and with anthems of praise,
Acknowledge thy goodness, O Ancient of Days!

Thou leddest thy people of old like a flock;
They trusted in thee as their Sheltering Rock;
The centuries pass — thou art ever the same,
And children of children still trust in thy name.

'Twas here in the wilderness, silent, untamed,
The gospel of freedom and grace they proclaimed, —
The gospel of home, of the school, of the plough, —
And this City of Homes is their monument now.

O God of our fathers! By river and wood,
Where Pynchon, and Holyoke, and Chapin abode,
Our heritage blossoms with glory and praise
To thee, their defender, O Ancient of Days!

JUDGE KNOWLTON — Fifty years ago Springfield gathered her children about her as she has done to-day, and told them the story of her life, and taught them fitting lessons, by the lips of one whom many of us remember, who was for a long time prominent in the progress of the town, Hon. Oliver B. Morris. The mantle of history, then so worthily worn, has fallen upon the shoulders of his eldest son, who from youth to advanced age has never ceased to reflect honor upon his native town, and in recent times has done more than any other to embalm in pure English the memory of her early years. I introduce our historian, Judge Henry Morris: —

JUDGE MORRIS. — So far as known, there has been but one attempt before this to celebrate the anniversary of the first settlement of the town of Springfield. Fifty years ago this day its bi-centennial was observed. It was an occasion of great interest to this town, and other towns in this vicinity. People flocked here from far and near. After a long procession through our streets, with a military escort and music, an address was delivered in the ancient First Church, fronting on Court square, and other appropriate services held, including prayer by Rev. Dr. Osgood, anthems by the choir, under the direction of Col. Solomon Warriner, and the singing, as a solo, by a lady still residing here, of the hymn of Mrs.

Hemans, entitled "Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers." After the services at the church, the procession was reformed and marched to the Town Hall, where a collation was served, and brief speeches made by invited guests and others. The late George Bliss presided at the Town Hall. Edward Everett, then governor of the Commonwealth, was present at the celebration with his military staff, and other distinguished citizens from abroad. Robert C. Winthrop was here as one of the governor's aids.

It was my fortune, then a young man, to be present, and to unite in the rejoicings of that time. In the words of the orator of that day, "the occasion was one of deep and joyful interest, one on which to do homage to the memory of our fathers, to examine the record of their history, and to bow in humble gratitude to Heaven that we are descended from a most worthy ancestry." In the same spirit let us enter upon the present occasion. As this day is particularly an anniversary of the original settlement of the town, I propose, in this address, to confine myself to the circumstances attending that settlement, with some notice of the men and women who bore a part in it, without attempting to detail at length the subsequent history of the town through the two centuries and a half that have followed. Any attempt at such a detail would require a volume, and could not fail to try the patience of the hearers and exhaust the strength of the speaker.

The return of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of such a town as ours is an event that will justify us in suspending for the time our ordinary pursuits, that we may recall to mind the origin of the town, and note the contrast between its humble beginning and its condition at the present moment. It must be interesting, and ought to be useful to us as a people, to review the circumstances that gave birth to this place, which we call, and are proud to call, our home. — a place to which we are bound by so many ties of interest and affection, and around which so many of our hopes cluster.

We find ourselves to-day the occupants of one of the most delightful spots in the world. No valley fairer than this of the Connecticut can be found anywhere, — no soil yielding the cultivator a richer return for his labor, — no streams that contribute more freely their forces to propel the machinery that gives life and activity to the mechanic arts, for which this valley is so famous, and which furnishes so much employment to the capital and industry of its residents.

Two centuries and a half ago this lovely valley was a waste, inhabited only by the savages that roamed through its wilds. It is hard for us to realize that in this valley, and on these charming hillsides, now so rich in the tokens of civilization and culture, the rude wigwams of the red men were once seen. — that

in these forests, which then covered these plains, they hunted their game, and in these rivers they caught their fish. Their agricultural industry was limited to the gathering of such grains as grew spontaneously or with little cultivation. Their mechanic arts went no further than the manufacture of bows and arrows, or the construction of their canoes and the rude stone vessels in which they cooked or kept their food. Such relics of the Indian as these have been found all through this valley within a few years past, and probably may still be found by any who will search for them.

How changed is the valley now! And how has this great change been effected? By what agencies has this; that was once a wilderness, been converted into the abode of civilized man? Let us look back two hundred and fifty years and discover, if we can, the causes and trace the progress of this change from its beginning to the present time.

Two hundred and fifty years ago the Old World, weary of the burden of forms that had been the growth of centuries of ignorance and oppression, began to reach forth toward a new and better state of things. The discoveries of voyagers had revealed to Europe this continent in the west as an open field for its enterprise, and the Old World began at once to seek a better home in the New. Old systems of government began to be distrusted, and old forms of religion began to be discarded. The minds of men craved a change which should give them better and more hopeful conditions of living. The New World opened to the Old just such a field as it aspired to possess. As a consequence of this, everywhere through England a spirit of emigration arose, and men who had chafed under the oppressions of an arbitrary government, and desired greater freedom of conscience in religion, and greater security in their persons and property, determined to seek a new home west of the Atlantic.

With this object in view, several influential gentlemen in England solicited and obtained from King Charles I. a charter which created them a corporation by the name of the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." This charter granted all the lands in New England from a line running westerly three miles north of the Merrimac river to a line running westerly three miles south of the Charles river, and three miles south of every part of it. The grant to extend from the Atlantic ocean to the South Sea.

The charter designated by name all the members of the corporation, and prescribed that the officers of the Company should consist of a governor, a deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, who should be elected annually from the freemen of the Company. As it was the purpose of the Company to send out a colony to settle in New England, the question early arose whether the charter of the Company should be transferred with this colony to New England,

or whether it should remain in the mother country. After much debate and careful consideration, it was decided by vote on the 29th August, 1629, that the charter should be transferred with the proposed colony to New England, and the government of it settled there. This rendered necessary a new election of officers from among those members of the Company who proposed to emigrate and settle in New England. Accordingly, at a General Court or meeting of the Company, held in London on the 20th of October, 1629, John Winthrop was chosen governor, John Humfry deputy governor, with eighteen assistants; William Pynchon being one of the assistants. Humfry soon afterward resigned the office of deputy governor, and Thomas Dudley was chosen in his place.

In pursuance of the plan of colonizing New England, the Company had previously sent out a pioneer party under John Endicott, as its leader or governor. This party had located at Naumkeag, now Salem, where they founded a church with Messrs. Skelton and Higginson as its ministers. A much larger number was now prepared to move to America, in all about fifteen hundred. The transportation of such a body of colonists at that time was a work of serious difficulty, and required careful provision of stores for their support during the voyage, and on their arrival in America.

On the 20th day of March, in the year 1630, four ships were riding at anchor in the harbor of Cowes, a seaport of the Isle of Wight, waiting for a favorable opportunity to begin a voyage to the New World. These ships were a part of the fleet fitted out by the Company for the transportation of emigrants and their families, who had determined to settle in New England. John Winthrop, the governor, and Thomas Dudley, the deputy governor, were on board ships of this fleet with their families. William Pynchon, the founder of Springfield, was also on board with his wife, his son John, and three daughters.

Mr. Pynchon was a man of honorable lineage. His great-grandfather, Nicholas Pynchon, was one of the sheriffs of London in the reign of Henry VIII. This was a station of dignity and importance. The home of Mr. Pynchon, the emigrant, in England, had been at Springfield, in the county of Essex, about one mile from Chelmsford, the shire town of the county. He was a man of learning and talent, accustomed to close thought, and could give a reason for his opinions. He was evidently familiar with the pursuits and methods of business. As such he was afterward chosen to be the treasurer of the Company. No person could have been selected to hold such office of trust as he held, unless his associates had full confidence in his capacity and integrity.

When the fleet left its anchorage, near the Isle of Wight, England and Spain were at war. Their hostilities were carried on principally on the sea. It was understood the cruisers from Dunkirk, then a port of the Spanish Nether-

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lands, were lying in wait for the emigrant ships destined for New England. Hence it became important for these four ships to adopt measures for mutual defence and aid. For this purpose all the ships were armed, and to each ship was assigned a particular post of duty. To the "Arbella," a ship named after Lady Arbella, wife of Isaac Johnson, a lady of high rank in England, was assigned the place and title of Admiral. The "Talbot" was appointed to be vice-admiral, the "Ambrose" rear admiral, and the "Jewel" a captain. Mr. Pyncheon and his family were on board the "Jewel."

There was but little favorable weather before the 8th of April, when the fleet weighed anchor. On the morning of April 9 there was quite an alarm. Eight sail were descried astern, which were at first supposed to be Spanish cruisers from Dunkirk, waiting for the emigrant ships. "Wherefore," as Governor Winthrop says in his journal, "we all prepared to fight with them. The Lady Arbella and the other women and children were removed into the lower deck, that they might be out of danger. All things being thus fitted, we went to prayer upon the upper deck. It was much to see how cheerful and comfortable all the Company appeared, not a woman or child that showed fear, though all did apprehend the danger to have been great." "Our trust was in the Lord of Hosts, and the courage of our captain, and his care and diligence, did much to encourage us." There was some sickness among the passengers, especially the children. Winthrop says, "Our children and others that were sick, and lay groaning in the cabins, we fetched out, and having stretched a rope from the steerage to the mainmast, we made them stand, some on the one side and some on the other, and sway it up and down till they were warm, and by this means they soon grew well and merry."

The emigrants suffered from the high winds and extreme cold which prevailed the greater part of the voyage. Their attention, as they approached America, was called to certain facts, new to their experience, which Winthrop mentions in his journal. The declination of the pole star was much lower than in England; the new moon was much smaller, and the sun did not give as much heat as in England. On June 7 Winthrop says they put their ship "a-stays," and with a few hooks took, in less than two hours, sixty-seven codfish, most of them very great fish, some a yard and a half long and a yard in compass." This was a very seasonable supply for the passengers, who had now been sixty-eight days on board ship. On Tuesday, June 8, they saw land about ten leagues distant, which they supposed to be the island of Monhegan, but which proved to be Mount Desert. "They had now," Winthrop says, "fair sunshine and so pleasant a sweet air as did much refresh them; and there came a smell off the shore like the smell of a garden." Friday, June 11, they were all day within sight of

Cape Ann and the Isles of Shoals. On Saturday, June 12, they were near their destined port. This was at Naumkeag, the Indian name of Salem. That day they were visited by John Endicott, the founder of Salem, and by Mr. Skelton, the minister of the place. On their return to Salem, these gentlemen were accompanied by Governor Winthrop and some of the assistants, and some of the women. There, Winthrop says, "we supped with a good vension pasty and good beer, and at night returned to our ship; but some of the women stayed behind." While the chiefs of the party were thus entertained, the greater part of the voyagers went on shore upon the land of Cape Ann, which lay very near, and gathered store of fine strawberries." Such was the introduction to Massachusetts of that portion of our fathers who "came in the fleet with Winthrop."

It was not the purpose of those who came to colonize New England to establish themselves at Salem as the guests of Mr. Endicott. They began at once to look for desirable places in the vicinity of Massachusetts Bay in which to plant settlements. Boston, Charlestown, Watertown, and Dorchester were speedily occupied. Pynchon selected Roxbury as the site for his home, and became the founder of that town. His wife died soon after landing in America, leaving one son and three daughters. Mr. Pynchon afterward married, as his second wife, Mrs. Frances Sanford, who is described in the Roxbury Church records as "a grave matron of the church at Dorchester." He had no children by his second wife.

Soon after the colonists arrived in New England an Indian chief from Connecticut river, named Wahginnacut, called upon Governor Winthrop at Boston and urged that some of the English should visit the valley of the Connecticut and settle there. He described the soil as fertile, and promised to give eighty beaver skins yearly to the settlers who should come to the valley. This invitation, although, from motives of policy, not accepted at that time, produced an impression upon the minds of some of the colonists which was not at once effaced. And now, when the most desirable places about the bay had been taken up and occupied by emigrants, and they felt straitened by the nearness to each other, there sprung up in the minds of many a longing for new plantations, and perhaps better ones, for themselves and their increased stock of cattle. From many of the towns about Boston there came petitions to the General Court for authority to remove "themselves and their estates to the Ryver of Connecticut," of whose attractions so much had been said. Liberty had been granted to some of the petitioners to remove, as prayed for, upon the condition that they should continue under the government of Massachusetts bay. Cambridge people had migrated to Hartford, Dorchester to Windsor, and Watertown to Wethersfield, and began new settlements at those points on the river.

The emigrating party from Roxbury did not so soon commence a new settlement in the Connecticut valley, but Mr. Pynchon sent two men here to explore and occupy a part of the valley, preparatory to the removal of his family and the actual planting of a new settlement. One John Cable came here in 1635 from the bay with John Woodcock, and built a small house on the west side of the Connecticut and south side of the Agawam river, in a meadow, which, from that circumstance, was long known as "House meadow." These men occupied this house that summer, and the "old Indian ground" about it, but abandoned it later, on being informed by the Indians that the spot was liable to be overflowed in time of freshets. There can be but little doubt that Mr. Pynchon himself came to this valley as early as 1635, to satisfy himself of its eligibility as the site of a new plantation. He was certainly absent from the General Court that met September 1, 1635. His absence from such a meeting was unusual, and can well be accounted for by the fact that he was then occupied in examining the place in this valley which he designed for his future home and that of the friends who should follow his lead. Until he himself had seen the flowing streams and fertile meadows of which the Indian chief had given such a glowing description, and had ascertained the advantages of the place for his beaver trade, it is hardly probable that a man of Pynchon's caution would have hazarded a step attended with so much peril as the removal of his family and his property from the bay to the river. It was not an enterprise to be undertaken without careful consideration of its difficulties and dangers.

It was doubtless after a thorough personal investigation of the subject that Pynchon and his associates came here early in the year 1636, and prepared for a permanent settlement in this place, which was known to them by its Indian name of Agawam. By this name was understood not merely the tributary of the Connecticut, still called by that name, and the meadow bordering upon it, but also the interval land on the east side of the river, now the site of our city. This was all called Agawam for several years. In much the same way the term Connecticut was at first applied to designate all the plantations on the river. The General Court of Massachusetts claimed and exercised the jurisdiction over all of them, when first settled, and appointed commissioners to govern them. Roger Ludlow, of Windsor, and William Pynchon were members of this commission. In fact, the geography of the Connecticut valley was not perfectly understood, or the boundary line between Massachusetts and Connecticut settled, for a long time after the plantations on the river were established. Connecticut claimed Springfield and Westfield as falling within the patent of Connecticut. And Springfield was represented in the General Court at Hartford in 1636 by deputies chosen by the plantation.

However vague and uncertain had been the ideas of the first settlers here as to the jurisdiction over this valley, there was no failure of their purpose to make a plantation here. So they drew up and signed a formal agreement, declaring the purpose of the signers "by God's providence to make a plantation at and over against 'Agawam' on Connecticut," and their agreement to "certain articles and orders to be observed and kept by themselves and their successors" in the management of their plantation. This paper was signed by eight persons, representing themselves to be "all the first adventurers and undertakers for the Plantation." The names signed are William Pynchon, Matthew Mitchell, Henry Smith, Jehu Burr, William Blake, Edmund Wood, Thomas Ufford, and John Cable. The paper bears date May 14, 1636 (old style), which corresponds to May 25 of the present calendar.

Besides these eight signers, there were four others apparently concerned in the Plantation and named in the paper: to wit, Thomas Woodford, John Reader, Samuel Butterfield, and James Wood. Of the eight names signed to the paper, Mitchell, Blake, Wood, and Ufford remained here but a short time. Blake returned to Dorchester, from which town he had come; Mitchell went to Connecticut, and lived in different towns there until his death; Burr and Cable were here as late as 1640, when their names disappear from our records. Only Pynchon and Smith of the original signers remained here over five years.

Soon after coming to Springfield Mr. Pynchon made a bargain with the Indians for the purchase of the land required for the intended settlement. This bargain was put in form July 15, 1636, by a deed from Commucke and Matanchan, two "ancient" Indians of Agawam, for themselves and as representatives of the other Indian proprietors, conveying to William Pynchon, Henry Smith, and Jehu Burr, their heirs and associates forever, a large part of the territory now occupied by this city, with lands in its vicinity. This deed was fully explained to the Indians by Ahaughton, an Indian interpreter from the Bay, and was perfectly understood by them. For it they received an adequate consideration, according to the values of that day, and were never dissatisfied with the bargain. For the lands sold by the Indians in this purchase they received "18 fathoms of wampun, 18 coates, 18 hatchets, 18 howes, and 18 knives," and reserved to themselves the ground then planted, and liberty to take fish and deer, ground nuts, walnuts, acorns, and a kind of wild peas. Wrutherna, one of the Indians, received from Mr. Pynchon two coats as an extra consideration.

There were fifteen articles or specifications in the original agreement signed

by the planters who first came here. The first three of these articles have a special significance. They read as follows: —

“ *Firstly.* Wee intend by God's grace, as soon as we can, with all convenient speede to procure some Godly and faithful minister, with whome we purpose to joyne in church covenant to walk in all the ways of Christ.

“ *Secondly.* Wee intend that our towne shall be composed of fourty familys, or, if we think after to alter our purpose, yet not to exceed the number of fifty familys rich and poore.

“ *Thirdly.* That every inhabitant shall have a convenient proportion for a house lott, as we shall see meet for every ones quality and estate.”

By the limitation of the town to forty families it is evident that the original planters intended to make the town a compact settlement, and not one of scattered farms, separated from each other by long distances. This was essential for their mutual safety, living as they did in the midst of an Indian neighborhood, and so remote from the protection and assistance of the older settlements about Massachusetts Bay. Many of the early regulations, adopted in the infancy of the town, were designed to secure, as one of their objects, compactness of settlement. The General Court early passed a law that all dwelling-houses should be built within half a mile of the meeting-house. The first settlers of our town, in furtherance of the same object, in allotting house “lots,” made the lots, except in a few special cases, so narrow as to condense the population within what they considered safe limits. The street upon which the houses were built followed the general course of the river in a line substantially parallel to it. The house lots were all on the west side of the street, and, with some exceptions, were generally about eight or ten rods wide. Three of them were fourteen rods, two were twenty rods, and that of Mr. Pynchon was thirty rods wide. All of the home lots extended from the street to the river. Each of them had an allotment on the east side of the street, of the same width as the house lot. The land east of the street, and adjoining it, was called in the allotments “hasseky” marsh. Still further east there was usually an allotment of the same width, of upland, covered more or less with wood.

Very early the “hasseky” meadow was crossed by a road or path about two rods wide, running east, and widening after passing the meadow. This road crossing the marsh was made passable by corduroy logs laid across the path. At its easterly end it was probably connected with the path leading to the Bay, long known as the Old Bay road, of which the western end is the present Bay street.

Some of the early settlers here came from the Connecticut towns down the river. Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield had each of them some representatives among the early inhabitants of Springfield. Such settlers could avail themselves of the river as a way of travel. Boats, or, as they were usually called, canoes, were in frequent use for the carriage of goods and the transportation of persons. Trees that were suitable for use in constructing boats were called "canoe trees," and the cutting of such trees was restricted by vote of the Plantation.

For the accommodation of those persons who wished to pass to or from the town by the river, three wharves or landing-places were established, one at the foot of what is now known as Cypress street, called the upper or "higher" wharf, another at the foot of Elm street, called the middle wharf or landing, and the third at the foot of York street, known as the lower landing. To each of these a street or lane led from the main street. The street leading to the middle landing was the same that conducted to the training-place, part of which was afterward used as a burial-place. This street, the Elm street of our day, was at first one rod wide, but soon was widened to two rods.

Probably the greater number of the settlers who came early to Springfield made the journey of one hundred miles from the bay to the Connecticut river by land. Some of them brought their families and goods with them. The journey in 1636 was a serious and hazardous undertaking for an emigrating family. There were no paths through the forest, except occasionally an Indian trail, no bridges over the streams, often swollen and rapid. Rough and rocky hills must be climbed, and tangled underbrush must be threaded. Savage beasts might be lurking in the thicket, and encountered at any moment. Some of these pilgrims, seeking a new home on the banks of the Connecticut, were the wives and young children of the emigrants, and this was their first experience of a journey through the wilderness. There were dangers to be met by day and by night. The forest was full of sights and sounds to which they were unused. The Indian was there, and the travellers were not so familiar with the savages as to feel perfectly easy in their neighborhood. After traversing the forests for many days without coming to one friendly house, where the women and children could have needed shelter and rest, and without seeing one white face they had ever seen before, how wistfully must they have sought to catch the first glimpse of the beautiful river on the banks of which they hoped to find their home.

Conceive for a moment a party of these wayfarers, fatigued with their long and wearisome journey, as they straggle out from the woods, coming, toward the close of an autumnal afternoon, to one of the knolls that mark the borders of our valley, and looking down from it for the first time

in their lives upon that stream, which one of the poets of the valley thus apostrophizes: —

Fair, noble, glorious river, in thy wave
The sunniest slopes and sweetest pastures lave;
The mountain torrent with its wintry roar
Springs from its home and leaps upon thy shore
The promontories love thee, and for this
Turn their rough cheeks and stay thee for thy kiss.

The travellers now discover some indications of civilized life. Here and there the smoke from the chimney of a rude cabin arrests their attention, and they begin to realize that they are near to old neighbors and friends. They follow the course of a small brook, since called Garden brook, and descend the slope into the valley. They seek to find first the one man whom they had known in England, and with whom they had crossed the ocean. They find Mr. Pyncheon's house. There was nothing striking or attractive about it to indicate that it was the residence of the leader in this enterprise of founding a town in the wilderness. It was a one-story-and-a-half wooden structure, unpainted, with a thatched roof, and a chimney of wood covered with mortar. Mr. Pyncheon gives the newcomers a cordial welcome to the hospitalities of his house, and they are soon numbered among the settlers of the plantation. By such accessions to its inhabitants the population of the place is gradually increased, and from being the plantation of Agawam, it aspires to become a town, and in April, 1640, voted to change its name to Springfield. By this name it was recognized by the General Court in June, 1641, and ever afterward known.

Previous to this action of the Legislature, the inhabitants, in view of the fact that by God's providence they were now fallen into the line of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and that it would be inconvenient to repair to the Bay in cases of justice, such as might often fall out, requiring the action of a magistrate, by general consent and vote, until further direction should come from the General Court, ordained Mr. Pyncheon to act as magistrate in the Plantation of Agawam, with the aid of a jury of six persons.

The General Court, in 1641, gave Pyncheon a new commission to exercise similar authority for one year. In 1643 this commission was renewed, and extended until the court should further order.

Mr. Pyncheon acted under the authority thus conferred upon him until he incurred the displeasure of the General Court, by a theological book written by him and published in England. For this he was suspended from office, and Henry Smith, his son-in-law, appointed in his place. Pyncheon was summoned to appear before the court and answer for his offence. He was a religious man of

the Puritan order, and was a zealous advocate of the faith he had chosen. In his opinion, there were some errors prevalent in New England, particularly on the subject of the Atonement. So, being a keen thinker and a ready writer, he undertook to correct some of the prevailing errors and vindicate the truth, as he understood it, by writing a book, which he entitled "The Meritorious Price of Our Redemption, Justification, etc., Clearing it from Some Common Errors, etc." This book was published in England under Mr. Pynchon's own name, and brought to America, where it soon attracted the notice of the General Court, and produced great excitement. It was pronounced false, erroneous, and heretical, and condemned to be burned by the common executioner in the market-place at Boston. This sentence was executed at once, and Pynchon was summoned to appear before the next General Court, in May, 1651, to answer for his offence, and not to depart without leave from the court. Some of the members of the court did not concur in the censure of Mr. Pynchon's book, and desired that their reasons for their dissent might be recorded or kept on file. The court would allow neither course. But it passed an order entreating Mr. Norton, an eminent divine of Ipswich, to answer the book. This vote was passed on the 16th of October, 1650, and then the matter rested until May, 1651. At that time the court passed a vote of thanks to Norton for his answer to Pynchon's book, and ordered the treasurer to pay him £20 out of the next tax levied, and that Norton's answer be printed. At the same session Mr. Pynchon appeared before the court and avowed himself the author of his book, and qualified some of the expressions used by him, and explained more fully his meaning. Thereupon the court suspended all further action in the case until the 14th of October following, when he was required again to appear. In October the court extended the time for his appearance to May, 1652. At the session of the court in May, 1652, Mr. Pynchon did not appear. Indignant at the treatment he had received from the authorities at Boston, and apprehensive of further ill-usage, he left New England for Old England. He knew that if he should be convicted of heresy he could expect no lenity from the colonial authorities. John Endicott, one of the most rigid Puritans of the age, was then governor. The deputy governor was Thomas Dudley, a man who had persistently quarrelled with Winthrop, and whose inflexible temper was satirized by one of the wits of the time in this ironical epitaph: —

Here lies Thomas Dudley, that trusty old stud,
A bargain's a bargain and must be made good.

Mr. Pynchon had come to New England to avoid persecution. He now left it to escape from intolerance. When out of the reach of the vindictive malice of

his enemies, he wrote and published a reply to Mr. Norton's book, in which he controverted Norton's arguments, and reaffirmed his own views.

From the nature of the public duties devolved upon him by the General Court, it is apparent that Pynchon was regarded as an astute man of affairs, capable of conducting any kind of business. He could make a contract with the Indians for a large tract of territory. He could manage successfully the financial concerns of the colony, and so was made its treasurer. He could discuss and elucidate to the satisfaction of a man as captious Gov. Thomas Dudley, a question of policy in the treatment of the Indian, so as to avoid difficult and dangerous complications. All this Mr. Pynchon did. He could and did administer wisely the judicial duties that were devolved upon him as the only magistrate in western Massachusetts. He was a man of great enterprise, and devoted his energies to building up this town which he had founded. He intended that it should become a commercial centre in this valley, from which should radiate an influence for the prosperity of all this region. To this end he gathered about him here men of various trades and occupations, with skill and resolution adapted to give success to the town. He established a trade here in furs and farm products that reached not only to the towns below on the river, but to Boston and the settlements on the bay. Mr. Pynchon never returned to America, but died at Wraisbury, in England, on the 29th of October, 1662, at the age of seventy-two.

With Pynchon went his son-in-law, Henry Smith, who had been appointed by the General Court as his successor in office. He was a man of capacity, and well qualified to fill the place vacated by Pynchon. But he preferred following the fortunes of his father Pynchon to remaining here.

With Mr. Pynchon also went another early settler, Rev. George Moxon, who had come to Springfield in 1637, as its first minister. He brought with him a wife and several children, and had some children born here. He was educated in England, and received ordination to the ministry there. So that, upon his arrival in New England, in 1637, he was ready to fulfil the purpose of the first settlers as the godly and faithful minister, with whom they desired to join in church covenant. Mr. Moxon continued the minister of the town, and was useful in his vocation until 1651. About that time suspicions of witchcraft began to be entertained here. A nervous and probably insane woman by the name of Mary Parsons, wife of Hugh Parsons, was accused by Martha and Rebecca Moxon, the daughters of the minister, of practising the arts of witchcraft. To her agency were ascribed some distempers from which they suffered. She had killed her own child, and so was arrested and taken to Boston, and tried there both for murder and witchcraft. Both of these offences

were capital. She was acquitted of the charge of witchcraft, but convicted of the murder by her own confession, and sentenced to death.

The connection of his family with this case made it disagreeable to Mr. Moxon to remain here, and concurring with the troubles of his friend, Mr. Pyncheon, induced him to accompany Pyncheon to England, from which he never returned to America.

The loss of these three so prominent men was a serious blow to the young town of Springfield. In his century sermon, delivered here October 16, 1775, Mr. Breck, speaking of it, says: "It was a day of darkness with this town," that he "remembered to have formerly heard some of the aged people, who had it from their forefathers, say that it went near to break up the settlement."

The departure of William Pyncheon brought at once into prominence his son, John Pyncheon, then about twenty-six years of age, who had come to Springfield with his father at its first settlement, and was familiar with its history and all its interests. He had received a training under his father that prepared him at once to enter upon the management of all affairs, both private and public, that had previously been conducted by his father. John Pyncheon became immediately the leading man of Springfield in every respect.

His private business was very extensive. He was the merchant who carried on a large trade, buying of his townsmen whatever products of their farms they had for sale. He had a storehouse at Warehouse Point, from which his goods, received from Hartford, were transported to Springfield and sold to his neighbors here. He was a large dealer in furs, particularly of the beaver, which abounded in the Connecticut and Woronoco (or Westfield) rivers. The collection of these furs gave employment to many men, as well Indians as white men. He was part owner of a vessel that transported beaver skins and other goods from Hartford to Boston for transshipment to England. He was the proprietor, with his brother-in-law, Holyoke, of a corn-mill and a saw-mill, at which the grain of the inhabitants was ground, and their lumber sawed. He had in his employ boats on the river, and teams on the land. All this work required the services of his fellow-townsmen of different trades and occupations, and brought to Springfield many persons who became useful citizens. Many of them had experience and skill in some particular kind of business. But whatever that may have been, they could readily turn their hands to almost any kind of work. In general, they appear to have been industrious and honest men, who feared God and were just to their neighbors.

The public stations filled by John Pyncheon, and the public duties performed by him, exceeded in number and equalled in importance those of his father. When the captaincy of the military company here was vacated by the departure

of Henry Smith, John Pynchon was appointed captain in Smith's place. From this he rose to be the commander of the regiment of the county, which then comprised all the State west of Middlesex county. In this capacity he acted during the King Philip war. In the records of that time he is commonly styled the "Worshipful" Major Pynchon.

In 1659 he was chosen a deputy from Springfield to the General Court, and continued in that capacity to represent the town until 1667, when he was elected by the court to the upper branch of the Legislature as an assistant. He held that office until 1686.

He was often appointed to transact important business beyond the limits of this State. In 1664 he was one of the commissioners who represented the English government in receiving from the Dutch the surrender of New Amsterdam, which then took its present name of New York.

In 1680 he was sent as a commissioner by the General Court of Massachusetts to Albany to arrange, with the aid of the governor of New York, a treaty with the Macquas or Mohawk Indians, to secure the people of Massachusetts from the incursions of the Indians of that powerful tribe.

In this negotiation he was successful. The Indians gave him a written answer to his proposition. This answer, originally drawn in the Dutch language, was translated into English by an interpreter, and recorded in the colony records. It is a curious and interesting document. The Indians addressed the major as "Brother Pynchon," and expressed their gladness at seeing him again at Albany, as they had seen him four years before, and their resolution to keep inviolate the treaty which they had just made with him.

The General Court directed the entire paper to be recorded, and ordered "that Maj. John Pynchon, for his great paines in his hard journey last winter to the Macquas and concluding a peace with them, be paid £12." Often associated with Major Pynchon were his brother-in-law, Elizur Holyoke, and Deacon Samuel Chapin. The three were appointed commissioners in 1652, after William Pynchon left, to hold courts and administer justice in Springfield. They had jurisdiction in all actions of small amount, and in the trial of criminal cases that "reached not to life, limbs, or banishment," saving to the parties the right of appeal to the Court of Assistants at Boston.

Holyoke was a native of Tamworth, in England, and came to this country with his father, Edward Holyoke, about 1637 or 1638, and lived for a time at Rumney Marsh, now Chelsea. He was probably drawn to Springfield by an attachment formed for Mary Pynchon, the daughter of William and sister of John, to whom he was married in November, 1640. She is described as a very lovely woman. "a very glory of womanhood."

A home lot twenty rods wide was assigned to Mr. Holyoke next south from that of his father-in-law, William Pynchon. It occupied the whole space from the northerly line of Worthington street to the southerly line of Bridge street. He afterward acquired, by purchase or grant from the town, large additional tracts of land on both sides of the river.

In 1662 the towns of Springfield, Northampton, and Hadley were made a county by the name of Hampshire. Springfield was made the shire town, but courts were to be held alternately at Springfield and Northampton.

In 1665 John Pynchon was made presiding judge of the court, with four associates. Holyoke was the associate from Springfield, and was also the recorder of the court.

Deacon Samuel Chapin came to Springfield, in 1642, from Roxbury, where he had owned a house and lot. On June 2, 1641, he took the freeman's oath at Boston, and so became legally a citizen of Massachusetts. It appears by the church records of Roxbury that he and his wife, Cicely Chapin, were both members of Rev. John Eliot's church in that town. His son, Japhet, was baptized there October 15, 1642.

In December, 1643, he appears by the records to have been at Springfield as one of a jury of which Holyoke was foreman, and Samuel Wright, afterward a deacon of the church, was a member. Wright and Chapin were the first deacons of the church here. Deacon Wright removed to Northampton, and died there. His descendants abound in that place and vicinity. Deacon Chapin continued to reside at Springfield, where he had a large family of sons and daughters. The northern part of the town was at one time almost peopled by his descendants.

On the 17th of September, 1862, a meeting of his descendants was held here in the old First Church, which was largely attended from all parts of the country. Stephen C. Bemis, one of the descendants, and then mayor of this city, presided. Judge Henry Chapin, of Worcester, delivered an address, and the late Dr. Holland, whose wife was a Chapin, read a poem. Other interesting addresses were delivered by other distinguished members of the family. In this way the memory of the old deacon was kept alive. And now, as if all this were not enough to perpetuate his memory, it is proposed to erect a bronze statue on Court square, in front of the church in which he once worshipped and officiated as deacon. An artist of renowned skill has been engaged to prepare this statue, and has already begun the work. When finished and erected, it will, undoubtedly, be a fit memorial in a fit place of the worthy man it is designed to represent.

While we hold in especial honor the few men who were leaders in the early settlement of this town, and who shared with William Pynchon, during the six-

teen years of his stay here, the labor and responsibility of laying the foundations, we must not forget or overlook the names of others, who, without aspiring to any post of leadership, were content, in the simple capacity of pioneer settlers, to aid in building up this town in the wilderness, although it required them to expose themselves and their families to the privations and dangers of a frontier life. Of this class of early settlers, in addition to those already named, may be mentioned John Searle, Thomas Horton, Thomas Mirrick, John Leonard, Robert Ashley, William Warriner, Henry Burt, Rowland Stebbins, Richard Sikes, Thomas Cooper, James Bridgman, Alexander Edwards, Francis Ball, John Harmon, Miles Morgan, Benjamin Cooley, John Matthews, George Colton, Joseph Parsons, John Clarke, Widow Margaret Bliss and her four sons, Nathaniel, Lawrence, Samuel, and John, also Reice Bedortha, John Lombard, George Langton, Anthony Dorchester, John Lamb, John Dumbleton, Rowland Thomas, Jonathan Taylor, Thomas Miller, Benjamin Munn, John Dibble. All these have descendants here, and their names have long been familiar to us.

We are now at the commencement of a new era in the history of this town. One quarter of a thousand years has passed since its corporate existence began in the mutual agreement of the first settlers. Although weak in its infancy, it gradually outgrew the discouragements of its origin. The steady courage of the founders never failed amid all the trials of its early years. When William Pynchon, the original leader of the colonists, was compelled to abandon the town and return to England, it seemed for the time that the enterprise was almost hopeless, and a deep gloom spread over the minds of the people.

But a new leader came forward in the person of his son, John Pynchon, who immediately showed his capacity to take the place which his father had vacated, and carry on the work that his father had begun. And so a new impulse, forward and upward, was given to the enterprise, and the town continued steadily to grow and prosper until that disastrous day in October, 1675, when the Indians, stimulated by Philip, the chief of the Wampanoags, a tribe having its principal seat in Bristol county and the adjacent parts of Rhode Island, suddenly laid aside the pipe of peace, and with tomahawk, gun, and torch began the work of destruction and slaughter.

Philip endeavored to combine all the Indians of New England in a grand confederacy against the English colonists, in the hope to expel or exterminate the colonists. Failing at first to secure the cooperation of the Narragansett Indians, and being hard pressed by the English and their allies, the Mohegan Indians, Philip was forced from his stronghold in Bristol county and its vicinity to the interior of Massachusetts among the Nipmuck Indians. These joined

him in a raid upon some of the towns of Worcester county and the upper towns on the Connecticut river.

They burned Brookfield. Next they appeared at Deerfield and Northfield. A few days later occurred the massacre at Bloody Brook, where Captain Lathrop, with eighty-eight young men, the flower of Essex county, were attacked by a superior force of Indians, and seventy of their number slain. These assaults upon the upper towns on the river were attended with the barbarities usual in Indian warfare, and excited general attention and sympathy. Massachusetts and Connecticut sent their forces to protect the endangered towns. Maj. John Pynchon was commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces. Major Treat commanded those of Connecticut. Among the subordinate Massachusetts officers were Captain Appleton and Captain Mosely.

The advice of Major Pynchon to the colonial authorities had been that garrisons should be maintained in the frontier towns for their protection. But this advice had been overruled, and orders had been issued that whenever an enemy appeared, soldiers should be despatched in pursuit of them. In this kind of strategy the Indians were much superior to the English. They were familiar with all the paths by which the forests could be traversed. Their movements were stealthy and rapid. They fell upon the amazed and bewildered settlers when least expected, executed their savage and bloody work with fearful rapidity, and then disappeared as suddenly as they had come, leaving little or no trace of their course. It was to little purpose that, when tidings reached the nearest military force, detachments were sent in pursuit. Generally they reached the scene only to find the smoking ruins of houses that the savages had burned, and the mutilated and ghastly remains of their occupants.

In pursuance of the orders which he received from the commissioners, who had charge of the conduct of the war, Major Pynchon, with all the force under his command at Springfield, numbering about forty-five men, was required to march northward on the 4th of October, 1675, O.S. (October 15 of the present calendar), by tidings that a considerable body of Indians had been seen near Hadley. To repel this enemy the English forces were ordered to concentrate in that town. So that when the night of October 4 closed upon the inhabitants of Springfield they were entirely without military defence. Their own militia were with Major Pynchon at Hadley, or on their march toward that place. Major Treat with his Connecticut troops was on the west side of the river at a considerable distance from this town.

Notwithstanding their defenceless condition, the people of Springfield did not appear to feel, at first, any serious apprehension of danger threatening the town. Philip and his warriors were supposed to be engaged in distant operations

farther up the river, where he had the sympathy of the Indians. So the inhabitants of Springfield retired to their rest on the evening of Monday, the 4th of October, 1675, with a feeling of security. In the night they were aroused by a messenger from Windsor, with information that an Indian there, who lived in the family of Mr. Wolcott, had revealed the fact that a plot had been formed to destroy Springfield, and that a large body of Philip's men had been admitted by the Springfield Indians to their fort on Long hill, about a mile south from the town, for this purpose. The alarm was immediately given to all the inhabitants, and messengers were sent to Major Pynchon and Major Treat. The villagers fled at once to the fortified houses with such of their more valuable effects as they could readily remove. At that time there were three fortified houses. One was the brick house of Major Pynchon, built by him in 1660, standing near the head of Fort street, and known since, for many years, as the Old Fort. The other fortified houses were nearer the south end of the main street.

Every preparation was made for defence that the nature of the case would allow. But there was a painful consciousness of immediate danger. The people of the fortified houses awaited with sleepless anxiety the coming of day. The night wore away, and the morning of Tuesday, October 5, dawned upon the watchers. It brought no confirmation of the fears. The risen sun disclosed no savage foes. The houses stretched along the street showed no signs of having been disturbed. Some of the inhabitants began to doubt the truth of the report from Windsor. Of this number was Thomas Cooper, who had been lieutenant of the Springfield Company, a brave and experienced officer. He determined to test the truth of the report from Windsor by making himself a personal visit to the Indian fort. Taking with him Thomas Miller, the two set out on horseback down Main street toward Long hill. They had just entered the woods which skirted the settlement in that direction, but had not crossed Mill river, when they were fired upon by some unseen foes. Miller was instantly killed. Cooper was mortally wounded and fell from his horse, but succeeded in mounting again and rode to the nearest fort, before reaching which he received a second shot and soon after died.

The Indians then burst upon the town with the greatest fury. Unable to gratify their thirst for blood by the slaughter of the people, who had taken refuge in the forts, they applied the torch to the buildings. About thirty-two houses and twenty-five barns with their contents were destroyed. Major Pynchon's corn-mill and saw-mill were consumed.

While this work of destruction was going on, Major Treat arrived with his forces on the other side of the river, but was unable to cross for want of boats. Nothing effectual for the relief of the town could be accomplished until about

three o'clock in the afternoon, when Major Pynchon with his force of two hundred soldiers, after an exhausting march from Hadley, arrived, only in time to see the ruin which the savages had wrought to the homes and property of the inhabitants.

Besides Cooper and Miller, one woman, Pentecost Matthews, wife of John Matthews, was killed. Edmund Pringridays was severely wounded, and died a few days afterward. About forty families lost all their means of subsistence.

Of the fearful incidents of that disastrous day I have spoken on another occasion, and need not dwell further upon them now. It was a time of great distress, and came near to making an end of this town.

But a brighter day dawned. Major Pynchon gave up the idea, which he at first entertained, of abandoning this frontier town for a safer home in the eastern part of the State. He inspired his fellow townsmen with new courage, and trust in the protecting care of Heaven, and through all the remainder of his long life continued to devote his time and talents to advancing the prosperity of Springfield. He died January 17, 1703, universally lamented.

The estimation in which he was held by those who knew him is well expressed in a discourse delivered at his funeral by Rev. Solomon Stoddard, pastor of the church of Northampton, an eminent clergyman of that time. Taking for his text the first, second, and third verses of the third chapter of Isaiah, he said: "A great man is fallen this day in our Israel, and it becomes us to mourn and lament under this dispensation. God has removed one that has been a long while serviceable, that has been employed upon public service for above fifty years. He has been serviceable unto the country in general, and in special among ourselves. He hath had the principal management of our military affairs and our civil affairs, and labored much in the settling of most of our plantations; has managed things with industry, prudence, and moderation. He has been careful in time of war, and, as there has been occasion, he has been a peacemaker among us and helpful in composing of differences; he has discountenanced rude and vicious persons, bearing his testimony against them. It is to be feared that we shall feel the sorrowful effects of his removal a long while. Sometimes where parents die, children do not at present so much feel the want of them as they do afterward. We may have occasion afterward to remember with sorrow that we had such an one among us. Though we have other useful men, yet there may arise such cases wherein there may be great need of his conduct and help. He was honorable, and had great influence upon men of authority abroad and upon the people at home, and had more experience by far than any other among us."

To this justly deserved eulogium, uttered by one of his contemporaries who knew him well, I desire to add only a word. Springfield owes John

Pynchon a debt of gratitude and honor, for all that he did and suffered as her preserver and benefactor, that will never be discharged until some memorial has been devised that shall adequately express in an enduring form her obligations to him as her foremost citizen during the first century of her existence.

It is not my province to predict or anticipate the future of our city. We live in an age when knowledge is making rapid strides toward ultimate predominance in the world. Art and science have made wonderful progress during the half-century now closing. No man can foretell or foresee what the next half-century will develop or disclose. Nowhere, perhaps, is the ingenuity of men pushing more vigorously than in this valley the search for whatever will extend the boundaries of human knowledge and promote the comfort of man and the welfare of society.

This enterprising spirit must have an important influence upon the coming generations in this city. The issue under heaven must depend on ourselves. If we are true to our responsibilities — if we perform faithfully our duties, both public and private — if we guard carefully against the intrusion of evil influences — if we cherish a regard for the memory of our fathers and maintain the standard of virtue, intelligence, and religion, which they established, there is no degree of prosperity and happiness, however exalted, to which we may not attain.

Music by the Orpheus Club, assisted by Mrs. P. S. Bailey and Gartland's Band, followed the address.

JUDGE KNOWLTON. — The first settlers of New England were occupied with the practical affairs of daily life. It was not the beauty of the fair Connecticut, as eluding the two grim sentinels that stood in her path, she escaped in graceful curves through this fertile valley to the sea, that attracted the attention and fixed the habitation of our fathers. It was her utility, as a bearer of burdens to and from the harbors on the southern shore, that made her priceless in their eyes. But their fathers in England had seen Shakespeare, and the spark of poetic fire which they brought with them was buried, not extinguished, and it needed but a zephyr's breath to fan it into flame. Springfield now has poets not a few, and among them all there is none more beloved, or who sings sweeter songs, than he who adorns the judicial bench, and scatters by the wayside garlands of poesy. I introduce the poet of the day, Judge William S. Shurtleff.

ANNIVERSARY ODE.

BY JUDGE WILLIAM S. SHURTLEFF.

A timely thought, —
 Heaven sent, or by a happy fortune caught
 As it was wandering, like a floated seed,
 Seeking a soil in need,
 Its lodgment finding in a troubled brain
 That had been querying long, in vain,
 Why God in his just providence had
 wrought
 That reason should in all be free
 But action sometimes held in slavery,
 The servant of a single equal's will, —
 That somewhere in the new-found West
 There might be still,
 As yet concealed from keen Oppression's
 quest,
 Beyond the circle of the chainless sea,
 A haven God-reserved for Liberty.

On Leyden strands
 A kneeling minister with heavenward hands
 Amid a tearful throng,
 Embraces close, and lingered long.
 Of separating friends,
 In parting that a life's association ends,
 And fervent farewells spoken fearing-
 ly, —
 A shallop beating out to sea,
 To westward sailed.
 Upon its prow a stately figure veiled,
 A cross within her hand.

Her foot on Plymouth strand,
 And Freedom reached her heritage!
 Repressed in every Eastern land,
 Oppressed in every earlier age,
 At last she stood
 Untrammelled in the Western solitude,
 Wherein, since air to sound was stirred,
 No irritated ear had heard
 The tones of tyranny, whose soil no step
 had trod
 Subservient to any one but God!
 Above her haughty head
 Her pure white banner to the free air
 spread,

Her cautious veil forever cast aside,
 Upon her girded waist displayed
 A gleaming blade
 She cared no more to hide,
 And facing to the Eastern sky
 Together sword and cross she lifted high.

And, swiftly following hers,
 The feet of many hasteners,
 From out the cruel lands of eld, —
 The throne-emburdened lands, —
 Around the standard that she held
 Quick gathered on the narrow strands
 Between the wilds of wave and wood,
 A mighty multitude
 With eager eyes
 Alight with hope and grand emprise,
 And hearts resolved with her to share
 Whatever fortune should await her there.
 Three thousand miles of separating sea
 Between them and the tyranny
 From which they fled,
 Three thousand miles
 Before them, open to their trustful tread,
 Of land in liberty:
 Above them Heaven's smiles
 Around them everywhere
 Extending to their bold adventurous eyes
 A new world uncorrupt and fair
 And free for every enterprise
 Consistent with their Christian creed,
 And in their ears God's own "God-speed!"

'Tis near three hundred years ago
 Since that brave pilgrim band
 Led by God's hand,
 As they believed and we their children
 know,
 (Accrediting the good that is the sequence
 of that planned
 In their heroic exodus),
 The pioneers for us
 And all who shall hereafter be
 Heirs of this land of liberty
 Upon this Western coast with Freedom
 made their stand.

A quarter of a thousand years ago,
 These pilgrim-pioneers
 To westward wended from the eastward bay
 And hither plodded sturdily but slow
 (As needs they must through wilds would
 stay
 Their steps intrusive — from well-
 grounded fears
 That these stern strangers ill-disposed
 The calm in which the wood had long re-
 posed),
 And there, yon hill-top's brow below,
 They halted, pleased upon their rugged
 road,
 Where frequent fountains of sweet waters
 flowed,
 For needed rest awhile, and he
 Who led them, mindful of his English home,
 To which his exiled thoughts would oft-
 times roam
 And mindful of the many *springs* that
 yield
 Their largess still into the lower *field*,
 By cooling draught refreshed said grate-
 fully,
 "Henceforth this spot shall '*Springfield*'
 be!"
 Thus in their van,
 Leader by nature, and elect of man,
 Born to command, unfitted to obey,
Spake William Pynchon, marshal of the
day!

"Had those adventurous men
 The troublous times that intervene
 Between the now and then,
 The toils and dangers Fate before them laid
 With sight prophetic seen,
 Would they have undismayed
 Still followed Freedom in her perilous Cru-
 sade?"
 Ask of the Pilgrim statue there
 So sternly standing on our central square!
 O Hartley! you, upon yon pedestal of stone,
 Have better shown
 Than can the tongue of orator or poet's song
 Or History's pen,
 The spirit, mould, and measure of the men
 To whom the greatest glories of our
 belong;
 You have personified
 The pilgrim-pioneer and Puritan.

Than which there none
 Of all the heroes yet by History described
 In all the centuries flown,
 Since bravery in the world its deeds began,
 Stands forth so strong
 As type of God's intended manly man!
 The speech of orator, the poet's lay,
 And History's clearest printed page
 Will pass from memory of men's minds
 away,
 But there your work will linger long
 To passing generations' thoughts engage,
 And make them mindful of what men
 should be
 To win, and what they were who won, their
 liberty.

Go, patriots of the present day
 Who valiantly at odds contend
 With every evil as it strides upon the
 way,
 And from those bronzed lips take cheer,
 And courage new that shall your hearts
 defend
 Against each fearing Doubt, each doubting
 Fear.
 Go, trisler of the present age,
 Whose longest pilgrimage
 Extends from pleasures wearied of to
 pleasure's quest,
 And there, before that statute, prone,
 Your missing manliness bemoan,
 And, self-confessed,
 A pigmy by a giant's side,
 Make question then,
 If retrograding from his soul's selected plan
 Was possible for such a man.
 Ah no! Those mighty men —
 Miles Morgan and his mates —
 Held God's commission here to bide
 And found His sovereign States;
 And bide they did and would have done,
 And biding, would have won,
 Against the threatnings of a thousand
 worse fates!
 The forest trees,
 Deep rooted here for centuries,
 Not firmer than their purposes;
 The prehistoric hills
 Not stronger than their steadfast wills,
 The river at their side, —
 The massing of a myriad rills,

Resistless sweeping downward to the seas —
 Had not more trenchant tide
 Than their concurrent courses overwhelm-
 ing all
 Would hold their bodies or their souls in
 thrall.

But, ah! could they have peered
 Adown the coming centuries,
 And seen in sequence swift unfold
 What our now retrospecting eyes behold,
 How had their hearts been cheered!
 Here, where they stood,
 With anxious but unfearing eyes,
 Surveying doubtfully the dismal wood
 That held, from them concealed, the wealth
 to be
 Their gift to their posterity.

Ah! had there been with them some bard
 Inspired to see, and seeing sing
 To them the pennant that they bore,
 Succeeded by the banner many starred
 Round which our cheers rejoicing ring
 From eastern to the western shore,
 On land and ocean never fearing furl'd,
 Afloat above a crowded continent
 Of freemen of their own enfranchisement,
 Proclaiming to the watching world,
 Her latest and her greatest peril passed,
 Freedom secure at last,
 What comfort and content
 Would his inspiring song have brought,
 To them so peril-fraught!

Ah! had to them some seer foretold
 What now our prideful eyes behold
 Within the fairest bay
 That shelters commerce from the sea
 Where rises all triumphantly to-day
 The giant statue that shall stand
 Extending in its mighty hand
 To all oppressed of every other land
 The beacon light of liberty!
 Ah! happy sequence of the timely thought
 On Leyden strand!
 O happy inspiration heaven taught!
 O generous genius of Freedom-loving
 France!
 Bartholdi! you have wisely wrought
 In that momentous monument
 Expression of the end of God's intent

When to the Plymouth sands
 He bid the pilgrim bands
 As pioneers advance
 To found a nation that should be
 The host of all the hosts that dare be free.

But neither bard nor seer
 To them gave prophecy or cheer;
 Nor did their visions seek to stray
 Beyond the dawning duty of each day.
 If bards or seers there were they neither
 spoke
 Or sung of warning or of hope;
 Theirs only then to bend them to the yoke
 Of present toil and stubbornly to cope
 With obstacles on every side
 Their onward movement stubbornly denied;
 They dealt with stern prosaic facts;
 And had no time or mood for carolling.
 Nor were those days the days for poet's
 dreams; —
 They never sing
 Who are themselves for song fit themes. —
 Their poems are their acts!
 And those men stood
 As Freedom's allies in her direst needs,
 The actors of an epic fuller of events,
 Of rare romance and daring deeds.
 Than any that the muse of any age pre-
 sents, —
 An epic we continued, banishing the brood
 Of Freedom's foes in her last fray subdued,
 Of which the bronzed soldier there
 Now picketed upon our public square
 Companioning his Pilgrim prototype so well,
 Will to the Future's pilgrims tell.

A quarter of a thousand years have passed
 Since these few pioneers,
 Though peril-hunted and harassed
 Their courage still outmarching far their
 fears,
 Hither hewed the earliest pathway from the
 bay,
 By battling underwood
 At every step withstood; —
 And homing halted here and were content
 to stay;
 No thronging to the self-same road —
 "The Bay Path" — now by steeples forested,
 And garland-strewed,
 A vast procession of their sons appears —

In long and serried phalanx lined and massed,
And at its head,
As chosen leader still bestowed
To guide these later pilgrims on their easy
way,
*Rides William Pynchon, marshal of the
day!*

Aye! still a Pilgrim band,
Upon this midway mound
(A foothill to the mountain of our hope,
An Alpine altitude
Unto our fathers, when they stood
Upon their halting-ground,
Below upon the pathless plain)
We make a momentary stand
To take new horoscope
And measure progress, and in resting gain
Fresh breath for climbing to the higher height
They scarcely saw with Faith's prophetic
sight.

And here we well may proudly pause
And backward trace with well-contented
eyes
Each happy consequent to happy cause, —
As lusty toilers, at noon-rest a-field,
Review the well accomplished work that
lies
Behind them, promise of the generous
yield
With added toil in loaded wains shall
come

To glad their granaries at the harvest home —
And here we might repentingly review
The errors led our careless steps astray
To wanderings untrue
Unto the God-appointed path
Whereon the pilgrim fathers took their
patient way,

To which turned backward by his wrath,
Rebuked and lessoned, we at last have found
Our feet upon this vantage ground,
Successors of the pilgrim pioneers,
And bearing still the standard that they
bore

(With added laurels wreathed)
Each one a peer, and only such, 'mong only
peers,
Inheritors of all the wealth and lore
Of all the centuries that have gone before,
And heirs-apparent of the coming years,
Inhaling freer air

Than man in any other age or land has
breathed,
Our paths to choose, constrained alone to
care
To follow in the course that trends the way
The Father of our fathers led them from
the Bay.

But not to us, as unto them,
The task to stem
Oppression's still pursuing wave
That everrode the servient sea
With following throngs of tyranny;
Not ours, as theirs, to brave
The inland peril of the ambushade.
Our path secure is made;
On neither side
Our ocean-guarded continent
Dares any foreign foe display his tent;
On all the seas,
Our ships at ease,
Offending not, and unoffended ride,
Protected by the menace of a flag that vies
In glory won with all in all the skies;
No savage foes
Disturb the quiet of our home repose;
As safe as any star in heaven
From onset from another star,
Our perils come not from without or far —
The wounds we have to fear are those self-
given, —

But this is festal day;
A day for gratulating song and speech;
The pulpit and the press may preach
But not the poet's lay
Around this happy homestead hearth,
Whereto are called the wanderers, from the
path
Begun with us, who sought in pastures new
A herbage sweeter than their home hills
grew.

And they have come at our behest; —
Across broad prairies of the widening
West;
Great oceans passing (pathways still
For pilgrims that with freemen will
Yet people every vacant rood remains
Between the eastern and the western
main);
From Northlands they persuaded to yield
The harvest of New England's fertile field;

From Southern plains whose sensuous ease
They have aroused to active industries;
From crowded cities of the eager East
Where Enterprise sits golden-fleeced;
Each prideful of his later choice,
But all avowing with accordant voice
Their loyalty, all other homes above,
To this the city of their earliest love,
Who, like a mild-eyed mother, at her mid-
dle age,

Content and cosy and serene and sage,
With every added year
Become more lovable and dear,
As all New England mothers do
Who Time to gentle treatment gently woo,
Outspreads the old Thanksgiving cheer
Before her children guests, assured that they
With her are glad of one more homelife
holiday!

And at the banquet she has spread
Sit many not "unto the manor born,"
But to the manor warmly welcomed
The fugitives forlorn:—

And aspirants for liberty
From every yet unliberated land
Around her crowded table stand,
And she is smiling equally on all,
Nor makes distinction, at her festival,
Of race or color, rank or nationality.
The Scotsmen with their kindred gift—
New England thrift,—
With Bismarck's absentees sit side by side
Contented both to bide
With us and Freedom fortune here;
And, gladdened, draws a-near
The sad Italian, in whose darkened eyes
The gathered gloom of ages of depression
lies:

And haught Hungarians, ever mutinous
Against the edicts of the fateful day
That gave them to the hated Austrian sway,
Forego their fierceness here in feast with
us:

And here, the wrathful Russian refugees,
Sojourning at their ease,
Watch safely, from afar,
The cordon closing round the Czar;
And hardy sons of Switzerland
Have left their mountains grand
With tales of glory of their own to tell,
Half free at home, all free with us to dwell.

And loiterers from the land of Lafayette,
Whose gallant lance, —
(Let no American forget
On such a day as this that still uncanceled
debt) —

Stood for the sympathy and aid of France
When both were sorely needed here,
Take as of right a portion of the cheer!
And strangest sequel of our strange ro-
mance,

The self-expatriated Englishman,
Withdrawing his allegiance
From service of the gentlest Queen
That ever sceptre swayed,
Has here his home in preference made,
Escaping so his part as actor in the
scene

That closes now the act America began;
And, near him at the banquet table sit
(Of their parts, too, not yet acquit,
Postponing them perhaps a while;
The ousted owners of that injured isle —
Ah! once the land of laughter, song, and
wit, —

Where only Nature now is seen to smile —
The ire-ful sons of well named Ire-land,
Compatriots of Parnell
"The king uncrowned," whose more than
sceptred hand

Is raised to retribution's ready bell,
In warning and command, —
Descendants of the Pilgrims, in your needs
They were your comrades in courageous
deeds,

Upon your every freedom-perilled plain
Their blood as freely flowed as yours;
The conquest that your peace secures
They helped you gain.

Send forth to-day across the sea
To ears that wait it wistfully
Your "God-speed Ireland to like victory!"
And last, but far from least of all
Who come to share our festival,
Forgiving generously the wrong
Repaired so late, endured so long,
Sit those we have from our own slavery
released.

At such a feast
There should not be — nor shall my sum-
mons call —

One spectre of the past; one Futured fear.
Naught should be here

That Faith and Hope and happy Memory
Would have away;
Distrust and Gloom and boding Prophecy
Must bide some other hard and day!

A quarter of a thousand years ago
Our faith-led pioneers
Here made an end of pilgrimage,
Their object, as they thought, accomplished
so,
Contented in their simple spheres,
No further purpose did their thoughts
engage
Than to God's instant willing know
And do it instantly.
But what say we,
O Pilgrims of this later eager age?
Where shall we fix in all the coming years
The ending of our willing way?
When will your followers halt for hermitage,
O William Pynchon, marshal of the day?

Ah, not until our latest energies
Are lent unto the purposes
That led our fathers here across the seas;
The pilgrimage by them begun
Can be abandoned by no pilgrim's son.
We have their duties with their dower
inherited;
And go not of ourselves but, Heaven-led,
Each one an instrument
Of God's will clearly manifest,
On to the doing of his next behest.
Search through the fabric of the Past,
And trace the thread —
Unparted and unfrayed from first to last
That makes the warp on which is spread
The wondrous woof of our heroic history,
And not one moment missed
Nor once involved in mystery —
The thread of God's intent —
That will forevermore insist
Till man shall weave thereon the last event
Of Freedom's full accomplishment.
From hence straight on,
Upon the uncompleted pilgrimage
Still Freedom's wars perhaps to wage,
Our course and our successors' course is
laid,
And cannot be evaded or outstrayed

Until the latest pilgrim's foot shall rest
upon
That farthest strand
Which Time's last wasting wave
Shall lapsing lave,
Upon whose shining shore,
With pilgrims who have gone before,
Shall angels watching stand,
With brightened eyes, to see
The ending of the Leyden shallop's voyage
of liberty.

A quarter of a thousand years from now
Another band of pioneers
Shall pause to rest upon the brow
Of some far loftier height,
We only see with Faith's prophetic sight,
And, gazing back adown the years
Upon our age shall say,
"Ah, then and there the crucial time ap-
pears!
They were wise men who met the issues of
that day, —
Men just, who set their bondmen free, —
Men brave, who shed their blood,
In lavish flood,
Not for their own, but all men's liberty, —
Men fair, who filled the flaws
Of justice — meting equitable laws;
That was the age
When regnant stood Reform upon the civil
stage;
The era when the red men long aggrieved
Their wrested rights received;
The century when the color line
No longer could the rights of man define;
"When Capital and Labor sensibly agreed
That each the other equally did need;
When Mammon was from power dismissed;
When politics were purified
And office its official sought
And only merchandise was sold or bought;
And, side by side,
Accounted equals on the civil list,
The Woman and the Man
Commenced anew upon God's primal plan.
Ah! those were pure and patriotic days!" —
Unto such praise,
By us to be deserved, from hence to-day
*The Pilgrim Pynchon's spirit marshals us
away!*

This memorable meeting closed with the singing of "America," and a benediction pronounced by Rev. John W. Harding, of Longmeadow.

The event in the evening of Tuesday was the banquet at the Massasoit Hotel. The dining-hall was decorated, and the guests were disposed at the tables as follows:—

Table No. 1. — Hon. L. J. Powers, Hon. W. E. Locke, Hon. H. C. Greely, Hon. L. J. Logan, Hon. A. B. Coffin, Hon. A. C. Chapin, Hon. J. Bourne, General Dalton, Governor Robinson, Hon. E. D. Metcalf, Hon. E. H. Lathrop, Lieutenant-Governor Ames, Hon. H. L. Dawes, Hon. G. M. Stearns, Hon. A. E. Pillsbury, Hon. F. D. Allen, Hon. H. B. Peirce, Hon. J. H. Butler, Rev. T. R. Pynchon.

Table No. 2. — Geo. R. Dickinson, Hon. E. Wight, G. Bill, E. S. Flower, J. H. Newton, E. K. Bodurtha, A. F. Allen, N. C. Newell, C. L. Covell, Wm. Birnie, E. Stebbins, James Abbe, W. F. Fletcher, F. W. Dickinson, J. B. Clements, H. S. Dickinson, J. S. Sanderson, John Olmsted, L. S. Stowe, E. Hedges, E. A. Russell, C. D. Rood, D. Beebe, Rev. J. W. Harding, Hon. J. J. O'Connor, Hon. S. Winslow.

Table No. 3. — Hon. G. Bliss, Judge W. S. Shurtleff, Rev. J. Cuckson, Samuel Bowles, Hon. W. H. Haile, E. W. Bond, Chas. Marsh, H. S. Lee, J. B. Stebbins, Captain Emery, A. Rumrill, Jas. Kirkham, J. S. Hurlbut, J. M. Cooley, H. D. Carroll, A. B. Underhill, E. Gallup, R. F. Hawkins, J. D. Safford, G. H. Bleloch, Hon. G. Wells, E. W. Kinsley, N. A. Leonard, Hon. J. L. Houston, Hon. W. L. Smith.

Table No. 4. — Judge A. L. Soule, Col. J. A. Rumrill, Hon. D. A. Wells, Wm. Bliss, Col. Wm. Edwards, Hon. H. S. Hyde, C. A. Nichols, D. P. Crocker, Hon. E. Gaylord, E. C. Rogers, F. A. Judd, W. K. Baker, Rev. M. Burnham, B. O. Morris, W. O. Day, Col. W. P. Alexander, Maj. Z. C. Rennie, Dr. T. F. Breck, E. Morgan, Col. M. V. B. Edgerly, Hon. H. M. Phillips, Col. M. P. Walker, Colonel Boynton, Colonel Greenough, General Nettleton.

Table No. 5. — Colonel Whipple, Colonel Currier, Colonel Stearns, Hon. W. Smith, C. P. Deane, G. N. Tyner, J. T. Abbe, W. H. Brooks, W. J. Denver, J. N. Keller, R. W. Day, J. G. McIntosh, J. D. Gill, A. B. Forbes, A. B. Wallace, W. H. Wright, C. W. Mutell, T. M. Brown, J. L. Shipley, Hon. M. G. Bulkeley, Colonel Blakeslee, Colonel Hyde, D. J. Marsh, Gen. H. C. Dwight.

Table No. 6. — Hon. B. Weston, J. H. Hendricks, Dr. Carmichael, E. Belding, H. Smith, E. D. Chapin, E. P. Chapin, C. Fuller, Dr. Birnie, A. Birnie,

Campbell Chapin, C. R. Stickney, N. D. Bill, Oscar Ely, F. D. Foot, C. A. Birnie, C. A. Fisk, E. Luther, Homer Foot, S. B. Stebbins, O. H. Greenleaf, F. H. Harris, J. W. Cumnock, E. F. Hamlin.

E. H. Lathrop being presented to the company by Mayor Metcalf, as toast-master, began the speaking by these remarks : —

Appreciating the kindness and courtesy of my introduction by His Honor the Mayor, it nevertheless is not my province or purpose to intrude upon the occasion with a speech. I am but the torch-bearer, and if I am successful in firing the fuse of eloquent talk of gentlemen about us, I am content. This anniversary marks the advance of successful civil government, and is the result of our American method of law, good morals, and good order, as well as of our local pride, enterprise, and growth. It is peculiarly appropriate that we should recognize now in our first sentiment a citizen loyal to good government, the representative head of the nation. As his representative, therefore, I call upon a gentleman as well known in this community as he is loved and respected, United States District Attorney, George M. Stearns.

MR. STEARNS. — *Mr. President and Gentlemen*, — I thank you very heartily for the courtesy and the kind remembrance with which you thus compliment the President of the United States of America. I also thank you for permitting me to respond for him here to-night. It would be strange, indeed, if I were not desirous of so doing in view of the fact that by his generous favor I am now rolling in princely affluence, and I am just entering upon the rot and degeneracy engendered by luxuries which my magnificent salary affords. I can speak with the fullest confidence of the deep affection and high regard of the President of the United States for the city. [Tremendous applause.] For whom he loveth he chasteneth, and has he not just laid the warm, hot hand of his love upon you? No city east of the rolling waters of the Mississippi has thus been distinguished, and no other city has received such tokens of his fervent and abiding affections. I read in the "Union" of Saturday that the true reasons for the veto of the port of delivery bill were not contained therein, but that down under the surface, and deep in "unfathomable mines of never-failing skill," were treasured up dark designs and undeclared causes. I am not authorized by the President to reveal those secrets, but any inquisitive Yankee can readily guess some of them. How could any one view this fair city, fringed with the daisy and the buttercup, the green fields and the silver river, its embowered homes, its shady streets, its hill and dale, its Stearns park [merriment], its Morgan monument, its City Hall, in

which no words of contention or dispute were ever heard, and in which none ever will be, until the human voice attains proportions unknown even to Homer's giants, — endure the thought of casting over all the shadow of a great national mart? Do you think of the consequences that would have fallen on this city if they had not been averted by the President's generous act? Your elections, now so peaceful, so simple, so friendly, so neighborly, conducted under the guileless guardianship of our friends, Powers, Hyde, Phillips, and a host of others, who, like them, have never sampled the arts of politics, nor been brought within the withering influence of a custom-house ring. Have you thought of the awful scramble for office that would have ensued? Do you say you could easily settle those matters among yourselves? Then you reckon without your host. Do you think the resources of Chicopee are exhausted? [Laughter.] Do you imagine that the few contributions we have made to office have left us without a supply of material for public service? Do you forget that Berkshire lies within thirty miles of your custom-house door? and do you think that she would be so recreant to the traditions of the county, so false to the teachings of her history, that she will abridge the limitless sweep of her hungry hand? Fled like the golden summer cloud would be the repose of this city when Berkshire's highlanders and Chicopee's chieftains meet in battle array contending for the patronage of your custom-house, and I behold poor Springfield, two hundred and fifty years old, bowing her hoary head, and praying for her ancient peace, and serenity, and silence.

The best recipe I have ever read for casting cannon was to take a great hole and pour iron all around it. It is satisfactory, because no matter how frequently you may fail, the hole remains uninjured; and so you have your hole left (your beautiful Springfield), although the federal metal has refused to wreath around it. What more do you need to make glorious this anniversary? Of far more importance are the ability, the integrity, and the honor of the municipal rules of the grand old city, than any federal aggrandizements, or enlargements, or accessories. It is of far graver import to you by whom, and by what principles and what men your city shall be governed, than who shall be President of the United States. The conviction of Alderman Jaehne is of more value to the future history of New York City than the distribution of federal patronage for the next fifty years. [Applause.] You have no scandal or stain on your municipal life. You stand here to-day looking back on your faint beginnings, made impressive by the dust that time has scattered over them, tracing your happy history to the present time, proud that your inheritance has not been made pathetic by sin, or a sorrowing memory by wrong. What better purpose, what higher pride can you have, than to keep unsullied the estate bequeathed to you?

MR. LATHROP. — In the early days, when the wise men of the East in Massachusetts were projecting their political plans and purposes of state, they never decided important affairs until the “River Gods” of the Connecticut valley were consulted and heard from. Massachusetts has returned to her early custom. The “river gods” are yet here, and potent in the politics and the material concerns of the Commonwealth. In response to our call, our friend, neighbor, and governor graces our occasion.

GOVERNOR ROBINSON. — *Mr. President and Gentlemen,* — In behalf of Massachusetts, whom you delight so cordially to honor, I receive your testimonial, and shall bear it with me as your tribute. It comes not to me personally, for whatever is accorded to the Governor of the State is official, and goes to the people as a whole and the government of which he is so justly proud. My friend and neighbor on my left has spoken so eloquently of the whole United States of America that he has taken in the domain of Massachusetts, and still more closely the little village of Chicopee. Indeed, there is little left for me to say, and perhaps it will be all the more grateful to your ears and patience, for I know you are already advanced two hundred and fifty years, with all the feebleness that comes with it, so you cannot bear very much at this hour, and I shall part with you with only a brief delay. Fortunately no one person present speaks for Massachusetts. She has voices in every town and city and at every point of her borders. For the time being one man stands officially for her, but everywhere her voice is heard. You have here at this board a long array of men, armed and equipped, impatient at the delay, to speak for the good old Commonwealth. It will be my gratification, therefore, to give them that opportunity, having already said in another place to-day something in her behalf. The toast-master has alluded to the place of my home, and it may not be out of place for me to speak of Chicopee; to speak of her quietude, her good-fellowship, and her good citizenship. Her mark in life has not been made in this year, but far back, before she was separated from the good old town of Springfield. In fact, her attachment is so strong that she has drawn many others within the borders of her first settlement. My friend Stearns and myself, while we could not woo the mother, have loved her daughter, and we love her still. Though we live on the opposite sides of the street we are never jealous of our attachment to her, and never dare to say which thinks more of her. It is the home and the place of men who this year and in many other years that are gone have made their mark on the business, the mercantile, and the governmental prosperity of the Commonwealth. Do you need to be told in Springfield that your great man who led the way of transportation in western Massachusetts found his birth in

Chicopee? So it is not alone in the present year that the men of Chicopee have been in the front and have gone into all parts of the State and country. Do you say that because Chicopee isn't a good place to live in? No, Chicopee is apt to say that they have gone because their presence was needed elsewhere, and they have gone where their strength was wanted. [Applause.] You may go northward from here, but you will find no natural line between Springfield and Chicopee. There is no actual separation between the two. Man may have tried to put them asunder, but God has joined them indissolubly, and there they stand, city and town, close together. She on the north has sought no other alliance since she parted with you temporarily, and she will not seek another. But if she does, it will be a reunion with the good old town of Springfield. Whatever makes for the advancement of the city of Springfield contributes to the glory of Chicopee, and in everything that shows her prosperity rejoices our hearts. I thank you for your indulgence, and gladly give way to others who are to follow.

Ex-Mayor WILLIAM H. HAILE, responding to the toast "The City of Springfield," said : —

I am asked to respond to a toast which has been assigned to another, and to whom we should have all gladly listened; but, at the same time, I have the feeling that any citizen who at such a time as this should refuse to respond to a call to appear in behalf of Springfield, even at the eleventh hour, would be a subject for proper discipline. This city may be pardoned if she seem to-night to be a little boastful. Our cup of joy is nearly full, and if we could have been made a port of delivery, I think it would have overflowed. Let us hope that our senior senator and the representative from this district in Congress may yet persuade our President that for once he has made a mistake. This is Springfield's day, and she is proud of it. We do not wish to detract from the history of other towns, but we claim in various ways a somewhat remarkable record for ourselves, as regards growth, sound finances, and intellectual development, and we are surrounded by a galaxy of beautiful daughters. We believe that Springfield has a promising future. Relying on an overruling Providence, our people have but to do their duty, and we shall advance to a point of eminence which we can scarcely realize to-night. Thus we look into the future thankfully and hopefully.

President A. E. PILLSBURY, responding to the toast "The Massachusetts Senate," said : —

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Toast-master, Citizens, and Guests of Springfield, — It gives me pleasure to be with you on this festal occasion, and to add to the overflowing congratulations which attend it, those of the less numerous and more modest branch of the Commonwealth's Congress, as you have styled it. I was pained to observe, Mr. Toast-master, that in calling on me to speak for that body you did not favor us, saving an allusion to our dignity, with any expressions of complement such as you have liberally bestowed elsewhere. This was, doubtless, an oversight, for you know that the Legislature has many virtues. We frequently manage to get through a day's session without doing any serious mischief. And if the good people of Massachusetts generally knew how much mischief we are asked to do, and how much of that we refrain from doing, they would look upon the Legislature with a respect which, I fear, that much-abused body has never commanded in their eyes. The strength of your own representation there is one of the most creditable features of your history in the two centuries and a half whose completion you celebrate to-day. With the earlier part of that history I am bound to confess I am little familiar; but in late years one of your most remarkable qualities, as it appears to us who live in the eastern part of the State, is the facility with which you acquire, and the urbanity with which you accept, the public offices. When a desirable place falls vacant in almost any department of the government we disinterested lookers-on down in Suffolk and thereabouts immediately say to ourselves, "What Springfield man will have that place?" And when it goes to a Springfield man it is but just to you to say that we always acquiesce in the propriety of the choice. I can see at this table at least two of your distinguished townsmen on whom the mark of destiny seems already to be set. How fortunate it would have been if this anniversary had fallen one year later, when you probably could have graced your feast with a lieutenant-governor and a president of the Senate of your own production, instead of having to fall back on an imported article! And speaking of imports I am naturally reminded of the cloud, no larger, indeed, than a man's hand, and not likely to be larger, the only cloud that dims the brilliancy of your prospects to-day, even by a passing shadow, cast by the late refusal of the President of the United States to allow Springfield the empty honors and scanty emoluments of a port of delivery. Don't let that disturb you. Your distinguished fellow-citizen, the district attorney, has already pointed out to you that the denial of that boon is really a blessing in disguise. What are ports of delivery? There are hundreds of them, some hardly known even by name. "A breath can make them, as a breath has made." But there is only one Springfield. This splendid city, with all its wealth of character, association, and material prosperity, is yours still, and yours it will remain, while ports of delivery come and go unheeded.

You do not depend on the favor of Presidents. You can afford to laugh at a veto. The energy and enterprise which have made Springfield what she is to-day, a monument of New England prosperity and an embodiment of the New England idea, will carry her on unchecked by accidents of fortune to new achievements and new glories in the future, and the congratulations and good wishes of the whole people of the Commonwealth will attend her onward march.

MR. LATHROP. — *The Press*. — To respond to this toast, I am pleased to present a gentleman who, by inheritance and by instinct, by education and accomplishment, most fitly illustrates and localizes this sentiment, — Mr. Samuel Bowles.

MR. BOWLES. — *Mr. Toast-master and Gentlemen*. — For three generations my family have been engaged in the newspaper business in Springfield, and there appears to be some danger that a representative of the fourth generation may grow up to pursue the same calling. It has been one of the unwritten but respected rules of the house never to make a public speech. I felt, therefore, that I was running the risk of a hostile encounter with the shades of my ancestors in accepting the invitation of the banquet committee to respond to the present toast this evening. But the call so stirred my pride in my heritage and my profession, that I could not decline it.

After the eloquent exaltation of the press by your accomplished toast-master, little remains to be said in its behalf. The history of the press in Springfield, it may be claimed, without boasting, is a highly honorable one; and the newspapers of the town have at least done their share in promoting its material growth and preserving its moral health. The marvellous development in the character and functions of our local journals, that has taken place within the century that compasses their history, has been confined almost entirely to the last fifty years, the period during which the telegraph, the railroad, and the steamship have broken down the barriers that formerly separated towns and States and continents, and brought every part of the civilized world into quick communication with every other part. During this time, too, there has gone on a wonderful improvement in printing machinery, enabling us now to circulate the news of the day with a completeness and promptitude that would have been considered magical fifty years ago. The celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Springfield occurred on a Wednesday. On the following Saturday the local papers appeared with reports of the event, filling only three or four columns of space, and consisting largely of the letters from distinguished men read at the public dinner, and the toasts that were offered.

In an editorial paragraph the enterprising conductor of one of the papers said, "We think we shall be able in our next to give our readers the entire speeches of his Excellency, of the Adjutant-General, and of Colonel Winthrop." This would be ten days after the speeches were delivered. Mark the difference between that time and this! To-day our daily papers can hardly wait for the speeches to be spoken, or events to happen, before they are offering their readers full and accurate reports of what has been said or what has occurred.

A number of the foremost citizens of Springfield in the past have been more or less intimately associated with local journalism, and become a part of its history. William B. Calhoun, who honorably represented this part of the State in Congress at the time of our two hundredth anniversary, and was a man of a high order of ability, contributed liberally to the editorial columns of the local press. So, less frequently, did that rare companion and gifted lawyer, George Ashmun, whose handsome presence especially graced occasions like this. The brilliant and genial William Stowe, whom many of us remember with pleasure, was a regularly employed editor of one of the local journals. Ex-Mayor William L. Smith, also, to whose good taste and intelligent management, as chairman of the citizens' committee, the success of this celebration is so largely due, was an able editor in his younger days, and would have responded for the profession this evening but for his frail health. That admirable and useful moral teacher, Dr. J. G. Holland, was another worker in the ranks of whom the fraternity in Springfield will ever feel peculiarly proud. These and others like them, men of position, of power, of conscience, and character, have made the press of Springfield what it is to-day. Let us hope that their successors, in the present and coming generations, will seek to emulate their virtues, and to administer worthily the larger trust, the heavier responsibility which the opportunities of modern journalism lay upon them.

Dr. THOMAS R. PYNCHON, of Hartford, Conn., responding to the toast "The first three magistrates of Springfield," said: —

Mr. President and Gentlemen of Springfield, — I need not say that it gives me the greatest pleasure to be present on this occasion, for though our branch of the Pynchon family established themselves upon the beautiful shores of Long Island Sound nearly one hundred and fifty-eight years ago, yet we have always regarded Springfield as the ancient home of our race, and taken the deepest interest in its prosperity, welfare, and success, and it is with feelings of no ordinary satisfaction that I rise to say a few words on behalf of my distinguished ancestor and his faithful friends, and attempt to justify his right to the title of Worship-

ful, by which he is generally known in history. In order to do this I must take a brief survey of his career, for his life, from the beginning to the end, was a busy and eventful one.

At this time, two hundred and fifty years ago, May 25, 1636, he was only fifteen years of age, having been born at Springfield, in Essex, England, in 1621. He was, therefore, only nine years old when he was brought by his father to America, together with his mother and his three sisters, in the ship "Jewell," one Hurlston, master, in company with the other vessels of the fleet that bore the Massachusetts charter to this side of the Atlantic. About ten of the clock, Easter Monday, those vessels weighed anchor at Cowes, Isle of Wight, and on Monday, the 14th day of the following June, they cast those same anchors in the inner harbor of Salem, in Massachusetts. In the course of a very few days they sailed again and landed their company at the confluence of two rivers, near the bottom of Massachusetts Bay. Winthrop planted himself at Charlestown, but Pynchon, almost immediately, removed to Roxbury, where we find him in the early part of July of the same year, and where he built a house, beautifully situated on rising ground sloping towards the east, afterwards sold to Governor Dudley and now occupied by the Universalist church.

Hence the worshipful major, being now, as I have said, about nine years of age, first made his acquaintance with the great wilderness and with the copper-colored savages, in whose future history he was destined to play such an important part. In the course of that summer, his mother dying, he passed into the care of his sisters, who were considerably older than himself, and a little later into the hands of Mrs. Frances Sanford, a grave matron of the church at Dorchester, whom his father married within a year. Of early schooling the worshipful major probably had not much, but what he had, no doubt, came from Rev. John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, who arrived from England in 1631, and became the first minister of Roxbury, and from him he probably acquired that interest in the Indians and that knowledge of their character which was one of his leading characteristics during the whole of his life.

Two hundred and fifty years ago it was a hurried and busy time in that household at the foot of the Rocksborough cliffs. On the 22d of April his father had returned from his first trip, that season, to the Connecticut river, in order to expedite the loading of the "Blessing of the Bay," as he wrote to John Winthrop, Jr., at Saybrook, at the river's mouth. On May 14 he was again at Springfield, and on July 4 was back once more at Roxbury. By July 15 he was once more in Springfield, and the probability is that it was between these last two dates the family was moved, and that somewhere about the 8th or 9th of July the youthful major, being, as I have said, about fifteen years of age, gained his first sight of the Con-

necticut river, from the elevated point where the Bay path emerges, upon the top of the hill to the eastward of the town, and caught his first glimpse of its magnificent curves as it sweeps through the fields of Longmeadow, and that he presently found himself established in the little wooden house that had been built for the accommodation of the family, not far from the river's bank, and close by the very spot on which we are now assembled. Here, no doubt, he enjoyed for schooling the instructions of the Rev. George Moxon, and in his out-of-door life sailed up and down the river from South Hadley Falls to Enfield, and assisted in trapping beaver at Woronoco and in loading his father's vessels at Warehouse Point, and daily became more deeply interested in the dusky men who constantly thronged his father's house; and, no doubt, was present when a deputation of the Mohawks from the great river on the other side of the western mountains waited upon his father in order to present to him the scalp of Sassacus, the great Pequod chief, who had fled to them for safety, and which by him was carried to Governor Winthrop on his next visit to the Bay, together with his bloody hands. And in this school of business and affairs passed away nine more years. Then comes his marriage, October 30, 1645, to Amy, the daughter of Gov. George Wyllys, of Hartford, and the owner of the famous Charter Oak.

Four years after, in 1650, when he was twenty-nine years of age, occurred the publication of his father's book, "The Meritorious Price of our Redemption," and two years later, his return to England. Immediately after followed his own entrance upon civil and military life, as chief magistrate of the settlement and commander of the troops. Presently came the preparations, in 1658, for the erection of his great brick house, the Fort. During all this period prosperity flowed steadily in, and wealth accumulated. From Enfield and Suffield on the south, to the meadows of Deerfield on the north, most of the land was purchased by him, or through him, of the Indians, and nearly all subsequent titles are from him derived. Nor were his possessions confined to the Connecticut river valley, for we find him owning land in the Narragansett country, two thousand four hundred acres, between the Thames and Mystic rivers, to the east of New London.

In 1662 occurred his father's death, and the year following he visited England to settle the estate. In 1675 came King Philip's War, with all its anxieties, fatigues, and horrors, culminating in the burning of his settlement in October of that year. In 1679 we discover him assisting officially, as one of the assistants of the colony, at the imposing funeral of Governor Leverett in Boston. In 1680 we find him despatched to Albany with instructions from the General Court to get the advice and assistance of the Hon. Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New York, to endeavor a treaty with the Schems and people called Mohawks, and they remind

him of his former visit to Albany, and their meeting him some four years before. No doubt in both journeys he followed the trail up the Westfield river over the mountains, and was thus the pioneer of the great iron road that now follows the same route, from his settlement to the same point.

In 1659 began his legislative career, as a deputy from Springfield to the General Court. From 1665 to 1686, when the government under the old charter came to an end, he was one of the Assistants, or Upper House. In 1686 we find him named by the Crown as one of the Councillors under Sir Edmund Andros's government of all New England. And finally, in 1703, when he was eighty-two years of age, and about one year after the accession of Queen Anne, and toward the beginning of the grand career of the great Duke of Marlborough, on the 17th day of January, he died, and was buried with great pomp a few days afterward on the banks of the Connecticut, which he had loved so well, and, as it were, under the shadow of Mt. Tom. The Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, preached the sermon, entitled "God's power shown in the death of useful men." He describes him as a man having great influence abroad as well as at home. It was the general feeling that a great man had indeed fallen in Israel.

On reviewing his career, we perceive plainly that from 1650 to 1702, a period of more than fifty years, he was constantly engaged in public affairs. He was honorable, and had great influence upon men of authority abroad. This is Mr. Stoddard's language, and he could not have had such a career if he had not possessed in an eminent degree those qualities which always command the respect of mankind. And in this career he was powerfully supported by his brother-in-law, Elizur Holyoke, and by Samuel Chapin, whom you have very justly associated with him in your remarks, and who was possessed of similar sterling qualities. He is said to have been much trusted and beloved by the Indians, and to have continued the wise policy of treating them that was commenced by his father. Of this there is a notable proof in a letter from Jonathan Edwards, at Stockbridge, in May, 1751, in which he says "that the Mohawks desired that in future interviews and conferences, Brigadier Dwight and Colonel Pyncheon might be improved, and as to Colonel Pyncheon in particular, they urged their acquaintance with his ancestors, and their experience of their integrity." This I have always regarded as the finest compliment ever paid to the family, and its highest claim to distinction.

The Brigadier Dwight here mentioned was the celebrated Gen. Joseph Dwight, who commanded at Louisburg and Lake George, the ancestor of the Berkshire Dwights and of the Sedgwicks, and the brother of Col. Josiah Dwight, of Springfield. The Colonel Pyncheon must have been, I think, my great-great-grandfather, William Pyncheon, who married for his wife Catharine Brewer, the

daughter of one of your early ministers; or else his brother, John Pynchon, who married the daughter of the Rev. Edward Taylor, of Westfield.

My conception of him is, that he was a wise, sagacious, sympathizing, honorable, high-minded, religious, and friendly man, of immense capacity for business, a brave and energetic commander, a prudent counsellor, and possessed of all the qualities, the confidence, the affection, and love of men. He was, I think, a very different man from his father. His father was a great scholar and author, and a well-read lawyer, a man of a statesmanlike mind, a man who could conceive and assist in executing the plan of bringing the charter to this country, and of founding a new State. These great qualities are clearly shown in his letters to Governor Winthrop, printed in the transactions of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The son was possessed of the administrative qualities necessary to carry on a government that had been already founded.

Thus, my fellow-townsmen, I have, I think, shown the reasons for the application to my distinguished ancestor of the title of Worshipful; it was because he possessed in an eminent degree all the qualities necessary to win and secure the confidence of the community. He was a man to whom men were attracted by his gracious qualities, whom they were inclined to revere, to worship, as it were. Hence he was styled the Worshipful Major.

Mayor O'CONNOR, of Holyoke, responding for his city, said : —

The "infant city" of Holyoke, which I have the honor to represent to-night, is proud to own its kinship and anxious, I am sure, to show proper filial respect and affection for its honored and venerable parent, on this and all other occasions. Compared with Springfield, with its two hundred and fifty years of hoary tradition, Holyoke, even as a township, has barely reached the period of young manhood. Reckoning age by date of city charters, Springfield may be said to be in the pride of manhood, while Holyoke is but a stripling of twelve tender years. Originally a part of West Springfield (a pasture or a patch on the outskirts, so to speak), Holyoke can properly claim to be a child of Springfield (its first-born municipality) on the maternal side, perhaps, and with equal propriety can trace its noble lineage on the paternal side to the broad Connecticut river, whose mighty forces have been transmitted and stand revealed to-day in no mean proportion in their joint offspring. Pardon, then, the boastfulness of youth, if, while we delight to honor our parents, and especially our beautiful and gifted mother, Springfield, we use, or abuse, this occasion to remind you all that both "mother and child are doing well," especially the child. Holyoke, I know, wishes me to be modest, but also firm, on this point.

Although not yet in our municipal teens, having set up housekeeping for ourselves, we gratefully accept the maternal hospitality and extend our own. Two hundred and thirty odd years, however, is a long while to wait for a like occasion to present itself within our borders, and Holyoke, therefore, authorizes me to extend the open hand of fellowship to-night, and to say that the latch-string is always on the outside, and a hearty welcome is waiting for the surplus population and capital of Springfield within our gates. Already we proudly number a score or more of Springfield's brightest names upon the roll of Holyoke's successful business men, and we welcome them heartily, even though they prefer to seek the suburban quiet and repose of Springfield after the cares of the day in Holyoke. To the rising generation of Springfield, seeking fresh fields and pastures new for the exercise of their inherent energy and enterprise, we extend a special invitation to join their fortune with ours, and reap with us the golden harvest of Holyoke's future. But this is a family party, and perhaps we have already spent too much time in admiring and praising the baby.

Let me, in closing, add a personal tribute to the home of my childhood. Some one has said "that a recollection of old scenes and pastimes we often consider among the happiest moments of our lives." Brought here from my birth-place among the Berkshire hills, a child, educated in your schools, and entering my profession under the guidance and patronage of the now venerable Dr. Breck, I feel, and always shall feel while memory lasts, a warm affection for Springfield and a debt of gratitude to her institutions, and I am proud of her record as the pioneer and preceptor of western Massachusetts in all that makes for civilization, education, and the progress of the human race. In the name of Holyoke, and for myself also, then, I greet you, I thank you, and congratulate you upon the record you have made as a representative New England city, and as an honor to the grand old Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

DAVID A. WELLS responded to the toast "Springfield — The flavor of old times makes fresh and sweet the new," and said: —

Remembering the Scriptural proverb, "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country," I could not help feeling greatly complimented at receiving an official invitation to return to the place of my birth and participate in this memorable anniversary. Letting my memory run back also, some forty years or more, and recalling "how once upon a time" Elijah Blake — who was at that period pretty much all that the "Lord High Executioner," "The Lord Chief Justice," "The Lord Chancellor," "The Minster of Finance," and the "Chief of Police" ever was to "Titipu" in the kingdom of the Mikado — fixed his eyes sternly on

one of the back seats at a public meeting in the old Town Hall on State street, and audibly remarked, "If that Wells boy and those other fellows don't make less noise and disturbance they will be put out," — those other fellows being William L. Wilcox and Albert Kirkham, now "grave and reverend seniors," and the late Charles O. Chapin of honored memory. Recalling all this, I could have little thought that the time would ever come when the successors in authority upon whom the mantle of Elijah has fallen would ever wish that the "Wells boy" would come back again. From which, I think, I have the right to infer that if I have made any noise or disturbance since then it has not been, as formerly, altogether of a disagreeable character.

I do not know that it has ever occurred to any one to make an analysis of the motives that are influential in drawing one back to the home of his childhood. At first thought it may seem that such tendencies are the outcome of an instinct, born and inbred in every one; something akin to love of country. A little examination, however, will, I think, lead to opposite conclusions. And in support of this view, I would mention that a question recently put to a gentleman who emigrated from this vicinity elicited the following reply: "I was born in such a place," naming a town not forty miles distant from Springfield; "and it is the only thing in my life that I feel particularly ashamed of." I have never visited that place; but from what I used to hear of it, I should think the native referred to might have had some good and sufficient warrant for his opinion. Again, I sat some years ago at dinner beside one of the merchant princes of New York, a man whose name is well known in commercial circles and in public affairs. He informed me that he was born in a little town in New York, just over the Berkshire or Massachusetts line; that he had only been back to it since he left to bury his father and mother, and that "he never meant," if he could help it, to go back again. Further conversation disclosed the fact that his father was a farmer, the owner and cultivator of one of those sterile side-hill farms of that section of country; a man whose fundamental idea of life was work and religion, as he understood it, — to work unremittingly during all the hours of daylight; and to meet any demands of human nature for diversity and recreation by attending meetings, and the study of the Assembly's catechism or such other literature as made up the scant libraries in those days of the supporters of old-time New England Calvinism, — among which he remembered was a well-thumbed sermon preached by the father of David Dudley and Cyrus Field, at a public execution, in which the culprit was advised that although he had been a very bad fellow, and was still impenitent, there was ample time for conversion and a change of heart between leaving the church and reaching the gallows. It was no wonder, then, that my friend, under the circumstances, bought his own

time — as was then customary, before coming of age — of his father, and emigrated; and that the town where he was born never left upon his memory sufficiently agreeable impressions to have yet received from his present accumulated millions anything commemorative of his childhood, and in furtherance of the interests of its present inhabitants, or is probably ever likely to be thus remembered. Therefore, I conclude that there must be something more than the mere fact of having been born in a certain locality that constitutes the attraction in later life to those who have been long absent to return to it; and that it is necessary, in order that such attraction may be powerful, that the impressions of early life, which are so strong that old men babble of them when all other memories have departed, should have been pleasant. And so far as Springfield is concerned, I think I can truly say, not only for myself, but for all other of its children who have wandered from the old home, that the early impressions received here were always most pleasant.

Nowhere among all the towns of New England did the current of life run more sweetly and quietly than here. How vividly can I reproduce the former picture of localities! On the spot where we are now gathered stood the family home, embowered among great trees, of the Hookers, — judges, legislators, deacons, and town councillors. Next below was the great gambrel-roof parsonage of the First Church in Springfield. Where the railroad station is, grew some of the earliest and sweetest apples, — sweeter if they could be gathered without the privity of their owner, the Widow Hubbard. Where the railroad bridge crosses, was one of the most famous of shad fisheries. Across the street, but lower down, ran, as I think it yet does, the “town brook,” once sufficiently pure to be so stocked with trout as to admit of their being caught with a scoop. Across the square rose, as now, the steeple of Dr. Osgood’s church, which, to my childish imaginings, seemed something akin in height to the tower of Babel; and upon the top of its spire still sits that wonderful rooster which, as all children were informed, always crowed whenever he heard the other roosters.

How little then occurred to break the current uniformity: the publication of the “Weekly Republican;” the annual town-meeting, which seemed always to occur when the weather was most unpleasant and the roads the muddiest, to the inconvenience of the multitude, who came up as the tribes of old to Jerusalem, from Cabotville, Chicopee, or Skipmuck, “Jenksville,” “Sixteen Acres,” Long Hill, and the Water-shops; the tolling of the “passing bell,” to indicate that some one of the little community had joined the great congregation; the annual training of the Hampden Guards and the Springfield Artillery; the occasional show; the winter’s lyceum; the arrival and departure of the good steamers “Agawam” or “Massachusetts,” Peck, master; or the departure before daylight, or the arrival

after dark, of the Boston and Albany coaches, whose head-quarters were at the Hampden Coffee House. Good society in those days breakfasted between six and seven, dined at twelve, and supped at six. Most people, also, were then of the opinion that night was the time to sleep; and, lest somebody should forget it, the church bell was rung regularly at nine o'clock, when it was expected that fires would be raked up and courting be discontinued. Few of the citizens had travelled farther than to New York or Boston; and as for the one or two who had made the journey to Europe, it was thought that there was little more remaining for them, except the kingdom of heaven. How incidents that are regarded as now of little moment swelled to great importance in those earlier days is well illustrated by the circumstance that the completion, in 1805, of the great bridge across the river, at the foot of what was then "Bridge lane," was considered of sufficient moment to require the preaching and printing of a sermon, by one of the most noted of New England divines, namely, Rev. Joseph Lathrop, D.D., pastor of the First Church in West Springfield. And from a copy of this now rare sermon which has come into my possession let me read you a brief extract: "Who among us, twenty years ago, expected to see the two banks of the Connecticut river united at Springfield by a bridge which should promise durability? Yet such a structure we see, this day, completed and opened for passage, — a structure which displays the wealth and enterprise of the proprietors, and the skill and fidelity of the artificers, and which will yield great convenience and advantage to the contiguous and neighboring towns, and to the public at large. In a work of this kind there is the same reason to acknowledge the favoring and preserving hand of God, as in all other enterprises, and more in proportion to its complexity, difficulty, and magnitude. The structure which we this day behold suggests to us a most convincing evidence of the existence and government of a deity; and also of the importance of civil society and of a firm and steady government."

It is now the opinion of those most qualified to speak that there is hardly a single department of history, ancient or modern, that does not require to be reinvestigated and rewritten. But be that as it may, the inner, domestic, and social life of the people of New England has certainly never yet been fully explored and written; and it constitutes a most promising and inviting field, not only for the historian, but also for the novelist. Mrs. Stowe has worked this mine somewhat in her "Sam Lawson" and "Oldtown Stories," and in the romance of "The Minister's Wooing," as has also Rose Terry Cooke in "Mrs. Beulah's Bonnet" and "Squire Paine's Conversion;" and in all literature there is no story clothed in purer English, richer in word painting, or more ingenious and delicious in plot, than "Twice Married," written by Calvin Philleo, of Suf-

field, who died when the guild of literature had hardly made his acquaintance, and who gave promise, if he had lived, of developing into one of America's greatest masters of fiction.

What a wealth of character, material, and incident is embraced within the memories of Springfield during the fifty years or more prior to the advent of the railroads! Stephen Burroughs, the rogue, whose memoirs, with "Riley's Narrative," were read with wonderment by more than one generation of this valley. Thomas Blanchard, the inventor, who built the steamboat "Massachusetts" on a lot on South Main street, and then drew it on massive solid wheels, with long yokes of oxen, amidst a wondering crowd, to its launching-place, at the foot of Elm street; and who, stimulated by a taunt of an armorer engaged in carving gun-stocks "that he could not spoil his business," invented that most wonderful machine for turning irregular forms, including such an irregular thing as a gun-stock. Elijah Blake, the terror of evil-doers, who seems to have extended his life to some fourscore years or more by becoming transfused with the toughness and strength of his own leather; Uncle Bill Cooley, the old sexton, who gathered in nearly two entire generations before he himself was gathered. William Ames, son of Fisher Ames, who for many years made two visitations to the town annually, and timed his visits so coincidentally with the arrival of shad and the celebration of Thanksgiving, that not a few people, it is said, remained doubtful as to the exact time of these events until the presence of Mr. Ames in town was known to be a certainty. Captain Peck, the hardy navigator, who for many a season breasted the storm of the Connecticut, and safely guided his craft over the rocks and terrors of "Enfield Rapids." Eleazar Williams, the once prince of inn-keepers, who was so famed for his politeness to all, and his special courtesy to ladies, that it is said of him that once upon a time, coming unexpectedly upon a setting hen and perceiving her to be disturbed by his intrusion, he took off his hat gracefully, and bowing respectfully, speedily retired with the remark, "Don't rise, madam, — don't, I pray you." And last, but not least, that grand old man, Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., to whom Goldsmith's lines to a country clergyman are fairly applicable. —

Remote from towns, he ran his godly race,
Nor e'er had changed nor wished to change his place.

New England never produced a more original character, more fertile in wit, more keen in repartee. One anecdote illustrative of the latter quality, which I will venture to relate, and which I think has never found its way into print, was told me by the late Gen. Dan Tyler. The general, when fresh from West Point.

was ordered in company with two or three other young officers to Springfield, in connection with the armory, and to help pass the time pleasantly. a sort of social club was organized, and a meeting and reading room rented and furnished, on the same entry with the post-office, which was then kept by Daniel Lombard, in a little wooden building on State street. At this club Dr. Osgood was a frequent visitor and always a welcome guest; and on entering one day and asking the news, he was informed of a new engagement of a certain young and buxom damsel, the daughter of one of the first families, with an elderly bachelor, who was also one of the wealthiest and most distinguished citizens of the town. "Well, doctor, what do you think of it?" was asked. "Think of it?" he replied. "I think there is a good deal of money got by marriage that better be hired at 6 per cent." The doctor was probably also the originator of the old story, which runs to the effect that, visiting a sick man, and admonishing him upon the necessity of a change of heart, he was interrupted by the rejoinder from the patient, "I don't think you understand my case at all, doctor. It isn't a new heart that I want, but a new liver."

Rev. Dr. Sprague, who was for a time settled in West Springfield, was a man of great culture and refinement, and especially observant of all the "proprieties" of his profession. Engaged to supply the pulpit of Dr. Osgood on one occasion, the latter announced him to his congregation as follows: "On the morning of the next Sabbath Brother Sprague will occupy my place, and blow from the silver trumpet of the New Testament, but in the afternoon I shall be present and will give you the ram's horn of the Old." And then if it is the more comic, as well as the poetical side of human nature that is to be sought, what can be more originally ludicrous than the famous poem, or elegy, of "Springfield Mountain," which has almost become a classic in English literature, and without a sufficiently proper notice of which any historical review of Springfield would, it seems to me, be manifestly most incomplete. This elegy was written by one Nathan Torrey, a citizen, at the time, of Springfield, about the year 1761, in commemoration of a tragic occurrence that caused a great local sensation at the time, namely, the death, from the bite of a rattlesnake, of the son of Lieutenant Mirrick, who resided in that part of the town which was then known as "Springfield Mountain," and which was afterward incorporated as a town by itself, under the name of "Wilbraham," — a name in some way undoubtedly derived from an old English family by the name of Wilbraham, whose ancestral records and sculptured memorials are still preserved in an old church at Chirk, in Herefordshire, on the borders of Wales.

Nathan Torrey was an odd genius, and removed to Hinsdale, Berkshire county, about the time of the Revolution, and is said to have been the first settler of that

town. When the steeple of the Congregational Church in Dalton was raised, the parson, it is said, called upon Torrey for some poetry suitable for the occasion. He agreed to so do, and at the proper time took his stand before the audience. He looked up at the steeple, then at the minister, and next at the people, and gave utterance to the following : —

Little church, tall steeple,
Blind guide, ignorant people.

As the newspaper reporter was not round in those days, we have no knowledge of what happened next; but we can imagine what the ministers and the people thought, and, perhaps, of what they said. But I fear I have exhausted your patience and left myself but little time to speak of my boyhood associates. Springfield has many distinguished names on the roll of her sons. But the number of boys who have notably made their mark from the comparatively small class of my school associates is, I think, somewhat remarkable. Two were successful sailors, and walked the quarter-deck as captains of as noble vessels as ever flew the American flag. Four became general or field officers in the War of the Rebellion, and two fell on the field of battle at the head of their columns. One was avowedly at the head of the editorial profession of the country. Three have risen to the front rank of the legal profession in the cities of New York, St. Louis, and San Francisco. Two now stand at the head of New England's greatest railroad corporation, while another is at the head of Massachusetts' railroad commission; two have become successful merchants in the Central West and on the Pacific; and of the names of those who have remained at the old home, if they are not widely known, it is simply because to them the opportunity to become distinguished has been more limited.

To be present upon such an occasion as this cannot, however, be a wholly unmixed joy to the sons of Springfield, who return to her after long absences, and the words of Rev. Dr. Peabody, in his address at the dedication of the Springfield Cemetery in 1841, come back to me now with a fulness of meaning which they did not convey when I heard them delivered : —

“ When the native of this town, after long absence, returns to the home of his fathers, he will walk the streets, and all whom he meets will be strangers. He will inquire concerning familiar dwellings, and the names of their inhabitants will be new; and when he meets his old acquaintances he will find that they know not the Joseph of former days. He will be forlorn and solitary among the living, and will not feel at home till he comes to the mansions of the dead. Here he will find the guardians and the playmates of former years. Here will be all

whom he used to reverence and love; and here the heart will overflow with emotions."

Gen. H. C. DWIGHT, of Hartford, said: —

I regret exceedingly that our honored Governor of the Commonwealth of Connecticut is not present to respond to your very complimentary toast to Connecticut, the State he honors, serves, and loves so well. In his name and for this old Commonwealth I thank you for your cordial greeting, your neighborly interest, and kindly good-will. Connecticut heartily reciprocates them all, and congratulates the ancient town of Springfield, on this her anniversary day, on her prosperity and success; on what your city represents to-day, — enterprise, energy, happiness, and wealth, — one of the many pleasant, bright, prosperous cities of our sister Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Connecticut has now in her borders some of your former territory, and though not naturally covetous, 'tis a pity when the line was drawn including Enfield, Somers, and Suffield in Connecticut, it was not put far enough north to have included your whole town. In fact, we could include the whole of Massachusetts, so kind is our regard and so great our love for you.

The same spirit was in your founders as in those of our beloved State, — the spirit of liberty, of government by the people, of freedom of worship, of free education, animated them, and the same spirit actuates them to-day. The people of Massachusetts and Connecticut have the same characteristics, — those of energy, industry, frugality, generosity, and inventive genius. The hum of their industries is heard, the products of their skill are known around the world. In war both have proved their valor through these two hundred and fifty years. In peace both have gone hand in hand to the highest success; no bickering nor enmity has been known, but as neighbors we have both gloried in the success of the other. The white flag of Massachusetts and the blue flag of Connecticut are both combined in the flag of our glorious, united country, each star shining as brilliantly as when first placed in the flag of our Union; and so may they shine, made more and more brilliant by the honor and righteousness of their people till the "perfect day." The town and city of Springfield may well and gladly welcome home her children, wherever they may be. Happy those who have never wandered from her pleasant firesides; happy those who have so pleasant a home to return to, welcomed by a happy, prosperous people, who have worked for, deserved, and earned success. We of Connecticut come with good wishes, and strong, hearty desire for your continued prosperity and success. May your future be in ways of pleasantness! As in the past two hundred and fifty years, so in the future

times, we promise to be good neighbors, active, earnest workers with you for the prosperity of the State and nation, joining with you in every good word and work.

United States Senator DAWES said: —

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen. — First let me thank you for this kind manifestation, and say that I am quite aware, at this festival of the sons of Springfield, that the time belongs to others, and not to me. I would be quite content to yield it all to those who have so many pleasant, friendly memories to recount to delight and charm you. I know it becomes me to make acknowledgment of this toast in the briefest possible manner; but before I do that, you will pardon me, even at this late hour, if I make my bow to the city of Springfield. She has won my heart to-day, and I am quite impatient to make avowal of the attachment. I have been captivated by the regal splendor with which she has come forth to receive our congratulations upon this most distinguished of all her birthdays, decorated and blushing like a bride, and yet as stately and dignified as a matron, swelling with pride as her children gather around her with their offerings. She receives our offerings, she receives our congratulations, and acknowledges the compliments we pay her with becoming grace and dignity. Increasing years, as has been said so many times to-day, have not brought to her decrepitude or decay, but perennial youth and beauty adorn her brow. The mother of a grand array of towns and cities which have sprung up along this beautiful valley, she is yet the youngest of them all (applause). “the fairest of her daughters since born.” Could the cities of New York and Boston have seen her to-day in her glory, they would have been ashamed of that petty jealousy and rivalry to prevent her being a port of delivery for foreign commerce. But they fight against the stars, and their discomfiture, as well as her triumph, is certain in the near future. This spectacle which we have witnessed to-day could have been witnessed nowhere else but in this country, and under no other government but ours; for nowhere else could those elements of Massachusetts’ growth, which made her successful as the founder of towns and of States, have had free scope and development.

I should have been glad, Mr. President, to have spoken of the place and functions of the United States Senate in that government, had you not reminded me before I got up that there would not be any time to say much of anything to you on the toast to which I was called to speak. But, sir, if I cannot say anything more, there is some satisfaction in saying that the United States Senate needs no defence or encomiums from me. It was placed in the Constitution of

the United States to protect the smaller States from the encroachments of the larger ones. It is the bulwark of the smaller States in the midst of those greater and more numerous, without which the uncontrolled members would submerge and swallow them up; and so important its provisions of equality of vote among the States, guaranteed in the Senate, appeared to the founders of our institutions, that they so built it into the Constitution that it cannot be taken out by any amendment, as every other provision of that Constitution can be. Massachusetts holds the guaranty of her equality in the Senate by title absolutely indestructible as long as the government endures. It can be wrested from her only by revolution, or by revolutionary surrender. In that body Massachusetts has had in the past representation always worthy of her great name, and the high commission with which she has intrusted that representation. After the two great names of Webster and Sumner, the illustrious in history, the old county of Hampshire of blessed memory — alas that it was ever divided! — stands forth in the front rank with the names she has furnished to that representation. Caleb Strong, one of the first senators for Massachusetts, stern, stubborn, incorruptible, and patriotic; Ashmun, a name illustrious in both houses of Congress and at the bar of the Commonwealth; Mills, the scholar, the statesman, and orator of a listening and charmed Senate; Isaac C. Bates, whose voice rang in my ear like a silver trumpet the first time when a boy I entered the courthouse at Northampton, and whose mantle is now worn so gracefully and so worthily by a descendant of the same stock in your neighboring town. These were the “River Gods” of their day (applause), and to these illustrious names the old county of Hampshire may point her present and future generations for ensample and for emulation.

Railroad Commissioner KINSLEY said: —

Mr. President and Gentlemen, — It was always my luck when a boy in Springfield to be put at the tail-end of any fun that was going on, but I generally got in. And now, at 12.45 in the morning, after you have listened to the eloquent speeches that have been made, I am called upon to say a few words for the “old boys” of Springfield.

I will begin where my friend Mr. Ames Wells left off. He spoke of a worthy gentleman, Mr. Elijah Blake, who used to be the terror of the boys. But there was another worthy gentleman, whom I remember and whom you all remember very well, Mr. William Hatfield, who was a constable of the town, and who took care of the boys that sometimes made fun at Dr. Osgood’s church. I remember one time when the missionary spirit was prevailing in Springfield,

and every one was very much interested in the mission of Mr. Armstrong at the Hawaiian Islands, that every little while the Sunday school made contributions for his and other missions. But Mr. Armstrong's mission generally brought more of our pennies than any other; for we knew Mr. Armstrong, and he sometimes sent curiosities to Springfield to be shown to the Sunday-school scholars of Mr. George Merriam. I now recall that a contribution was to be taken up one Sunday afternoon for this mission; and the Saturday evening before, the boys met, as was their habit, in front of a well-known store which did considerable trade with Mr. R. M. Cooley, who made soap and candles. The agreement with the firm and Mr. Cooley was, that they should take their pay in pennies for clothing bought of them; so that they had under their counter a large dry-goods case almost filled with pennies,—old-fashioned cents. This evening the boys changed their ninepences and quarters into cents. The next Sunday afternoon we all sat in the old square pew, in the corner of the gallery, and in due time the contribution was to be taken up. Mr. Hatfield, who wore an old-fashioned white wool hat, one of the kind that you can blow upon and make winrows, and one that had been worn long enough to have the edges a little bit tender, began to take up the contribution. He went down to Charley Childs's pew, which was in the front row, and took his contribution, and then he came up to the pew where we boys were. We commenced to unload our pennies into the hat, chucked them in with some considerable force, and after the contribution from this pew had been taken up he began to go down the aisle to take up further contributions. As he went along the top of the hat opened and the pennies began to drop out. Pretty soon the hole became larger, and down went the pennies on the floor with a tremendous crash. Dr. Osgood spoke, and said that if Mr. Hatfield would wait there where he was then standing he would pronounce the benediction. The benediction was pronounced, and then the question arose among the boys as to how we were to get out. We could not jump out of the window, and we waited and waited to help to pick up the pennies. By and by we made a dash for the door. Mr. Hatfield was ahead of us on one side of the door, and Mr. Blake on the other; and before we could pass either of them our ears got a fine twisting, and some of us, after we arrived home, wished that our trousers had been reinforced.

In my travels around the world I often go back, in mind, to this, the most beautiful city, in my opinion, that there is anywhere. There is no city that begins to be located as this is, on this beautiful river, and so diversified as it is with hill and valley. It seems to me that the trees are greener in Springfield than anywhere else.

But, after all, the great glory of Springfield is in the men and women it has produced. Why, just think of it, gentlemen! Go back fifty years and look for a

moment at the missionary spirit which then existed, and of the great number of missionaries that went out from this town. At this moment I recall the names of Van Lennep, Calhoun, and the Blissés (and there are others whose names do not come to mind now), men who have been stationed all over the world, and who have carried good living and pure religion wherever they have been. This, in itself, is glory enough for Springfield.

Consider, for a moment, that the Episcopal Church, which was formed here by the Rev. Henry W. Lee, has sent out three bishops, — Bishop Lee, of Iowa, Bishop Littlejohn, of Long Island, and Bishop Burgess. That, in itself, is glory enough for Springfield.

I recall, with a great deal of interest, the name of a quiet, modest man, who, although he started his enterprise in another place, succeeded in bringing the manufacture of india-rubber to a high state of perfection in a shop now standing on Mill river. I allude to Mr. Charles Goodyear, whose name is world-renowned. I remember distinctly a little incident which happened during his life in Springfield. He was very poor, and one day was arrested for the non-payment of a debt. He was put in the jail limits. He had a suit of clothes making at a tailor-shop in Springfield, and on Saturday night, when the clothes were to be delivered, one of the firm said that Mr. Goodyear was at Sheriff Foster's. But he said to the trotter-boy in the shop, "When you go home, take Mr. Goodyear's suit of clothes to him, and tell him that he can pay for them when it suits his convenience." On his way to the jail the boy stopped at his home for supper. A barrel of fine red apples had been delivered that afternoon at the boy's house, and his mother requested him to unhead it. He did so, and took out of the barrel one of the largest apples and put it in his jacket-pocket. He then started for the jail, which was near by, to deliver the clothes to Mr. Goodyear. To his surprise he found Mr. Goodyear reading in Sheriff Foster's office. He was not behind the bars, but was only in the jail limits. He delivered the clothes and the message of his employer. It occurred to him that, perhaps, the red apple would be acceptable to Mr. Goodyear. He took the apple out of his pocket and handed it to Mr. Goodyear, who thanked him very kindly. On the 1st of January, 1854, this young man was in Paris, in John Munroe's office. It was Sunday, a *fête* day. Lord Palmerston and other notable Englishmen were there conferring with Napoleon about the allied army. The young man went into Mr. Munroe's office and sat down to read some letters that had been received there for him. After he had finished reading, he looked up and saw in the next room Mr. Goodyear. Soon Mr. Munroe came to him and said, "Do you know that gentleman?" pointing to Mr. Goodyear. He replied that he did; that the gentleman was Mr. Charles Goodyear. Mr. Munroe then

said. "He wishes to see you." The young man then went to Mr. Goodyear, who looked up from the desk at which he was writing, and said. "How do you do? You are from Springfield, and used to be a clerk for Palmer & Clark. Do you remember a certain red apple which was given to me once?" The young man replied that he did, and that he was very glad to know that circumstances had greatly changed; and also that he had noticed with a great deal of interest what had been said of Mr. Goodyear, especially in regard to india-rubber pontoons, which he was then making for the French government. After a pleasant conversation, Mr. Goodyear asked the young man to step around to his hotel at 12 o'clock. The young man did so, and soon he was invited by Mr. Goodyear to drive with him to the Bois de Boulogne. The emperor, one other distinguished party, Mr. Goodyear, and the young clerk from the Springfield tailor-shop were the only ones that drove that day up and down the avenue behind four horses. Mr. Goodyear showed this young man great attention afterwards, and they were constantly talking about Springfield. Why, gentlemen, the fact that Charles Goodyear carried to such great perfection his india-rubber inventions in this town is glory enough for Springfield.

In my travels over the country I find, all the way from Halifax to San Francisco, men scattered along the railway lines who have graduated from this Boston & Albany Railroad. And it is only a few days ago, when in the far West, I met several men of my set, and every one of them said something about this beautiful old town. They mentioned the names of friends whom they knew as boys, and after whom they asked with most affectionate tenderness. I should do them and myself injustice if I were to sit down without naming one, a lady, most beautiful in appearance, most dignified in her bearing, and lovely in her character, who has done more for the boys of Springfield than any one person that I know of. She is now living among you, and I mention her with the greatest veneration and respect, Miss Margaret Bliss. I also wish to mention three men (there are others, but these three names come to my mind at this moment), from whom most of the boys have received kind words of encouragement some time in their lives, which they would never have had if it had not been for these three gentlemen now living among you, and after whom the boys always inquire when I meet them in my travels through the country. I allude to Mr. Homer Foot, Judge Henry Morris, and Mr. Henry Fuller, Jr. And all I desire is, that the men of to-day will continue and carry out the enterprise and high principles practised by the men of noble character of the last fifty years.

Speeches were also made by the Rev. John Cuckson, of Springfield, and Rev. Mr. Harding, of Longmeadow. Many letters of regret

were received, including a cordial one from the venerable George Bancroft. Gen. W. H. L. Barnes, of San Francisco, took occasion in his letter of regret to recall at length the scenes of his boyhood.

Thus closed the most interesting banquet given at Springfield in this generation.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MAY 26, 1886.

The Second Day of the Celebration. — The Children's Concert. — The Procession. — Distinguished Guests. — Historical Representation. — The Veterans in Line. — The Trades. — The Grand Ball at the City Hall, which closed the Ceremonies of the Great Celebration of May 25-26, 1886.

THE first feature of the second and closing day of the celebration was the children's concert in Court square. Raised seats to accommodate nearly two thousand were put up in front of Odd Fellows hall. The square was full of interested people, and the children of all the public schools, under the skilful direction of Prof. F. Zuchtmann, gave a charming entertainment. Military bands played before the children began. "The Puritan March," composed for the occasion by Prof. Edward B. Phelps, was rendered by Gartland's Band, and was received with great favor. The children began their concert with the "Pioneer Hymn," beginning —

Send forth a shout of holy joy!

The words were written by a citizen of Springfield for the occasion, and were set to music by Professor Phelps. Many patriotic choruses followed, and were warmly received. The bands concluded the concert.

But the event of the day, and, to many, of the week itself, was the procession which formed at 1 P.M., the first division being stationed on North Main street, and the others forming upon the various side streets, and falling into line as the column passed down Main street. The order of march was as follows:—

Two Mounted Police.

Platoon of Police under command of Capt. Edward H. Boecklin.

Chief Marshal, William Pynchon; Major Samuel B. Spooner, Chief-of-staff;
Charles W. Mutell, Adjutant, and aids.

FIRST DIVISION.

Assistant Marshal, Col. Homer G. Gilmore, and aids.

American Band of Providence, R.I., twenty-five men, D. W. Reeves,
Leader.

First Regiment Drum, Fife, and Bugle Corps of Boston, twenty-five men,
James F. Clark, Drum-major.

Co. B, Second Regiment M.V.M., of Springfield.

Co. G, Second Regiment M.V.M., of Springfield.

Co. D, Second Regiment M.V.M., of Holyoke.

Battery from United States Armory.

Invited guests in carriages, as follows:—

Governor Robinson, Mayor Metcalf, and Adjutant-General Samuel Dalton, of Salem; Gen. E. P. Nettleton, of Boston, and Colonels H. S. Boynton, of Boston, J. J. Whipple, of Brockton, and T. E. Currier, of Malden, of the Governor's staff; Colonels Myron P. Walker, of Belchertown, and É. Stearns, of Malden; Lieut.-governor Oliver Ames, and Councillor Jonathan Bourne, of New Bedford; Councillors L. J. Powers, Warren E. Locke, of Norwood, Frank D. Allen, of Lynn, and J. H. Butler, of Somerville; Executive Clerk Edward F. Hamlin, of Newton, and Councillors L. J. Logan, of Boston, A. B. Coffin, of Winchester, and Henry C. Greeley, of Clinton; Secretary of State H. B. Pierce, Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Pynchon, of Hartford, Conn., Wellington Smith, of Lee, and Edward H. Lathrop; William F. Edwards, of Cleveland, O., George Bliss, of New York, and Hon. J. L. Houston, of Enfield, Conn.; Mayor Bulkeley, of Hartford, Conn., R. F. Hawkins, and F. A. Judd; D. J. Marsh, and Generals Stephen Smith, Barton, and Goodrich; Colonels Blakeslee, Hyde, and Mowry, of the staff of the Governor of Connecticut; Mayor Benjamin E. Cook, Jr., of Northampton, Edwin Hodges, of Westfield; John C. Porter, of Longmeadow, and E. K. Bodurtha, of Agawam; A. F. Allen, of Enfield, Conn., E. A. Russell, of Suffield, Conn., P. P. Potter, of Wilbraham, and Decius Beebe, of Hampden,—the last seven chairmen of the selectmen of the towns that were part of the old plantation; Sheriff H. Q. Sanderson and the County Commissioners, Leonard Clark, Lewis Root, of Westfield, and Henry A. Chase, of Holyoke; Aldermen Beach, Bidwell, Holbrook, and Tapley; Aldermen Wesson, Miller, and Pinney,

and President of the Common Council Long; Councilmen Mayo, Stewart, Clune, Bowman, Bill, Lyford, Bradford, Callender, Dickinson, Fisk, Hall, Margerum, Frink, and Smith, and Clerk E. A. Newell.

SECOND DIVISION.

Assistant Marshal, Capt. Peter S. Bailey, and aids, C. L. Chapin, and J. R. Wells.

Historical display of Periods from 1600 to 1860: —

1600.

Represented by Indians led by a sachem, and followed by squaws, children, and papposes, seventy-three in all, represented by the Ousamequin Tribe of the Improved Order of Red Men.

1635-1735.

- 1st. A Band of Puritans.
- 2d. Float showing the purchase of Springfield lands by William Pynchon from the Indians.
- 3d. Model of the first house built in Springfield (half size).
- 4th. Model of the old Indian Fort.
- 5th. The burning of Springfield in 1675.
- 6th. The first church built in Springfield in 1645, and church congregation.

1735-1835.

Weed's Band of Hartford, Conn., twenty-one men.

- 1st. Governor's Foot Guards, of Hartford, representing British soldiers in the Revolutionary War.
- 2d. Representation of the French and Indian War, by members of the St. Jean Baptiste Society of Springfield. Twelve mounted Indians, thirty French soldiers in uniform.
- 3d. Uniformed Company, representing Continental soldiers.
- 4th. Visit of General Washington to Springfield, 1789.
- 5th. Declaration of Independence.
- 6th. Three Doctors of the last century in gigs and on horseback.
- 7th. A Wedding Party of six on horseback.
- 8th. Four Couples representing costumes of the people, in chaises.
- 9th. First Governor of Massachusetts after the Declaration of Independence.



The Procession - May 26.

1835-1860.

- 1st. Ancient Stage-coach.
- 2d. Steamboat "Agawam."
- 3d. First Railway Train on Boston & Albany Railroad.

THIRD DIVISION.

Assistant Marshal, Abner P. Leshure, and Aids, W. A. Withey and H. W. Keyes.

Thompsonville Drum Corps.

Ancient Fire-warden, with staff of office made for the town of Springfield, 1794.
represented by G. H. Turner.

Old Firemen, represented by Geo. Crouse.

Ten men in costume of 1776.

Old Hand-engine "Torrent," of Norwich Town, Conn., 110 years old, drawn by
one horse, driven by Joseph Champ.

An Ancient Tub, on two wheels, with pumps and bars, for four men to operate
it, drawn by one horse, driven by John Clark.

Old Hand-engine "Invincible," from Thompsonville, built in 1820, drawn by
two horses, with a company of nineteen men. R. B. Wilson, secretary.

Hand-engine from New Haven, built 1825, and drawn by two horses, attended by
a company of eight men. Geo. Chamberlain, foreman.

Old Ocean Engine, No. 4, in use from 1844 to 1856, drawn by two horses, and
attended by a company of eight men. Foreman, J. McQuire.

Old Hand-engine "Torrent," of Chicopee Falls, in use since 1850, attended by
sixty men of that department. Commanded by O. K. Batchelder,
Chief Engineer of the Chicopee Falls Fire Department,
with his assistant chief, W. H. Osgood.

Steam Fire-engine "Henry Gray," owned by the Boston & Albany Railroad.
built in 1862.

Steam Fire-engine from Chicopee Department, built in 1872, drawn by two horses,
with a company of twelve men. Foreman, W. H. Lees; assistant
foreman, Gabriel Burn. The whole under the command of
Chief Engineer Hosley, of Chicopee.

Fire Extinguisher, from Westfield, built in 1872, and drawn by two horses.
attended by ten men, under command of George Simpson, foreman,
and Charles Allen, assistant foreman.

The company and the apparatus in the regular service of the Westfield Fire
Department.

Hand-hose Company from West Springfield, organized 1885, twenty men.
Four-wheeled Hose-carriage. Foreman, Frank Matthews; all under command
of John Emerson, Assistant Chief Engineer West Springfield Fire
Department.

Tenth Regiment Band, of Albany, N.Y.

First Assistant Engineer, J. A. Stevens, Third Assistant Engineer, J. H. Gould,
Springfield Fire Department, one hundred and forty men.

Engine Company No. 1, Wm. Heffner, foreman; J. L. Strong, assistant.

Engine Company No. 2, W. J. Lunden, foreman; B. J. Williams, assistant.

Hose Company No. 3, F. E. Knight, foreman; Geo. Williard, assistant.

Engine Company No. 4, F. L. Southmayd, foreman; Wm. Dagget, assistant.

Hose Company No. 5, J. H. Lossee, foreman; C. Trim, assistant.

Hose Company No. 6, Geo. Harrington, foreman; E. J. Flaunery, assistant.

Hose Company No. 7, J. H. McCleary, foreman; E. M. Holcomb, assistant.

Hook-and-Ladder Company, F. L. Howard, foreman; A. J. Trask, assistant.

Chief Engineer's Wagon.

Water-spout Engine.

Four-wheel Hose-carriage.

Engine No. 1.

Two-wheel Hose-cart.

Engine No. 2.

Two-wheel Hose-cart.

Engine No. 4.

Two-wheel Hose-cart.

Engine No. 5.

Two-wheel Hose-cart.

Hose No. 3, four-wheel Wagon.

Hose No. 6, two-wheel Cart.

Hose No. 7, four-wheel Wagon.

Hook-and-Ladder Truck No. 1.

Hook-and-Ladder Truck No. 2.

Supply Wagon No. 1.

Supply Wagon No. 2.

FOURTH DIVISION.

Assistant Marshal, Col. E. P. Clark, of Holyoke, and aids, C. B. Ladd,
M. E. Streeter, and N. E. Remington.

Moodus (Ct.) Drum Corps.

Wilcox Armed Battalion, as follows: —

Major E. F. Cross. Quartermaster C. R. Kaplinger. Capt. S. B. Parker, Capt. F. C. Cook. Capt. James Shean, Sergeant S. F. Burlingame, Sergeant A. P. Adams, Sergeant William Buchanan, Adjutant N. E. Abbott, Sergeant D. W. Ware, Lieuts. Geo. Smith, A. J. Chapin, Chas. H. Emerson; Color Sergeants C. W. Geckler and J. M. Glover; Markers, Sergeants H. S. Cullums and H. L. Brown, Sergeant-Major G. D. Shaw, Bugler, Charles Kaplinger.

Privates: C. A. Bartholomew, A. N. Johnson, J. A. A. Packard, M. Harrigan, A. N. Sollace, J. H. Brines, C. N. Wood, J. Jefferson, E. M. Sawtelle, A. B. Wood, A. Sabin, G. M. Taylor, John Sullivan, H. S. Phelps, F. L. Perry, G. H. Thomas, Wm. Tattan, C. W. Garrett, James Kenna, C. R. Matthews, Wm. Thompson, G. W. Betterly, N. W. Storrs, Nelson Perry, D. Goodson, E. Kunle, Geo. W. Cooley, H. M. Cooley, L. Harris, P. H. Elwell, L. P. Strong, N. R. Hall, F. W. Stacy, Eli Lapan, J. L. Gaboury, Wm. C. Goodrich, W. D. Phelps, Alex Smith, Julian Pomroy, Francis A. Taylor, Wm. G. Pond, H. N. Kellogg, Peter King, E. Warburton, James Anderson, C. C. Hastings, C. B. Blair, Geo. L. Warriner, Joseph Lombra, E. Wood, Louis Ashey, Wm. Hensley, John J. Walsh, J. C. Cooney, James Conway.

E. K. Wilcox Post 16: — J. H. Hendrick, P.C.; W. S. Shurtleff, S.V.; S. B. Parker, J.V.; C. H. Rust, Adjutant; D. W. Ware, Q.M.; W. I. Lyman, Chaplain; J. A. McGinley, O.D.; A. W. Cushing, O.G.; F. I. Rollins, S. Major; Nathaniel Smith, C. H. Allison, A. H. Smith, J. S. Pierpont, Wm. Fogerty, C. D. Holbrook, A. H. Ward, E. C. Wilson, L. P. Strong, E. B. Lovering, C. H. Knight, James Murphy, A. E. Todd, J. M. Kelley, S. L. Hines, H. F. Fisk, E. D. King, Peter Shanley, W. P. French, Frank Bordo, R. W. Millard, Daniel White, Levi B. Coe, Thomas Parker, M. J. Lynch, A. D. King, Jared Wheeler, R. M. Morse, John McCutcheon, John P. Hawkins, Benj. Kineston, H. C. Porter, J. F. Ross, W. N. Elmer, Geo. W. Tupper, H. A. Searle, Wm. LaFontaine, Edward Morrill, L. Wood, G. H. Nicholas, Justin Rogers, C. H. Hood, N. S. Smith, G. W. Gardner, G. Woodsworth, John Fremewiler, E. L. Coville, L. D. Trask, Wm. Dugan, G. C. Lougee, Wm. McGarrett, J. C. Condon, M. Dooley, A. C. Gove, E. E. Fisher, H. Gallup, A. J. Kay, G. M. Stowell, G. Barnum, Simon Katz, G. W. Clark, J. W. Clark, J. P. Coburn, D. T. Perkins, W. B. Watts, H. N. King, W. H. Duncan, D. W. Frost, H. L. Malory, Adin Alden, F. A. Moody, W. C. Eaton, J. E. Stewart, M. Gleason, D. N. Haskill, D. G. Hosmer, F. St. Johns, W. L. Parkhurst, W. H. Combs, Geo. A. Hill, S. B. Spooner, E. M. Tinkham, J. Stevens, A. H. Sanderson, M. H. McIntire, A. E. Allen, H. W. Burke, Isaac W. Coomes, A. Roucton, T. Tirnine, C. E.



THE PROCESSION — MAY 26.

Iserman, W. G. Iddings, R. L. Ferris, F. A. Thyne, J. Churchill, W. D. Austin, A. K. Mathews, B. C. Davis, John Griffin, Charles Trim, W. H. Strong, J. B. Hosmer, Alonzo Sabin, A. P. Wade, W. J. Langdon.

Other Post, and old Soldiers: — C. H. Grant, Dennis Towne, H. M. Bliss, Wm. Potter, Edgar K. Sellew, Lambert W. Cady, E. N. Haskell.

Wilcox Post: — Federick Gallup, Austin C. Gove, Arthur D. King, John McCutcheon, Ransom M. Morse, Edward Morrill, Lorin Wood, Edward Stewart.

Otis Chapman Post No. 103, G.A.R., of Chicopee.

Lyon Post, No. 41, of Westfield, Mass.: — George H. Prescott, Commander: C. A. Hedges, Judson Lee, Theodore Mance, Wm. Pohler, Joseph Halliday, Leroy Bosworth, George Bowen, L. F. Carter, W. C. Clark, H. H. Copley, Elbert Gillett, E. R. Lay, David Maxwell, George Maxwell, Chas. O. Kingsley, Isaac Nash, A. H. Stebbins, C. A. Newell, A. W. Furrows, W. H. Furrows, Adam Swan, H. B. Graves, James Root, Cyrus Wells, John H. Miller, Chas. Liswell, A. E. Humiston, Chas. Lambson, John Gorham, Horace Williams, E. J. Burt, R. J. Smith, A. E. Brooks, Edmund Noble, J. W. Gibbs, Buel Burt, David Keefe, Linus Burt, W. E. Walton.

Kilpatrick Post, No. 71, of Holyoke: — W. H. Abbot, Commander; A. M. Cain, S.V.C.; J. J. Callanan, J.V.C.; W. I. Turner, O.D.; D. E. Butler, G. E. Marsh, S. E. Gifford, A. N. Ricker, A. P. Ricker, A. P. Lewis, Fred Batchelder, C. Sanborn, Fred Westphael, P. A. Streeter, Geo. S. Avery, G. W. Thomas, D. W. Young, David Binns, C. Batchelder, Albert Loring, H. A. Deane, Chas. S. Knapp, S. Smith, Chas. P. Lyman, T. Shine, G. Brown, Wm. Keyes, Jas. H. Howes, J. A. Cleveland, J. F. Canavan, Emil Ushman, B. Harobine, D. O. Judd, Leander Pelot, Peter J. Donnelly, Dan Palmer.

L. A. Tift Camp No. 11, Sons of Veterans, of Springfield.

Display representing A.D. 1935.

- 1st. A car carrying fifty young girls, preceded by twenty-four boys on foot, and followed by a like number; the boys carrying banners inscribed with prophecies and mottoes suited to the occasion, representing the Springfield that is to be.
- 2d. A car carrying boys and girls, representing the Mayor and Aldermen of fifty years hence in session.
- 3d. A car carrying boys and girls, illustrating the unification of nationalities under the stars and stripes.

Representation of the towns comprising the old Springfield plantation.

FIFTH DIVISION.

Assistant Marshal, Major Zenas C. Rennie, and aids.

Fitchburg Band, twenty-five men, G. A. Patz, Leader.

Third Regiment Patriarchs Militant, I.O.O.F., Col. Eugene F. Cross, Commanding.

Grand Canton Springfield, No. 10, of Springfield.

Canton Meadow City, No. 29, of Northampton.

Canton Colfax, No. 28, of North Adams.

Canton Tabor, No. 20, of Shelburne Falls.

Band.

Canton Capital City, No. 1, of Hartford, Conn.

Band.

Canton Excelsior, No. 11, of Middletown, Conn.

Cathedral Cadets, of Springfield.

St. James Cadets, of Springfield.

St. Jerome Cadets, of Holyoke.

Thompsonville Drum Band.

Conclave No. 13, Knights of Sherwood Forest, Westfield.

Conclave No. 20, Knights of Sherwood Forest, Holyoke.

SIXTH DIVISION.

Assistant Marshal, Charles D. Rood, and aids.

Little's Band, of Springfield, twenty-five men, E. H. Little, Leader.

Springfield Schuetzen Gessellschaft, of Springfield.

A car representing Art.

Springfield Turn Verein, of Springfield.

Germania Lodge, No. 380, D. of H., of Springfield, and visiting Germans.

Daughters of Cyrus, of Springfield.

Drum Band, and St. Jean Baptiste Society, of Indian Orchard, and all other Ununiformed Orders.

SEVENTH DIVISION.

Assistant Marshal, Lieut. Gideon Wells, and aids.

Chicopee Falls Band.

Association of Butchers, two hundred and fifty mounted men in uniform.

Trades Wagons and Exhibits : — Smith, Adams, & Houghton, Downing, Sturtevant, & Co., A. C. Creighton, R. F. Hawkins, Kalmbach & Geisel, Hampden

Watch Company, C. H. Bennett & Co., of Springfield; Lamb Knitting Machine Company, of Chicopee Falls; G. W. Hall, Bigelow, More, & Marston, of Spring-



THE PROCESSION — MAY 26.

field, H. S. Martin & Co., of Chicopee, Mass.; Hartford Carpet Company, of Thompsonville, Conn.; Springfield Glue and Emery Wheel Company, American Express Company, Mill River Carpet-Cleaning Company, Geo. A. Hill, J. H. Rogers, B. L. Bragg & Co., Belcher & Taylor Agricultural Tool Company, of Springfield.

EIGHTH DIVISION.

Assistant Marshal. Noyes W. Fisk, and aids.

Trades Wagons : — M. J. D. Hutchins, S. Levison, E. M. Lyman, Homer Foot & Co., Lyman Griswold, B. Frank Steele, A. F. Niles & Son, Tinkham & Rogers, H. L. Niles & Co., Sanderson & Son, Max Lutz, Haynes & Co., J. S. Carr & Co., McIntosh & Co., of Springfield; W. C. Wedge, of Chicopee, Mass.; Adams & Thomas, Caldwood & Burns, Springfield Foundry Company, of Springfield; W. W. Coomes, of Longmeadow, Mass.; Chas. C. Abby, of Chicopee; D. B. Montague, Commerford & Daly, M. H. Hayden, I. P. Dickinson, C. Herbert Morton, C. H. Haynes, E. O. Clark & Co., Dearden & Noble, of Springfield.

NINTH DIVISION.

Assistant Marshal. B. Frank Steele, and aids.

Colt's Band, of Hartford, twenty men.

Stone-cutters' Union, forty men.

Trades Wagons : — Carlisle Stone Company, Milton Bradley & Co., West. Stone, & Co., Meekins & Packard, W. H. Smith, of Springfield; Dwight Manufacturing Company, of Chicopee, Mass.; Chicopee Manufacturing Company, of Chicopee Falls, Mass; Jas. E. Whittaker & Co., D. H. Brigham & Co., P. J. O'Connell & Son, W. L. Quinnell, Cutter & Porter, Metcalf & Luther, A. O. Brooks, C. P. Alexander, D. J. Marsh & Son, Foster & Streeter, C. M. Hibbard, Geo. A. Graves & Son, G. S. Barry, E. Dooley, Troy Steam Laundry, Morgan Envelope Company, Smith & Murray, of Springfield; Fenton & Dunn, of Holyoke, Mass.; W. H. Pinney & Co., C. C. Pease, S. E. Goodyear, H. Porter Company, John Hamilton, Fleischman & Co., of Springfield.

TENTH DIVISION.

Assistant Marshal, T. O. Bemis, and aids.

Trades Wagons : — Forbes & Wallace, Vienna Pressed Yeast Company, Fisk Manufacturing Company, of Springfield; T. J. Flannagan, of Holyoke, Mass.; L. E. Pease, of Springfield; John C. Schmidt & Son, of Westfield, Mass.; Blair Manufacturing Company, Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company, of Springfield; Spencer Fire Arms Company, of Winsor; W. O. Collins, Springfield Coal & Wood Company, Springfield Coöperative Milk Association, C. A. Wright, J. M. Cowan, of Springfield; L. B. White & A. H. Ryan, Edward Connolly, of Holyoke, Mass.; John Walsh, of Springfield.

The route of the procession was from Emery street down Main to Locust, through Mill, Pine, Walnut, Oak, State, to Main, up Main to Carew, thence countermarching to State street, giving the Governor and guests an opportunity to review the procession.

The day closed with an open-air concert on Court square in the evening and a preliminary concert at the City Hall, before the ball, which closed in a brilliant manner the stated programme of festivities of the quarter-millennial celebration of 1886. The ball committee were Messrs. Elisha Morgan, F. D. Foot, Edward Pynchon, George A. Morton and E. C. Washburn. The reception committee were Messrs. H. M. Phillips, E. H. Lathrop, H. S. Lee, S. C. Warriner, and F. A. Judd. The floor-director was George A. Morton, who was assisted by Dr. T. F. Breck, F. H. Gillette, George D. Pratt, James H. Pynchon, R. F. Hawkins, J. D. Safford, N. C. Newell, George M. Castle, W. P. Alexander, L. C. Hyde, Harry G. Chapin, W. M. Willard, Charles A. Nichols, Dr. G. C. McClean, Charles H. Southworth, and George R. Bond. The ushers were Frederick Harris, Henry S. Dickinson, John P. Harding, and Robert W. Day.

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